THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS, VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE Englisſh nation, made by Sea or ouer Land,

to the moſt remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compaſſe *of theſe 1500. yeeres: Deuided into three* ſeuerall parts, according to the poſitions of the Regions whereunto they were directed.

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The firſt, conteining the perſonall trauels of the Engliſh vnto *Iudæa, Syria, Arabia,* the riuer *Euphrates, Babylon, Balſara,* the *Perſian* Gulfe, *Ormuz, Chaul, Goa, India,* and many Iſlands adioyning to the South parts of *Aſia:* together with the like vnto *Egypt,* the chiefeſt ports and places of *Africa* within and without the Streight of *Gibraltar,* and about the famous Promontorie of *Buona Eſperanza.*

The ſecond, comprehending the worthy diſcoueries of the Engliſh towards the North and Northeaſt by Sea, as of *Lapland, Scrikfinia, Corelia,* the Baie of *S. Nicholas,* the Iſles of *Colgoicue, Vaigats,* and *Noua Zembla* toward the great riuer *Ob,* with the mightie Empire of *Ruſſia,* the *Caſpian* Sea, *Georgia, Armenia, Media, Perſia, Boghar* in *Bactria,* & diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria.*

The third and laſt, including the Engliſh valiant attempts in ſearching almoſt all the corners of the vaſte and new world of *America,* from 73. degrees of Northerly latitude Southward, to *Meta Incognita, Newfoundland,* the maine of *Virginia,* the point of *Florida,* the Baie of *Mexico,* all the Inland of *Noua Hiſpania,* the coaſt of *Terra firma, Braſill,* the riuer of *Plate,* to the Streight of *Magellan:* and through it, and from it in the South Sea to *Chili, Peru, Xaliſco,* the Gulfe of *California, Noua Albion* vpon the backſide of *Canada,* further then euer any Chriſtian hitherto hath pierced.

Whereunto is added the laſt moſt renowmed Engliſh Nauigation, round about the whole Globe of the Earth.

By Richard Hakluyt Maſter of Artes, and Student ſometime of Chriſt-church in Oxford.

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1589.

TO THE RIGHT HONO-
RABLE SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM
Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Maieſtie, Chancellor *of the Duchie of Lancaſter, and one of her Maieſties moſt honourable Priuie Councell.*

IGHT Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maieſties ſcholars at Weſtminſter that fruitfull nurſerie, it was my happe to viſit the chamber of M. *Richard Hakluyt* my coſin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Coſmographie, with an vniuerſall Mappe: he ſeeing me ſomewhat curious in the view therof, began to inſtruct my ignorance, by ſhewing me the diuiſion of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better diſtribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration alſo of their ſpeciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourſe of merchants, are plentifully ſupplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Pſalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verſes, where I read, that they which go downe to the ſea in ſhips, and occupy by the great waters, they ſee the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my couſins diſcourſe (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me ſo deepe an impreſſion, that I conſtantly reſolued, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuerſity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be miniſtred for theſe ſtudies, I would by Gods aſſiſtance proſecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a ſort) were ſo happily opened before me.

According to which my reſolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Chriſt-church in Oxford, my exerciſes of duety firſt performed, I fell to my intended courſe, and by degrees read ouer whatſoeuer printed or written diſcoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugall, French, or Engliſh languages, and in my publike lectures was the firſt, that produced and ſhewed both the olde imperfectly compoſed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other inſtruments of this Art for demonſtration in the common ſchooles, to the ſingular pleaſure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reaſon principally of my inſight in this ſtudy, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefeſt Captaines at ſea, the greateſt Merchants, and the beſt Mariners of our nation: by which meanes hauing gotten ſomewhat more then common knowledge, I paſſed at length the narrow ſeas into France with ſir *Edward Stafford,* her Maieſties carefull and diſcreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres aboad with him in his dangerous and chargeable reſidencie in her Highnes ſeruice, I both heard in ſpeech, and read in books other nations miraculouſly extolled for their diſcoueries and notable enterpriſes by ſea, but the Engliſh of all others for their ſluggiſh ſecurity, and continuall neglect of the like attempts e-

ſpecially in ſo long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiouſly reported, or exceedingly condemned: which ſingular opportunity, if ſome other people our neighbors had beene bleſſed with, their proteſtations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwiſe haue vſed. And that the trueth and euidence heerof may better appeare, theſe are the very words of *Popiliniere* in his booke called *L'Admiral de France*, and printed at Paris. *Fol. 73. pag. 1,2.* The occaſion of his ſpeech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Iſlanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the Engliſh ſhould not ſurpaſſe in that qualitie, in this ſort: *Ce qui m'a fait autreſſois rechercher les occaſions, qui empeſchent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'eſprit, de moyens, & valeur aſſez, pour s'aquerir vn grand hõneur parmi tous les Chreſtiens, ne ſe font plus valoir ſur l'element qui leur eſt, & doit eſtre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doiuent ceder en la ſtructure, accommodement & police de nauires: comme i'ay veu en pluſieurs endroits parmi eux.* Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not ſeeing any man to haue care to recõmend to the world, the induſtrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for ſtopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my ſelfe being the laſt winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her paſſing good behauior highly eſteemed in all the French court, determined notwithſtanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leaſure, or want of ſufficient argument, whereas (to ſpeake truely) the huge toile, and the ſmall profit to inſue, were the chiefe cauſes of the refuſall. I call the worke a burden, in conſideration that theſe voyages lay ſo diſperſed, ſcattered, and hidden in ſeuerall huckſters hands, that I now woonder at my ſelfe, to ſee how I was able to endure the delayes, curioſity, and backwardneſſe of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: ſo that I haue iuſt cauſe to make that complaint of the maliciouſnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: *At nos elaborata ijs abſcondere atq; ſupprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.*

Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis hiſtoriæ.

To harpe no longer vpon this ſtring, & to ſpeake a word of that iuſt commendation which our nation doe indeed deſerue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they haue bene men full of actiuity, ſtirrers abroad, and ſearchers of the remote parts of the world, ſo in this moſt famous and peerleſſe gouernement of her moſt excellent Maieſty, her ſubiects through the ſpeciall aſſiſtance, and bleſſing of God, in ſearching the moſt oppoſite corners and quarters of the world, and to ſpeake plainly, in compaſſing the vaſte globe of the earth more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Maieſty, had theyr banners euer ſeene in the Caſpian ſea? which of them hath euer dealt with the Emperor of Perſia, as her Maieſty hath done, and obteined for her merchants large & louing priuileges? who euer ſaw before this regiment, an Engliſh Ligier in the ſtately porch of the Grand Signor at Conſtantinople? who euer found Engliſh Conſuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balſara, and which is more, who euer heard of Engliſhman at Goa before now? what Engliſh ſhippes did heeretofore euer anker in the mighty riuer of Plate? paſſe and repaſſe the vnpaſſable (in former opinion) ſtraight of Magellan, range along the coaſt of Chili, Peru, and all the backſide of Noua Hiſpania, further then any Chriſtian euer paſſed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South ſea, land vpon the Luzones in deſpight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Iſle of Iaua, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, ariue at the Iſle of Santa Helena, & laſt of al returne home moſt richly ladẽ with the cõmodities

modities of China, as the ſubiects of this now floriſhing monarchy haue done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his hiſtorie *de geſtis Romanorum* recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the *Seres*, (which I take to be the people of *Cathay*, or *China*) ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, to intreate frindſhip, as moued with the fame of the maieſty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good cauſe to admire, that the Kings of the *Moluccaes*, and *Iaua maior*, haue deſired the fauour of her maieſtie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as ſtrãge that the borne naturalles of *Iapan*, and the *Philippinaes* are here to be ſeene, agreeing with our climate, ſpeaking our language, and informing vs of the ſtate of their Eaſterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnto vs and them: to them eſpecially, vnto whoſe doores I doubt not in time ſhalbe by vs caried the incomparable treaſure of the trueth of Chriſtianity, and of the Goſpell, vvhile vve vſe and exerciſe common trade with their marchants. I muſt confeſſe to haue read in the excellent hiſtory intituled *Origines* of *Ioannes Goropius*, a teſtimonie of king *Henrie* the viij. a prince of noble memory, vvhoſe intention vvas once, if death had not preuented him, to haue done ſome ſingular thing in this caſe: vvhoſe vvords ſpeaking of his dealing to that end with himſelfe, he being a ſtranger, & his hiſtory rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: *Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Kneuetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua conuenerat, Regio ſumptu me totam Aſiam, quoad Turcorum & Perſarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Aſiæ principibus facilè ſe impetraturum ſperabat, vt non ſolùm tutò mihi per ipſorum fines liceret ire, ſed vt commendatione etiam ipſorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, ſed tanta erat principi cognoſcendi auiditas, vt nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter neceſſarijs ſe diceret parſurum. O Dignum Regia Maieſtate animum, O me fœlicem, ſi Deus non antè & Kneuettum & Regem abſtuliſſet, quàm reuerſus ab hac peregrinatione fuiſſem, &c.* But as the purpoſe of Dauid the king to builde a houſe and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: ſo I make no queſtion, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforeſaid moſt renowmed prince may ſeeme no leſſe worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reſerued for the perſon of our Salomon her gratious Maieſty, whome I feare not to pronounce to haue receiued the ſame Heroicall ſpirit, and moſt honorable diſpoſition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Ioan. Goropij Becani originũ lib. 5. pag. 494.

Now wheras I haue alwayes noted your wiſdome to haue had a ſpeciall care of the honor of her Maieſty, the good reputation of our country, & the aduancing of nauigation, the very walles of this our Iſland, as the oracle is reported to haue ſpoken of the ſea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull ſort how honorably both by your letter and ſpeech I haue bene animated in this and other my trauels, I ſee my ſelfe bound to make preſentment of this worke to your ſelfe, as the fruits of your owne incouragements, & the manifeſtation both of my vnfained ſeruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I haue done with the leſſe ſuſpition either of not ſatisfying the world, or of not anſwering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath paſſed the ſight, and partly alſo the cenſure of the learned phiſitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

Plutarch in the life of Themiſtocles.

And thus beſeeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wiſdome to increaſe both theſe bleſſings in you, with continuance of health, ſtrength, happineſſe, and whatſoeuer good thing els your ſelfe can wiſh, I humbly take my leaue. London the 17 of Nouember. 1589.

Your honors moſt humble alwayes to be commanded RICHARD HAKLVYT.

Richard Hakluyt to the fauourable Reader.

I Haue thought it very requiſite for thy further inſtruction and direction in this hiſtorie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I haue vſed in the whole courſe thereof: and by the way alſo to let thee vnderſtand by whoſe friendly aide in this my trauell I haue bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient ſpeach to be no leſſe true then ingenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoſcere per quos profeceris, *not to ſpeake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is aſſiſted.*

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this preſent worke, it hath bene this. Whatſoeuer teſtimonie I haue found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either ſtranger or naturall, I haue recorded the ſame word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the ſame were not reduced into our common language, I haue firſt expreſſed it in the ſame termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spaniſh or Portingall diſcourſe, or whatſoeuer els, and thereunto in the next roome haue annexed the ſignification and tranſlation of the wordes in Engliſh. And to the ende that thoſe men which were the paynefull and perſonall trauellers might reape that good opinion and iuſt commendation which they haue deſerued, and further, that euery man might anſwere for himſelfe, iuſtifie his reports, and ſtand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in perſon hath performed, and in writing hath left the ſame: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies aſſertion, that Peregrinationis hiſtoria, *and not thoſe wearie volumes bearing the titles of vniuerſall Coſmographie which ſome mē that I could name haue publiſhed as their owne, beyng in deed moſt vntruly and vnprofitablie ramaſſed and hurled together, is that which muſt bring vs to the certayne and full diſcouerie of the world.*

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occaſion required) ſome ſtrangers as witneſſes of the things done, yet are they none but ſuch as either faythfully remember, or ſufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to ſpeake trueth) I haue receiued more light in ſome reſpects, then all our owne Hiſtorians could affoord me in this caſe, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be conſidered, that I ſtand not vpon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our ſhipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long ſince atchieued in our narow Seas againſt that monſtrous Spaniſh army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good ſeruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two moſt fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part of the enimies chiefeſt ſhippes, the other neere the Iſlands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the firſt (though peraduenture not the laſt) of that imployment, that euer diſcharged Molucca ſpices in Engliſh portes: theſe (albeit ſingular and happy voyages of our renowmed countrymen) I omit, as things diſtinct and without the compaſſe of my preſcribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and ſpaciouſneſſe, neither of ſearch and diſcouerie of ſtrange coaſts, the chiefe ſubiect of this my labour.

Thus much in breuitie ſhall ſerue thee for the geēralorder. Particularlie I haue diſpoſed and digeſted the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Claſſes, *not without my reaſons. In the firſt I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeaſt parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Aſia which is neereſt, and of the reſt hithermoſt towards vs: For I find that the oldeſt trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the Engliſh, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Aſia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions ſake according to the time, although I read in* Ioſeph Bengorion *a very authenticall Hebrew author, a teſtimonie of the paſſing of 20000. Britains valiant ſouldiours, to the ſiege and fearefull ſacking of Ieruſalem vnder the conduct of Veſpaſian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the reſt moſt ancient. But of latter dayes I ſee our men haue pierced further into the East, haue paſſed downe the mightie riuer Euphrates, haue ſayled from Balſara through the Perſian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which paſſages written by the parties themſelues are herein to be read. To theſe I haue added the Nauigations of the Engliſh made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the ſtreights of Gibraltar: within, to Conſtantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Aſaſi, to the citie of Marocco, to the Riuer of Senega, to the Iſles of*

Cape

Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the north pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towardes the riuer of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and foure score verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the mightyriuer of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred verst's downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succeede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknowen Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed ‖ with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompained with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discouerie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher and his actions, which I haue also newly though briefely printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the nothwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that courageous Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the proofe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Ralcigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte

Robert Fabian.

the two voyages made not long ſince to the Southweſt, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had ſome knowledge, and felt ſome blowes: the one of Maſter Edward Fenton, *and his conſort Maſter* Luke Warde: *the other of Maſter* Robert Withrington, *and his hardie conſort Maſter* Chriſtopher Liſter *as farre as 44. degrees of ſoutherly latitude, ſet out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers reſpectes may yelde both profite and pleaſure to the reader, being carefully peruſed.*

For the concluſion of all, the memorable voyage of Maſter Thomas Candiſh *into the South ſea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth ſatisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir* Frauncis Drake, *ſo in relation of the Philippinaes, Iapan, China, and the Iſle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therfore the want of the firſt made by Sir* Frauncis Drake *will be the leſſe: wherein I muſt confeſſe to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inſerted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) ſeriouſly delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the ſeruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto thoſe my freindes which preſſed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to thoſe intended diſcourſes.*

Now for the other part of my promiſe, I muſt craue thy further patience frendly reader, and ſome longer ſuſpence from the worke it ſelfe, in acquainting thee with thoſe vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their priuate affection to my ſelfe, but chiefely for their deuotion to the furtherance of this my trauaile, haue yelded me their ſeuerall good aſſiſtances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In reſpect of a generall incouragement in this laborſous trauaile, it were groſſe ingratitude in mee to forget, and wilfull malicioufnes not to confeſſe that man, whoſe onely name doth carrie with it ſufficient eſtimation and loue, and that is Maſter Edward Dier, *of whom I will ſpeake thus much in few wordes, that both my ſelfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes haue bene made knowne to thoſe, who in ſundrie particulars haue much ſteeded me. More ſpecially in my firſt part, Maſter Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furniſhed me with diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the Eaſt. Maſter William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Maieſties nauie, and Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon, both gentlemen of great experience, and obſeruations in the north Regions, haue much pleaſured me in the ſecond part. In the third and laſt beſides myne owne extreeme trauaile in the hiſtories of the Spanyards, my cheefeſt light hath bene receiued from Sir* Iohn Hawkins, *Sir* Walter Raleigh, *and my kinſeman Maſter* Richard Hakluyt *of the middle Temple.*

And whereas in the courſe of this hiſtory often mention is made of many beaſtes, birds, fiſhes, ſerpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and ſuch other rare and ſtrange curioſities, which wiſe men take great pleaſure to reade of, but much more contentment to ſee: herein I my ſelfe to my ſinguler delight haue bene as it were raviſhed in beholding all the premiſſes gathered togeather with no ſmall coſt, and preſerued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worſhipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, *one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M.* William Cope *Gentleman Vſſier to the right Honourable and moſt prudent Counſeller (the* Seneca *of our common wealth,) the Lord* Burleigh, *high Treaſourer of England.*

Nowe, becauſe peraduenture it would bee expected as neceſſarie, that the deſcriptions of ſo many parts of the world would farre more eaſily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admoniſhed that I haue contented my ſelfe with inſerting into the worke one of the beſt generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and moſt exact terreſtriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the neweſt, ſecreteſt, and lateſt diſcoueries, both Spaniſh, Portugall, and Engliſh, compoſed by M. Emmerie Mollineux *of* Lambeth, *a rare Gentleman in his profeſſion, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly ſupported by the purſe and liberalitie of the worſhipfull marchant M.* William Sanderſon.

The excellent newe Globe of M. Mullineux.

This being the ſumme of thoſe things which I thought good to admoniſh thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleaſure of the worke: which I wiſh to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing theſe rawe fruits vnto this ripeneſſe, and in reducing theſe looſe papers into this order. Farewell.

ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩΝ ΠΟΝΗΜΑ
Ῥιχάρδου τοῦ Ἀκλουΐτου, Ὕγων ὁ Βρουχθωνός.

Ὅσοι γαῖαν ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἑνὸς ἐκπέφυασι
ὡς ἀλλήλα ὁρᾶν ἔθνεσι χάρμα φύσει.
Ὅς γ᾽ ἔθ᾽ ἀλίπλαγκτος μετεκίαθεν ἔθνεα πλεῖστα,
οἴκοι μιμνάζουσ᾽ ἀξιάγαστος ἔφυ.
Ἔξοχα Βρεττανοὶ δ᾽ ἄλλων κιαθέντες ἔρανται,
ἴδμεναι ἀλλοθρόων φῦλα πολυσπερέα.
Ἰνδοὺς ἑσπερίους καὶ ἑώους, Αἰθίοπάς τε,
καὶ Μόσχους, καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐσχατόωντα γένη.
Τούτων δ᾽ ἔργα μάλιστα κλυτά, κλυτὸς Ἀκλουΐτος
γράφεν ἀριφραδέως, μνῆμ᾽ ἀεὶ ἐσσόμενον.

DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGAFETA GENTIL'-HVOMO VICENTINO.

IGnota mi ſtarei, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oſcure, antiche carte,
S'alcun de figli miei con ſpeſa et arte
Non haueſſe hor ſcoperto il mio ſplendore.
Ramuſio pria pieno d'ardente amore
Manifeſtò le mie piu riche parte,
Che ſon lá doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange ſcorre.
Hakluyto poi ſenza verun riſguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà inſieme,
Ciò c' hà potuto hauer da Typhi Ingleſi.
Onde vedraſſi e doue bella ſguardo,
V la Duuina agghiaccia, e l'Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben paleſi.

In eximium opus R. Hakluyti de Anglorum ad diſiunctiſſimas regi*ones nauigationibus* Guilielmi Camdeni Hexaſtichon.

ANglia quæ penitus toto diſcluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.
Nunc cùm ſepoſitos alios detexerit orbes,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.
At quid Haklute tibi monſtranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

In pulcherrimam & præſtantiſsimam nauigationum An*glorum* σύλλεξιν, *D. Richardi Hakluyti ſummo ſtu*dio & fide elaboratam, Philippi Ioneſij *Epigramma.*

HIſtorias veterum celebres ætate ruentes,
Suppoſitis fulcit viribus Aſinius:
Nempè vt ſalua forent tot priſca volumina, Romæ
Inſtruitur ſumptu Bibliotheca ſuo.
Aſinium Conſul ſequitur poſt Appius, annis
Impar, par ſtudijs ingenióq; fuit;
Martia Romulidûm Bellonæ ancilia dicat:
Sic vixiſſe putes quos perijſſe priùs.
Approbat hunc illúmq; pij cenſura Senatus:
Laus ſua ſors illi eſt, Appie palma tibi.
Scilicet ingenia amplecti non vltima virtus:
At magnum eſt vrbem quicquid honeſtat opus.
Eccè alio tandem ſimilis contingere viſa eſt
Nomine materies, iudiciúmq; ſubit.
Quæ feciſſe olim conſtat, benè fecit Edenus:
Vtilis illa Decas proſtat vbíq; ſua:
Splendida magnanimûm profert incepta virorum
Occiduis nacti qui ſibi nomen aquis.
Illáq; dum profert peccat: námq; extera profert:
Externúmq; decus prædicat illa Decas.
Hinc Haklute tuus ſurgit doctiſſime maior
Splendor, quo patrij eſt maior honoris amor.
Centurias nobis Neptunia facta: Britanni
Illa quidem noſtri ſoláq; facta ſoli.
Quæq; diù ſqualidis latuere occluſa tenebris
Lumine fœlici tota recluſa patent.
Quæq; diu folijs manſere inſcripta ſolutis,
In proprias claſſes tota coacta placent.
Tota coacta placent, quid torue ſuperbis Ibere,
Improba vicinis gens macerata bonis?
Intrepidæ Anglorum claſſis quæ nauita, Dúxq;
Præſtitit, hic oculis ſunt manifeſta tuis.
Quæ quoque facturos iterúmq; iterúmq; Iubentès,
In promptu præſens vaticinatur opus.
Commoda prætereo: ſenſatus ſingula lector
Sentiet: atque vltrà quicquid ineſt placidi.
Denique de lectis ſit iudex æquus: Edenus
Præmia, ſed primas Hakluyt iſte feret.

Eiuſdem diſtichon.

ILle modò Hiſpanus tumidus qui tempſerit Anglos,
Anglorum attonitus nunc videt iſtud opus.

The order of all the voyages compriſed in this whole worke in *generall, together with the names of the perſons, the Authours of them,* and the annotations of the courſe of yeeres and quarters of the worlde, wherein they were perfourmed.

The voyages of the firſt part made to the South and Southeaſt regions.

1 THe voyage of Helena, the Empreſſe, daughter of Coelus King of Britaine, and mother of Conſtantine the great, to Ieruſalem. Anno 337. Pagina 1.2

2 The voyage of Conſtantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine, into Greece, Egypt, Perſia, and Aſia. An. 339. 2.3

3 The voyage of Pelagius Cambrius vnder Maximus King of the Britaines into Egypt, and Syria. An. 390. 3.4

4 The voyage of Iohn Erigen vnder Alphred to Athens. An. 858. 4

5 The voyage of Andrew Whiteman, alias Leucander, vnder Canutus the Dane to Paleſtina. An. 1020. 5

6 The voyage of Athelarde of Bathe vnder H. the firſt to Egypt, & Arabia. An. 1130. 5

7 The voyage of William Archbiſhoppe of Tyre, vnder Henrie the firſt to Hieruſalem, and the cittie of Tyre in Phœnice. An. 1132. 5.6

8 The voyage of Robert Ketenenſis vnder King Steuen, to Dalmatia, Greece, and Aſia. An. 1143. 6

9 The voyage of Richard the firſt King of England into Aſia for the recouerie of Ieruſalem out of the hands of the Sarracens. Anno. 1190. 6

10 The voyage of Baldwine Archbiſhop of Canterburie, into Syria and Paleſtina with king Richard. An. 1190. 14

11 The voyage of Richard ſurnamed *Canonicus*, vnder king Richard into Syria and Paleſtina. An. 1190. 15

12 The voyage of *Guilielmus* ſurnamed *Peregrinus*, vnder king Richard alſo into Paleſtina. An. 1190. 15

13 The voyage of Hubert Walter, biſhop of Sarum, vnder king Richard alſo into Syria An. 1190. 16

14 The voyage of Robert Curſon a noble man of England, and cardinall, vnder Henry the third to Damiata in Aegypt. An. 1218. 17

15 The voyage of Rainulfe Glanuill a valiant noble man, and Earle of Cheſter, vnder Henrie the third to Damiata in Aegypt alſo. An. 1218. 17

16 The voyage of William Longeſpee, in Engliſh Longſword, a noble man of England into Aegypt and Aſia, with Lewes the French king. An. 1248. 17.18

17 The voyage of prince Edward, the ſonne of king Henrie the third into Aſia. An. 1270. 20

18 The voyage of Robert Turneham, vnder ỹ ſayd Prince Edward into Syria. An. 1270. 23

19 The voyage of Iohn Mandeuil knight in Latin, begun in the raigne of Edwarde the 2. Anno. 1322. continued for the ſpace of 33. yeeres, and ended in the raigne of Edward the 3. from England to Iudea, and from thence to India, China, Tartaria, and as farre as 33. degrees to the ſouth of the AEquinoctiall. 25

20 The voyage of Macham, the firſt diſcouerer of the Iſland of Madera, vnder Edward the third. An, 1344. 80

21 The voyage of Thomas Windam vnder Edward the 6. to Guinea, and the kingdome of Benin. An. 1553. 83

22 The voyage of Robert Gaynſh vnder Queene Mary to Guinea. An. 1554. 89

23 The voyage of William Towerſon marchant of London, vnder Queene Mary to Guinea. An. 1555. 98

24 The voyage of William Towerſon aforeſaid, the ſecond time to Guinea, and the Caſtle of Mina. An. 1556. 112

25 The voyage of William Towerſon aforeſayd, the third time to the coaſte of Guinea, and the riuer of Seſtos. An. 1557. 120

26 The firſt voyage of Robert Baker to Guinea. An. 1562. 130

27 The voyage of the ſayd Robert Baker to Guinea the ſecond time, An. 1563. 135

28 The

28 The voyage of George Fenner,to Guinie,& to the Iſlands of Cape Verde.An.1566. 142
29 The voyage of Thomas Steeuens, round about the Cape of *Bona Speranza*, to *Goa* in the Eaſt India.An.1579. 160
30 The voyage of Laurence Alderſey, to the cities of Ieruſalem & Tripolis.An.1581. 177
31 The voyage of William Huddie,to Rio Grande in Guinie, ſet out by Edward Cotton of Southhamton.An.1583. 187
32 The voyage of Zacheus Hellier, in the Ieſus of London to Tripolis in Barbarie.An. 1584. 192
33 The voyage of Iohn Newberie,and Ralfe Fitche, to Tripolis in Syria, Aleppo, Babylon, Balſara,Ormuz,Goa.An.1583. 208
34 The voyage of Iohn Eueſham into Egypt. An.1586. 222
35 The voyage of Laurence Alderſey, to the cities of Alexandria, and Cairo in Egypt. An. 1586. 224
36 The voyage of Edward Wilkinſon, with the Marchant Royall to Tripolis in Syria. Anno 1586. 227
37 The voyage of Iohn Eldred,to Tripolis in Syria by ſea, and from thence by lande and riuer to Babylon,and Balſara,An.1583. 231
38 The late voyage of Anthonie Ingram and his companie, to the kingdome and cittie of Benyn in Africa.An.1588. 818.

The Ambaſſages, Letters, Priuileges, and other neceſſarie matters of circumſtance appertaining to the voyages of the firſt part.

1 AN annotation concerning the voyage of Baldwine Archbiſhop of Canterburie, taken out of *Giraldus Cambrenſis* in his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. *Pag.*14
2 The life of Sir Iohn Mandeuil knight, written by M.Bale. 23
3 The tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandeuill in the citie of Liege noted by Ortelius in his *Itinerarium Belgij*. 24
4 The dedication of his voyage to king Edward the 3. 25
5 An admonition of Richard Hakluyt touching the new impreſſion and purgation of Mandeuil. 77
6 Certaine places alleaged out of the naturall hiſtorie of Plinie agreeing with Mandeuil in his reports of the diuers ſhapes of men. 77
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10 The preſents giuen to the great Turke at that time by his Baſhaes,and the Venetian Conſul in Tripolis. 82
11 The ſafe conduct giuen by the great Turke to Anthonie Ienkinſon at Aleppo in Syria. 82
12 A briefe deſcription of Africa. 84
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15 The Ambaſſage of Edmund Hogan merchant of London and ſworne Eſquier of her Maieſties perſon, from her highneſſe to Mully Abdelmelek Emperour of Marocco,and king of Fez and Sus. 156
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19 The ſecond letters of her Maieſtie to the great Turke,promiſing a redreſſe of the diſorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe committed in the Leuant. 171
20 The letters patents granted by her Maieſtie to Sir Edward Osborne,M.Richard Staper, and certaine other merchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke. 172
21 Her Maieſties commiſſion vnder her great ſeale to M.William Harebrowne,authorizing him her Ambaſſadour in Turkie. 176
22 The third letters of her Maieſtie to the great Turke,in commendation of M.Harebrowne. 183
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25 A letter written in Spaniſh by Sir Edward Osborne to the king of Algier, in the behalfe of certayne Engliſh captiues there detained. 189
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39 A letter of Iohn Newberie, written to Leonard Poore of London, from Aleppo. 208
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41 His letter written from Ormuz, to Iohn Eldred, and William Shals, at Balſara. 210
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2 The voyage of Malgo king of Britaine, to Iſland, Gotland, Orkney, Denmarke and Norway. An. 580. 244
3 The voyage of king Edgar with 4000. ſhips round about his large Monarchie. Anno 973. 245
4 The voyage of Nicholaus de Linna a Franciſcan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the regions ſituate vnder the North pole. An. 1360. 248
5 The voyage of Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight wherein he vnfortunately periſhed at Arzina reca in Lapland. An. 1553. 265
6 The voyage of Richard Chanceler Pilot Maior the firſt diſcoueror by ſea of the kingdome of Moſcouia. An. 1553. 280
7 The voyage of Steuen Burrough towarde the riuer Ob intending the diſcouerie of the northeaſt paſſage. An. 1556. 311
8 The voyage of the foreſaid Steuen Burrough from Colmogro in Ruſſia to Wardhouſe in ſerch of certaine Engliſh ſhips not hard of the yeere before. An. 1557. 326
9 The voyage of Anthony Ienkinſon into Ruſſia, wherin Oſep Napea firſt Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Moſcouia to Q. Marie was tranſported into his countrie. An. 1557. 333
10 The voyage of Anthony Ienkinſon from the Citie of Moſco in Ruſſia, to Boghar in Batria. An. 1558. 347
11 The voyage of Anthonie Ienkinſon through Ruſſia, and ouer the Caſpian ſea into Perſia. An. 1561. 365
12 The voyage of Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheiny ſeruantes to the Company of Moſcouie Marchants in London, into Perſia. An. 1563. 374

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13 The voyage of Richard Iohnſon, Alexander Kytchin, and Arthur Edwardes ſeruants to the foreſaid companie into Perſia. An.1565. 367
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15 The voyage of Anthony Ienkinſon into Ruſſia the third time. An. 1566. 397
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17 The voyage of Thomas Baniſter, & Geofferie Ducket Agents for the Moſcouie company into Perſia the fift time. An. 1569. 419
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19 The voyage of Anthony Ienkinſon into Ruſſia the 4. time. An. 1571. 426
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THE FIRST PART OF THE principall voyages, trauailes and diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the South and *Southeaſt quarters of the world, with the letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes and treatiſes appertaining thereunto.*

The trauaile of Helena.

HElena Flauia Auguſta, ſereniſsimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia, Magni Cõſtantini Cæſaris mater, incomparabili decõre, fide, religione, bonitate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Euſebio etiam teſte, per totum reſplenduit orbem: Inter omnes ætatis ſuæ fœminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus doctior, nulla in inſtrumentis muſicis perit. .r, aut in linguis nationum copioſior. Innatam habebat ingenij claritudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum ornatiſſimam compoſitionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia ſobole (inquit Virumnius) quę Regni ſolio potiretur. Illam propterea his inſtrui fecit per optimos præceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudinem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, Conſtantius Clorus Cæſar illam duxit in vxorem, atque ex eâ filium in Britanniâ genuit Conſtantinum Magnum. Sed eo tandem Eboraci defuncto, cum Annâ illâ Euangelicâ, in ſanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitę diem, tota Chriſtianę Religioni dedita. Sunt enim Authores, qui narrent per iſtam, ceſſante perſecutione, pacem Eccleſijs datam: Ad tantam cœleſtis Philoſophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt poſt agnitum Euangelium peruenisſe, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucuſque à Pontico ſupereſſe perhibentur. Viſionibus admonita Hieroſolymam petijt, & omnia ſaluatoris loca perluſtrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria fœliciter in Chriſto quieuit. 15. Calendas Septembris, filio adhuc ſuperſtite, Anno ſalutis humanæ 337. Regnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ venetijs ſeruatur.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

HElena Flauia Auguſta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus ſometime the moſt excellent king of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Conſtantine the great, by reaſon of her ſingular beautie, faith, religion, goodnes & godly Maieſtie (according to the teſtimonie of Euſebius) was famous in all the world. Amongſt all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberal Arts more learned, or in inſtruments of muſicke more ſkilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then herſelfe. She had a naturall quicknes or excellencie of wit, eloquence of ſpeach, and a moſt notable grace in all her behauiour. She was ſeene in the Hebrue, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to ſucceede in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore cauſed her to be inſtructed in theſe things by the beſt teachers, that thereby ſhee might the better in time gouerne the Realme: ſo that by reaſon of her paſſing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Conſtantius Chlorus the Emperour married her,

and had by her a ſonne called Conſtantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceaſing at Yorke, this Helena (no otherwiſe then Anna of whome mention is made in the newe Teſtament) continued a vertuous, and holy widow to the ende of her life.

There are ſome writers which doe affirme, that perſecution ceaſed, and peace was graunted to the Chriſtian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Goſpel, ſhe grewe ſo ſkilfull in diuinitie, that ſhee wrote and compoſed diuers bookes, and certaine Greeke verſes alſo, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by ſome viſions ſhee went to Jeruſalem, and viſited all the places there, which Chriſt had frequented. She liued to the age of foureſcore yeeres, and then dyed at Rome the 15. day of Auguſt, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octauius being then King of Britaine, and her ſonne Conſtantine the Emperour then alſo liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preſerued at Venice.

The life and trauels of Conſtantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

EX Lauius Conſtantinus cognomento Magnus poſt Genitorem Cõſtantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæſar Auguſtus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificæ ſuæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hiſpanis, & Francis, eorumque Regibus pro ſpectaculo beſtijs obiectis, Galliam ſubiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris ſemper fidentiores habuerat in ſuis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide fœlicitèr liberatis, in Senatorũ ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruêre tam animi, quam corporis virtutes, dum appetentiſſimus eſſet gloriæ militaris, ſucceſſu ſemper in bellis proſpero. Inter literas tam Græcas quàm Latinas, à Chriſtianiſsima matre Helena Chriſti fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philoſophia Chriſtiana vitam reclinaſſent. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempè Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, Religionis curam in medijs ſuperſtitionum tenebris cœpit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ ſpem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo ſtudijs, noctes trahebat inſomnes, & quæſita ſcribendi diuerticula per otium fræquentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipſi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falſorum Deorum euerſor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Perſiam, Aſiam, & vniuerſam ditionẽ Romanam, repetitis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Chriſtũ coli, Euangelium prædicari ſacrum, Miniſtris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum vbique deſtrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Ieſu Chriſti ante ſe ſemper ferri fecit, & Biblia ſacra ad omnes prouincias deſtinari, diademaque Monarchicum primus Britannis Regibus dedit: Eccleſijs infinita præſtitit, agros, annonam, ſtipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibuſque vt pater ſollicitus. Euſebium, Lactantium, & ſimiles, familiariſsimos habuit, & hanc ad Deum orationem indies ipſis in eius vita teſtibus fudit. Vnum te Deum eſſe nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduerſarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs habuit, vt Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum ſtudia colere, bonas artes fouere, legere, ſcribere, meditari: compoſuit Græcè & Latinè multos libros & Epiſtolas. E vita Nicomediæ diſceſsit Senex, ætatis ſuæ Anno 66. & Imperij 32. à Chriſti verò incarnatione 339. Conſtantinopoli ſepultus, Octauio in Britannijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Euſebius Cæſarienſis Græcè ſcripſit, & Ioannes Porteſius Gallus in Latinum tranſtulit ſermonem.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

FLauius Conſtantine, ſyrnamed the great, King of the Britaines after his father, and Emperour of the Romanes, borne in Britanie of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his natiue countrie partaker of his ſingular glorie, and renoume.

Hauing conquered and put to flight the Almanes, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a ſpectacle thrawne out to wilde beaſtes, he held France it ſelfe as ſubiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, hee preferred 3. of his mothers vncles, all Britaines, namely Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, whom in all his actions he had found more faithfull vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the minde and body alſo, and that hauing a pleaſure in the practiſe of warre, and in the iuſt commendation of Martiall prowe ſſe,

proweſſe,he neuer pitched fielde but his ſucceſſe in the battell was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing inſtructed him in the faith of Chriſt, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeelded ſpeciall honor to thoſe that ſpent their time in the ſtudie of Diuinitie, which he called Chriſtian Philoſophie: ſo that beginning at the furtheſt part of the Ocean ſea,which then was taken to be his owne natiue ſoyle of Britaine, and truſting in the aſſiſtance of God, when the darkenes of ſuperſtition was moſt thicke, then hee vndertooke a care of Religion, ſtirring vp innumerable nations from the Weſt as farre as India it ſelfe,to the hope of eternall life.

Hee paſſed many nightes without ſleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine ſtudies: and whenſoeuer his leaſure from greater affaires did permit him.his vacant times ſhould be ſpent in the vſe of writing & other good exerciſes,aſſuring himſelfe that his kingdoms & Empire were to be continued & ſtrengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were ỹ perſon of a notable preacher of Chriſtian diſcipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie,that godlines was to be preferred before riches,yea,before ỹ Monarchie of all ỹ world.

He ouerthrew the falſe gods of the Heathens, and by many lawes often reuiued,he abrogated the worſhipping of Images in all the countreis of Greece, Ægypt, Perſia, Aſia, and the whole Romane Empire,commanding Chriſt onely by his Edicts to be worſhipped, the ſacred Goſpell to be preached,the Miniſters thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euery where to be deſtroyed.

Whitherſoeuer he went hee cauſed the booke of the Goſpell of Chriſt to be ſtill caried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to apperteine generally to all nations.

He was the firſt that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine.

He was moſt beneficiall to all Churches, beſtowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore,ſicke perſons,widowes and orphanes,corne and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He vſed learned men moſt familiarly, as Euſebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witneſſes that this was his vſuall prayer to God O Lord we know thee to be the onely God,we are ſure that thou art the onely King,and we call vpon thee as our helper: through thee we haue gotten the victorie,and by thee we haue ouerthrowen the enemie.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth,that it was his greateſt delight to imbrace the ſtudie of learning, to fauour good Arts,to reade, write and meditate,and that he compoſed many bookes,and Epiſtles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia,being then 66.yeres of age,in the 32 yere of his reigne,and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Chriſt, and was buried at Conſtantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whoſe life Euſebius biſhop of Cæſarea hath written in Greeke in 4.bookes, which afterwards were tranſlated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Portes a French man.

The life and trauailes of Pelagius, borne in Wales.

PElagius Cambrius ex ea Britanniæ parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Bannochorenſis a Ceſtria non procul,præpoſitus erat,in quo Chriſtianorum philoſophorum,duo millia ac centum,ad plebis in Chriſto cõmoditatem militabant, manuum ſuarum laboribus,iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes.Poſtquam plures exhibitos,pro Chriſtiana Repub.labores,vir eruditione inſignis, & tum Græcè, tum Latinè peritus,vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum laceſſitus iniurijs,grauatim tulit,ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratis igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum,& Syriam aliaſque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partiũ Monacho præſul ordinatus, ſui nominis hæreſim fabricabat: aſſerens hominem ſine peccato naſci, ac ſolo voluntatis imperio ſine gratia ſaluari poſſe, vt ita nefarius baptiſmum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & conſimilibus impoſtricis doctrinæ fecibus in patriam ſuam reuerſus,omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Cæleſtino Pſeudoepiſcopis fautoribus, conſpurcabat. Verum ante lapſum ſuum ſtudia tractabat honeſtiſſima, vt poſt Gennadium Bedam,& honorium alij ferunt authores,compoſuitque multos libros ad Chriſtianam vtilitatem. At poſtquam eſt Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit hæreſi ſuccurrentes,& ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes,vnde erat a ſuis Britannis in exilium pulſus, vt in Epiſtola ad Martinum quintum Valdenus habet. Claruit anno poſt Chriſtum incarnatum, 390.ſub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ *The same in English.*

PElagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head or gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherein liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, or Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselues to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauailes for the good of the Christian Common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grieuously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, he went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countries of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Monke of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne wil without grace, that so the miserable man might take away fayth and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, he returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Julian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authours doe report him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a little to Christian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, he wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon at the last his owne Countreymen banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martin the fift. He flourished in the yeere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britane.

The life and trauailes of Iohn Erigena.

IOannes Erigena Britannus natione, in Meneuia vrbe, seu ad fanum Dauidis, & patricio genitore natus, dum Anglos Daci crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestarent, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem Athenas vsq; suscepit, annosq; quamplures, literis Græcis, Chaldaicis, & Arabicis insudauit: omnia illic inuisit Philosophorum loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum Solis, quod Aesculapius sibi construxerat. Inueniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore in Italiam & Galliam est reuersus vbi ob insignem eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & postea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionisij Areopagitæ libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno. Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox ad hortante, inter ocia literaria e Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis maleuolis interimebatur, An. Christi, 884.

¶ *The same in English.*

IOhn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Dauid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruel Danes, and all the land in a hurlie burlie, he in the meane time vndertooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Æsculapius had built vnto him selfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singuler learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this he came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster vnto Alphred then King of England, and to his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morales of the Secrets of Secrets, or of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them misliking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The

The trauailes of Andrewe Whiteman, alias *Leucander, Centur. 2.*

ANdræas Leucander alias Whiteman (iuxta Lelãdum) Monachus, & Abbas Rameſienſis Cænobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus ſtudio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Acceſſit præterea & ardens quoddam deſiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videndi loca, in quibus Seruator Chriſtus redemptionis noſtri miſteria omnia conſummauit, quorum prius ſola nomina ex ſcripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & ſacram Hieroſolymorum vrbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac paſsionis eius teſtem inuiſit, atque domum rediens factus eſt Abbas. Claruiſſe fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. ſub Canuto Dano.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ANdrewe Leucander, otherwiſe called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profeſſion a Monke, and the third Abbat of the Abbie of Ramſie: he was exceedingly giuen to the ſtudie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongſt all other things, he had an incredible deſire to ſee thoſe places with his eyes, wherein Chriſt our Sauiour perfourmed and wrought all the myſteries of our Redemption, the names of which places he onely knewe before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Jeruſalem a witneſſe of the miracles, preaching and paſſion of Chriſt, and being againe returned into his Countrey, he was made the aforeſaide Abbat. He floriſhed in the yeere of Chriſt, 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The trauailes of one Athelarde an Engliſhman, *recorded by maſter Bale. Centur. 2.*

AThelardus Bathenienſis Cænobij monachus, naturalium rerum miſteria, & cauſas omnes, diligentiâ tam vndecunque exquiſitâ perſcrutatus eſt, vt cum aliquibus veteris ſeculi philoſophis non indignè conferri poſsit. Hic olim ſpectatæ indolis Adoleſcens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fœcundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Aegyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inueniſſet, quæ eius deſiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demum reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

AThelard a Monke of the Abbie of Bathe, was ſo diligent a ſearcher of the ſecretes, and cauſes of naturall things, that he deſerueth worthely to be compared with ſome of the auncient Philoſophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being deſirous to increaſe and enriche the ſame with the beſt things, and to prepare himſelfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he deſired to his owne priuate contentmẽt, and the profite of good letters generally, and ſo being ſatisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he floriſhed in the yeere 1130. Henry the firſt being then King of England.

The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, *an Engliſhman. Centur. 13.*

GVlielmus, Eccleſiæ Dominici ſepulchri Hieroſolymæ Regularium Canonicorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus cõmendabilis, Anno. Dom. 1128. poſtquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Chriſtianæ reſtituta eſt a Guimundo Hyeroſolymorũ patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiſcopus præficiebatur. Eſt autem Tyrus Ciuitas Antiquiſsima, Phenicíæ vniuerſæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè cõmoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum ſemper obtinuit locum: poſt conſcripta quædam opuſcula, & Epiſtolas, ad Dominum migrauit, An. Chriſti 1130. quum duobus tantum ſediſſet annis, & in Tyrenſi Eccleſia ſepelitur.

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrenſis claruit ſub Henrico primo.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

WIlliam the Prior of the Cannons Regular in the Church of Jeruſalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Engliſhman borne, and of a vertuous and good behauiour.

After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Ierusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phenicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Prouince of Syria, both for fruitfull commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archebishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of a certaine Englishman, whom *master Bale remembreth in his 2. Centurie, and calleth him* Robertus Ketenensis.

RObertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltramarinas statim visitare prouincias, in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Sarracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Astrologicæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se totum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Papilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

¶ *The same in English.*

THis Robert Ketenensis, was called an Englishman by syname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Universities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauayled through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where hee liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Sarracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwards he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue himself wholy to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143 Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Papilona.

The worthy voyage of Richard the first, King of England *into Asia, for the recouery of Ierusalem out of the handes of the* Saracens, drawen out of the booke of Actes and Monuments of the Church of England, written by M. Iohn Foxe.

KIng Richard the first of that name, for his great valoure and courage symamed Cœur de Lion, the sõne of Henry the second, after the death of his father remembring the rebellions that he had vnduetifully raised against him, sought for absolution of his trespasse, and in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French King to take his voyage with him for the recouerie of Christes patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: wherevpon the said King Richard immediatly after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towardes his iourney, vsed diuers meanes to take vp sommes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand poundes, and the Iewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Hauing thus gotten sufficient money for the enroloit, hee sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in minde of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whome he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solemne othe, deposing vpon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainely prefixed to addresse himselfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to be ready at the terme aboue limitted, appointing also the place where both the Kings shoulde meete together.

In the yere therefore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the gouernment of this Realme in his absence to the bishop of Elye then Chancelour of England, aduaunced forwarde his iourney, and came to Turon to meete with Philip the French king, and after that went to Vizeliace, where

where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, aſſured themſelues by ſolemne othe, ſwearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whoſe oth was this.

That either of them ſhould defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honour, and that neither of them ſhould faile one the other in their affaires: but the French king ſhould ayde the King of England in defending his lande and dominions, as he would himſelfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were beſieged: and that Richard King of England likewiſe ſhould ayde the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwiſe then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were beſieged, &c.

¶ The othe of fidelitie betwixt King Richard, and the French king.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by King Richarde for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

1. That whoſo killed any perſon on ſhipboard, ſhould be tyed with him that was ſlaine, and throwen into the ſea.

The diſcipline and orders of the king.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he ſhould in like maner be tyed with the partie ſlaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that ſhalbe convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to ſtrike any man, or that hath ſtriken any to the drawing of blood, ſhall looſe his hand.

4. Alſo he that ſtriketh any perſon with his hand without effuſion of blood, ſhalbe plunged three times in the ſea.

5. Item, who ſo ſpeaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or curſing one another, for ſo oftentimes as he hath reuiled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſiluer.

6. Item, a theefe or felon that hath ſtollen being lawfully cõuicted, ſhal haue his head ſhorne, and boyling pitch powred vpon his head, and feathers or downe ſtrawed vpon the ſame, whereby he may be knowen, and ſo at the firſt landing place they ſhall come to, there to be caſt vp.

Theſe things thus ordered, King Richard ſending his Nauie by the Spaniſh ſeas, and by the Streits of Gibraltare, betweene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marſilia, hee himſelfe went as is ſaid to Vizeliace to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus for preſſe of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occaſion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were conſtrained to diſſeuer themſelues for time of their iourney, appointing both to meete together in Sicily: and ſo Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua and king Richard to Marſilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence croſſing ouer to Genua where the French king was, paſſed forward by the coaſtes of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard ſtaying in Marſilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, hee there hired 20. Gallies, and 10. great barkes to ſhippe ouer his men, and ſo came to Naples, and ſo partly by horſe and wagon, & partly by the ſea, paſſing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ſhips were arriued at Meſſana in Sicily, he made the more ſpeed, and ſo the 23. of September entred Meſſana with ſuch a noyſe of Trumpets and Shalmes, with ſuch a route and ſhewe, that it was to the great wonderment and terrour both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the ſight.

To the ſaid towne of Meſſana the French king was come before the 16. of the ſame moneth of September. and had taken vp the Pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arriuall eftſoones reſorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediatly the French king tooke ſhipping and entred the ſeas, thinking to ſaile towardes the land of Jeruſalem: but after he was out of the hauen, the winde riſing contrary againſt him, returned him backe againe to Meſſana. Then king Richard (whoſe lodging was prepared in the ſuburbs without the Citie) after he had reſorted againe and talked with the French king, and alſo had ſent to Tancredus king of Sicily for deliuerance of Ioane his ſiſter (who had bene ſometimes Queene of Sicily, and had obtained her to be ſent vnto him, the laſt day of September paſſed ouer the flood del Fare, and there getting a ſtrong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his ſiſter with a ſufficient garriſon, he returned againe to Meſſana.

The 2. of October king Richard wan an other ſtrong hold called Monaſterium Griffonum, ſituated in the midſt of the riuer del Fare, betweene Meſſana & Calabria, from whence the Monks being expulſed, he repoſed there all his ſtore and prouiſion of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Meſſana ſeeing that the king of England had wonne the caſtle and Iland de la Baguare, and alſo the Monaſterie of the Griffons, and doubting leaſt the king would extende

his power further to inuade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Iſle of Sicily, began to ſtirre againſt the Kings armie, and to ſhut the Engliſhmen out of the gates, and kept their walles againſt them. The Engliſhmen ſeeing that, made to the gates, and by force would haue broken them open, inſomuch that the King riding amongſt them with his ſtaffe, and breaking diuers of their heads, could not aſſwage their fiercenes, ſuch was the rage of the Engliſhmen againſt the citizens of Meſſana. The King ſeeing the furie of his people to be ſuch, that he could not ſtay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of King Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French King, in which meane time the matter was ſo taken vp by the wiſe handling of the auncients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the ſaide moneth of October, came to King Richard the Archbiſhop of Meſſana with two other Archbiſhops alſo with the French King, and ſundry other Earles, Barons, and Biſhops, to intreate of peace, who as they were together conſulting, and had almoſt concluded vpon the peace, the citizens of Meſſana iſſuing out of the towne, ſome went vp vpon ỹ mountaines, ſome with open force inuaded ỹ manſion or lodging of Hugh Brune an Engliſh Captaine. The noice whereof comming to the eares of the King, he ſuddenly breaking off talke with the French King and the reſt, departed from them, and comming to his men, commaunded them forthwith to arme themſelus. Who then with certaine of his ſouldiers making vp to the toppe of the mountaine (which ſeemed to paſſe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chaſing them downe the mountaines, vnto the very gates of the citie, whom alſo certaine of the Kings ſeruants purſued into the citie, of whome fiue valiant ſouldiers & twentie of the Kings ſeruants were ſlaine, the French King looking vpon, and not once willing to reſcue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the King of England: for the French King with his men being there preſent, rode in the middeſt of them ſafely, and without any harme to and fro, and might well haue eaſed the Kings partie, more then he, if it had ſo liked him.

This being knowen to the Engliſh hoſt howe their fellowes were ſlaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred againſt them, being alſo ſtopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they vpon great indignation gathered themſelues in armes, brake open the gates, and ſcaled the wals, and ſo winning the citie, ſet vp their flags with the Engliſh armes vpon the wals: which when the French King did ſee, he was mightely offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might alſo be ſet vp, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no caſe agree, notwithſtanding to ſatiſfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the cuſtodie of the citie to the Hoſpitallaries and Templaries of Ieruſalem, til the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he ſhould agree together vpon conditions.

Meſſana won by the Engliſh

Theſe things being done the firſt and ſixt day of October, it followed then vpon the eight day of the ſame, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, firſt king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their othe and league before made, concerning their mutuall aide and ſocietie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace alſo was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforeſaid, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in caſe king Richard ſhould die without yſſue, ſhould be maried to Arthur Duke of Britaine the kings nephew & next heire to his crown, whereof a formall charte was drawen, and letters ſent thereof to Pope Clement being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill Februarie the next yeere, theſe two kings kept ſtill at Meſſana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their ſhippes. And in the aforeſayde Februarie, in the yeere 1191. King Richard ſent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whome he was purpoſed to marry, who by that time were come to Brunduſium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and ſo proceeding vnto Naples, they founde the kings ſhippes wherein they ſayled to Meſſana.

In this meane ſpace, king Richard ſhewed himſelfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king firſt he gaue diuers ſhippes, vpon others likewiſe he beſtowed riche rewardes, and of his treaſure and goods, he diſtributed largely to his ſouldiers and ſeruants about him, of whome it was reported, that he diſtributed more in one moneth, then any of his predeceſſors did in a whole yeere: by reaſon whereof he purchaſed great loue and fauour, which not onely redounded to the aduancement of his fame, but alſo to his ſingular vſe and profite, as the ſequele afterward prooued.

The firſt day of March following, he left the Citie of Meſſana, where the French King was,

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and went to Cathneia, a Citie where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus three dayes and three nightes. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offred him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silkes, whereof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one little ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche sword. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would giue him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and furthermore he himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French King a little before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof was this: That the King of England was a false Traytour, and would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the said Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would inuade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer was: and as touching the peace begunne betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleeue that the French King being his good lord, and his sworne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth foorth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming moreouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to trye it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receauing the letters, and musing not a little vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard moued in stomacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was wont: whereat the French king greatly marueiling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip Earle of Flanders from King Richard, what wordes he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimonie thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the Duke of Burgundie to the King of Sicily: which when the French King vnderstood, first he helde his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answere. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with King Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therefore he forged (said he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would auoide to marrie with Alise his sister, according as he had promised. Adding moreouer that if he would so doe, and would not marrie the said Alise his sister according to his othe, he would be an enemie to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this King Richard said againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for proofe whereof he had there presently to bring forth diuers & sundry witnesses to the Kings face, to testifie with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French King, agreement at last was made, so that King Philip did acquite King Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and King Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of fiue yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28. day of the saide moneth of March, the French King launching out of the Hauen of Messana, the 22. day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

After the departure of the French King from Messana, King Richard with his armie yet remaining behind, arriued Queene Alinor the Kings mother, bringing with her Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to King Richard: which being done, King Richard in April following, about the 20. day of the said moneth, departed from the Hauen of Messana with 150. great shippes, and 53. great gallies well manned and appointed, tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on good Friday about the 9. houre, rose a mightie South-winde with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his Nauie, some to one place, and some to another. The King with a fewe shippes was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there before the Hauen of Rhodes cast anker. The shippes that caried the Kings sister, Queene of Sicily, and Bernegera the king of Nauars daughter, with 2. shippes were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus. The Nauie of King Richard.

The king making great mone for the shippes of his sister, and Bernegera his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was ouerblowen, sent foorth his Gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Nauie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his

sister

ſiſter was, and the mayden whom he ſhould marrie, who at length were found ſafe and merrie at the porte of Lymſzem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithſtanding the two other ſhippes, which were in their companie before in the ſame hauen, were drowned with diuers of the Kings ſeruants and men of worſhip, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the Kings Uicechancelour, who was found with the Kings ſeale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus, was then Iſakius (called alſo the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and impriſoned all Engliſhmen, which by ſhipwracke were caſt vpon his land, alſo inueigled into his hands the goods and priſes of them which were found drowned about his coaſtes, neither would ſuffer the ſhippes wherein the two Ladies were to enter within the porte.

The tydings of this being brought to King Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ſhippes together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he firſt in gentle wiſe ſignifieth to king Iſakius, how he with his Engliſhmen, comming as ſtrangers to the ſupportation of the holy land, were by diſtreſſe of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition beſought him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy Croſſe, to let goe ſuch priſoners of his as he had in captiuitie, & to reſtore againe ẏ goods of them that were drowned, which he detayned in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their ſoules. And this the king once, twiſe, and thriſe deſired of the Emperour: but he proudly anſwering againe, ſent the king worde, that he neither would let the captiues goe, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Iſakius made of his ſo humble and honeſt petition, and howe that nothing coulde be gotten without violent force, eftſoones giueth commandement throughout all his hoſte to put themſelues in armour and followe him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proude and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their truſt in God, and not to miſdoubt but that the Lorde would ſtand with them, and giue them the victorie. The Emperour in the meane time with his people ſtood warding the Sea coaſtes, where the Engliſhmen ſhould arriue, with ſwordes, billes, and launces, and ſuch other weapons as they had, ſetting boordes, ſtooles, and cheſtes before them as a wall: few of them were harneſſed, and for the moſt part all vnexpert and vnſkilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his ſouldiers iſſuing out of their ſhips, firſt ſet his bowe men before, who with their ſhot made a way for others to followe. The Engliſhmen thus winning the land vpon them, ſo fiercely preſſed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at laſt the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly purſued, and ſlue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere alſo to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much ſpoile, and great victorie, returning to the porte Towne of Lymſzem, which the Townes men had left for feare, found there great abundance of corne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victorie gotten, Ioanna the Kings ſiſter, and Bernegera the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymſzem, with 50. great ſhips, and 14. galliots: ſo that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall ſhippes, and aboue three ſcore galliots. Then Iſakius the Emperour, ſeeing no way for him to eſcape by Sea, the ſame night pitched his tents fiue miles off from the Engliſh armie, ſwearing that the third day after, he would ſurely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him before, ſuddenly the ſame morning before the day of battell ſhould be, ſetteth vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and aſleepe, and made of them a great ſlaughter, inſomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tents and pauilions to the Engliſhmen, full of horſes and riche treaſure, alſo with the Imperiall ſtandard, the lower part whereof with a coſtly ſtreamer was couered, and wrought all with gold.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his ſiſter, and Bernegera ſhortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the ſaid moneth, married the ſaid Bernegera daughter of Rancon, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lymſzem.

The king of Cyprus ſeeing himſelfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himſelfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in gold for amends of ſuch ſpoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, alſo to reſtore all the captiues againe to the King: and furthermore, he in his owne perſon to attende vpon the King to the land of Ieruſalem in Gods ſeruice and his, with 400. horſemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his caſtles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour ſwearing fidelitie to king Richard before Guido king of Ieruſalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Iſakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers. Notwithſtanding ſhortly after

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ter he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Iland of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the Subiects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselues to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrye Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June vpon the fift of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French King he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixt day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great barke fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and fiue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting foorth their flagge with the French Armes, were in deede Sarracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrels of vnknowen serpents to the defense of the towne of Achon, which King Richard at length perceiuing, eftsoones set vpon them and so vanquished them, of whome the most were drowned and some taken aliue: which being once knowen in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

The Lorde Chamberlaine of King Richard, left gouernour of Cyprus.

A great ship of Sarracens taken by King Richard.

The next day after which was the seuenth of June, King Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose comming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be vndermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by composition to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

K. Richard arriued at Achon.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secrete Christian among the Sarracens, who in time of the siege thereof, vsed at sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bils written in Hebrue, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwaies his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus sancti, Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much aduantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would vtter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderstand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short narration. Vpon the twelfth day of July the peere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, vpon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

The forme of peace concluded betweene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendred, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundreth horsemen, whosoeuer they themselues would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundreth thousand Bysants, so that they themselues should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fortie daies the aforesaide couenantes were not accomplished, they shoulde abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

These couenantes being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundreth of the richest and best of the citie, to close them vp in towers vnder strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministring vnto them according to their necessities: to whome notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: whereupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but afterward so soone as they could, reuolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was afterward commanded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the saide moneth of July, King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein contained as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture whatsoeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the spoile, were so good caruers to themselues that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, whereupon they began to shewe themselues somewhat discontented

ted, which being knowen of the Kings, they ſent them anſwere that their wils ſhould be ſatiſfied.

The twentieth day of July, King Richard ſpeaking with the French King, deſired him that they two with their armies, would binde themſelues by othe to remaine there ſtill in the land of Ieruſalem the ſpace of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of thoſe countreys: but hee ſaid he would ſweare no ſuch othe, and ſo the next day after King Richard with his wife and ſiſter entreth into the Citie of Achon, and there placed himſelfe in the Kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houſes of the Templaries, where he continued till the ende of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of Auguſt, Philip the French king after that hee and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido and Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ieruſalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithſtanding king Richard and all the Princes of the Chriſtian armie with great intreatie deſired him to tary, ſhewing what a ſhame it were for him to come ſo farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of Auguſt departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforeſaide Conradus Marques.

The French Kings ſhamefull returne home.

After his departure the Pagans refuſed to keepe their couenants made, who neither would reſtore the holy Croſſe nor the money, nor their captiues, ſending word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of ſuch captiues of the Chriſtians, as were in their handes.

Shortly after this the Saladine ſending great gifts to king Richard, requeſted the time limitted for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refuſed to take his gifts, and to graunt his requeſt, whereupon the Saladine cauſed all the Chriſtian captiues within his poſſeſſion foorthwith to beheaded, which was the 28. of Auguſt: which albeit king Richard vnderſtoode, yet would not he preuent the time before limitted for the execution of his priſoners, being the 20. day of Auguſt: vpon which day hee cauſed the priſoners of the Saracens openly in the ſight of the Saladines armie to looſe their heads: the nomber of whom came to two thouſand and fiue hundreth, ſaue only that certaine of the principall of them hee reſerued for purpoſes and conſiderations, eſpecially to make exchange for the holy Croſſe, and certaine other of the Chriſtian captiues.

The captiues of the Sarracens ſlaine by King Richard.

After this king Richard purpoſed to beſiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betweene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Aſſur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely againſt the kings rereward, but through Gods mercifull grace in the ſame battail, the kings warriers acquited themſelues ſo well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whome the Chriſtians purſued the ſpace of 3. miles, and loſt that ſame day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in ſuch ſort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to ſuch confuſion 40. yeeres before, and but one Chriſtian Captaine called Iames Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

A notable victory againſt the Saladine.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Aſcalon, where hee found firſt the Citie of Ioppe forſaken of the Saracens, who durſt not abide the kings comming: Aſcalon, the Saladine threw downe to the ground, & likewiſe forſooke the whole lande of Syria, through all which land the King had free paſſage without reſiſtance: neither durſt the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard. Of all which his atcheuances the ſaid K. Richard ſent his letters of certificate as wel into England, as alſo to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping ỳ he God willing ſhould be able to make his repaire againe to them by Eaſter next.

King Richard in poſſeſſion of Syria.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by theſe two Kings, and moe ſhould haue bene, had not they falling into diſcorde diſſeuered themſelues, by reaſon whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within ſhort ſpace: who being returned againe eftſoones inuaded the Countrey of Normandie, exciting alſo Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of England in his brothers abſence: who then made league vpon the ſame with the French king, and did homage vnto him, which was about the fourth yeere of king Richarde. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for three yeeres: and not long after, king Richard the next ſpring following returned alſo, who in his returne driuen by diſtreſſe of weather about the parts of Hiſtria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lympold, Duke of the ſame countrey, and ſo ſolde to the Emperour for ſixtie thouſand Markes: who for no ſmall ioy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, theſe letters here following.

1193.

King Richard returneth from Paleſtina.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

HEnricus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & ſemper Auguſtus. Dilecto & ſpeciali amico ſuo, Philippo illuſtri Francorum Regi ſalutem, & ſinceræ dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria

toria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam latiorem effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit, & exaltauerit nobilitati tuæ tenore præsentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Angliæ, quum esset in transeundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit vt ventus rupta naui sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriæ ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis euasit.

Quidam itaque fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius, qualem, Nominatus Rex in terra promissionis, proditionem & traditionem, & perditionis suæ cumulum exercuerat, insecuti sunt, intendentes eum captiuare. Ipso autem Rege in fugam conuerso, ceperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salseburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, vbi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, noctu sex milites de suis cœpit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lympoldus Dux Austriæ, obseruata strata sæpè, dictum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori, in domo desecta captiuauit.

Cum itaq́, in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestauit, & turbationis operam præstiterit, ea quæ præmisimus, nobilitati tuæ insinuare curauimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuæ beneplacita existere, animo tuo vberrimam importare lætitiam. Datum apud Ritheountum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traiterously taken, and sold to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obteine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsly imputed by the French King to the King of Englande, there traiterously was taken (as is aforesaide) by Limpoldus duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That king Richard slewe the brother of this Limpoldus, playing with him at Chesse in the French Kings Court: and Limpoldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is saide) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was deteined during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the Kings endurance, the French King in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made stirre and inuaded England, but the Barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that King Richard should be released for a hundreth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of Chalices, Crosses, shrines, candlesticks and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remayning, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obteined of the Pope, that Priestes might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesaide money was payd, and the hostages giuen for the ransome of the King, I haue an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues. The iust iudgment of God vpon the Duke of Austria.

First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes.

2. With drowning of teme thousand of his men in a floud happening no man can tell how.

3. By turning all the eares of his corne fielde into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.

5. By breaking his owne legge falling from his horse, which legge hee was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwardes died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgiue King Richard 50000. marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium, declareth that ꝑ saide Limpoldus duke of Austridge fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperour, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Christian States, but to the Sarracens the enemies of Christianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This Historie of King Richards voyage to Ierusalem, is very excellently and largely written in Latine by Guilielmus Neobrigensis our owne countreyman.

The life and trauailes of Baldwinus Deuonius, ſometime *Archbiſhop of Canterburie.*

BAldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Exceſtriæ natus, vir ore facundus, exactus Philoſophus, & ad omne ſtudiorum genus per illos dies aptiſſimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primùm erat: tum poſtea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac ſapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit præterea à Ciſtercienſis Monachus, & Abbas Fordenſis Cœnobij, magnus ſuorum æſtimatione, ac vniuerſæ eorum ſocietati quaſi Anteſignanus: fuit deinde Wigornienſis præſul, fuit & mortuo demum Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus, ac totius Angliæ primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus ſollicitè inuigilans, egregium ſe paſtorem exhibuit, dominicum ſemen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum ſpargens. Richardus Anglorum Rex, acceptis tunc Regni inſignijs, ſummo ſtudio claſſem, ac omnia ad Hieroſolymitarum bellum gerendum neceſſaria parauit. Secutus eſt illico Regem in Syriam, & Paleſtinam vſque Baldwinus, vt eſſet in tam Sancto (vt ipſe putabat itinere) laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Præfuit Cantuarienſi Eccleſiæ ferè 6. annis, & Richardum Regem in Syriam ſecutus, anno Salutis noſtræ 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & ſepultus eſt.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

BAldwine a Deuonſhire man borne in Exeter of meane parentage, was a very eloquent man, an exact Philoſopher, and in thoſe dayes very excellent in all kinde of ſtudies. He was firſt of all a Scholemaſter: afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wiſedome in all his doings. He was alſo a Ciſtercian Monke and Abbot of Foorde Monaſterie, and the chiefe of all thoſe that were of his order: he grewe after this to be biſhop of Worceſter, and at laſt after the death of King Richard he was promoted and made Archebiſhop of Canterburie, and Primate of all England. In the diſcharge of which place hee being very vigilant, ſhewed himſelfe a worthy Paſtor, ſowing the ſeede of Gods word in euery place as farre foorth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time King Richard with all indeuour prepared a Fleete and all things neceſſarie for waging of warre againſt the Infidels at Jeruſalem, taking with him the Standerd and Enſignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine eftſoones followed the King into Syria and Paleſtina, as one deſirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in ſo holy a voyage. He was Archbiſhop of Canterburie almoſt ſixe yeeres: but hauing followed the King into Syria, in the yeere 1190. he died at Tyre where he was alſo buried.

An annotation concerning the trauailes of the ſaid *Baldwine, taken out of Ponticus Virumnius, in his Itinerarium* Cambriæ, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

INter primos Thomæ Becketi, ſucceſſor hic ſecundus, audita ſaluatoris & ſalutiferæ Crucis iniuria noſtris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce ſignatus, in eiuſdem obſequijs, tam remotis finibus quam propinquis, prædicationis officium viriliter aſſumpſit. Et poſtmodum iter accipiens, nauigioque fungens apud Marſiliam, tranſcurſo tandem Pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrenſi incolumis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum noſtrum obſidentem pariter & obſeſſum Aconem tranſiuit: vbi multos ex noſtris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectu, in ſumma deſolatione iam poſitos, & deſperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauiter afflictos, quoſdam verò aeris inclementia diſtemperatos, diem fœlicitèr in terra ſacra clauſurus extremum, ſingulos pro poſſe vinculo charitatis amplectens, ſumptibus & impenſis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

THis Baldwine being the ſecond ſucceſſour vnto Thomas Becket, after he had hard the wrong which was done to our Sauiour, and the ſigne of the Croſſe by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, hee couragiouſly perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedience thereof, as well in farre diſtant Countreis as at home. And afterwardes taking his iourney and imbarking himſelfe at Marſillis, hauing at length paſſed the Leuant Sea arriued ſafely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, beſieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) beſieged it ſelfe. Where finding many of our Countreymen, and almoſt all men remayning in wonderfull penſiuenes, and diſpaire through the withdrawing of

the

the Princes, ſome of them tired with long expectation, others grieuouſly afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others diſtempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to ende his dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, hee ayded them at his coſtes and charges, and ſtrengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

The trauailes of one Richard ſyrnamed *Canonicus.*

RIchardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis fanum Londini Regularis, ab ipſa pueritia bonarum artium literas impenſè amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euaſit orator, & Poeta, quales ea ætas rariſſimos nutriebat. Obid Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem, in Paleſtinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, ſuſcepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuerſus, omnia quæ præſens vidit in vrbibus, agris, ac militum caſtris, fideli narratione, tam carmine quam proſa deſcripſit. Neque interim omiſit eiuſdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis liniamenta deſignare, addiditque præclaro ſuo operi, hoc aptiſſimum pro titulo nomen, ſcilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis noſtræ 1200. ſub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RIchard ſyrnamed Canonicus an obſeruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the ſtudies of good Arts and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at laſt by his continuall endeuour and long exerciſe therein, he grewe to be ſuch an Orator and Poet, as few were in that age liuing, by reaſon whereof he grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and vndertooke that long voyage with him into Paleſtina & Syria againſt the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully deſcribed both in Verſe and proſe all ſuch things as he had ſeene in the Cities, fields and tents of the ſouldiers, where he was preſent, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foreſaid King, giuing to his notable worke this moſt apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. Hee flouriſhed in the yeere of our Redemption 1200. vnder Iohn King of England.

The trauailes of Guilielmus Peregrinus.

GVilielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidam per eam etatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat ſtudijs. Hic cum accepiſſet, expeditionem in Sarracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit ſe ad iter illud non tantum vt miles, ſed etiam Peregrinus. Vidit ea quæ in Mari Hiſpanico fiebant, vidit quæ in Syria & Paleſtina commiſſa fuerunt, in Sultanum Babiloniæ Regem, ac perfidos Sarracenos. Omnia hæc ſcripſit, & viuis depinxit coloribus, ita vt quaſi præ oculis, totum poneret negotium, idemque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infœliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opuſque iam abſolutum, Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo rerum bellicarum expertiſſimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multaque alia edidiſſe Poetam talem non dubito, ſed num extent illa eius ſcripta, mihi non conſtat. Hoc tamen ſatis conſtat, eum fuiſſe in pretio, Anno à ſalutifero virginis partu 1200. ſub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

WIlliam the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in thoſe dayes and an Engliſhman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and beſtowed his good time in the beſt kinde of ſtudies. Hee vnderſtanding of the preparation of King Richarde againſt the Sarracens, prepared himſelfe alſo for the ſame voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime alſo. He ſawe thoſe things which happened in the Spaniſh ſeas, and which were done in Syria and Paleſtina againſt the Sultan the King of Babylon, and the treacherous Sarracens. All which things he wrote and expreſſed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene ſtill in doing before his eyes: And handled the ſame Argument in Heroical verſe

which the forenamed Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finiſhed his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turneham a moſt expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The Expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that ſo good a Poet as hee was publiſhed many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I knowe not: but this I knowe, that he was a man well accompted of, and flouriſhed in the yeere after the birth of Chriſt 1200. vnder King Iohn.

The trauailes of Hubert Walter Biſhop of *Sarisburie.*

HVbertus Walterus Sarisburienſis Epiſcopus, vir probus, ingenioque ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui poſt Richardum Regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiſcebantur. Cum ex Paleſtina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorũ manus incidiſſet, omiſſo itinere incepto, ad eum curſim diuertebat: Quem & ille ſtatim, in Angliam miſit, vt illic Regij Senatus authoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & induſtrius fecit ac Regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiſcopus factus, poſt eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac ſucceſſori, paria fidelitatis officia præſtitit. Longa enim oratione, toti Anglorum nationi perſuaſit, quod vir prouidus, præſtans, fortis, genere nobiliſsimus, & imperio digniſsimus eſſet: quo ſalutatus a populo fuit, atque in Regem coronatus. Compoſuit quædam opuſcula, & ex immenſo animi dolore demum obijſſe fertur, Anno ſalutis humanæ 1205. cum ſediſſet annos 11. Menſes octo, & dies ſex. Quum vidiſſet, ex inteſtinis odijs, omnia in tranſmarinis regionibus peſſum ire, regnante Ioanne.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

HVbert Walter biſhop of Sariſburie a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and pietie, was one of the chiefeſt of them that followed King Richard into Syria going againſt the Sarracens. As he returned from Paleſtina & came in his iourney into Silicia, he there hard of the ill fortune of the King being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went preſently and in all haſte to the place where the King was captiued, whom the King immediatly vpon his comming ſent into England, that by the authoritie of the Counſil, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert perfourmed with great diligence, and deliuered the King. After this hee was made Archbiſhop of Canterburie, and after the death of King Richard he ſhewed the like dueties of fidelitie and truſt to his brother Iohn that ſucceeded him. For by a long Oration he perſwaded the whole Nation of the Engliſhmen, that he was a very circumſpect man, vertuous, valiant, borne of Noble parentage, and moſt worthy of the Crowne. Whereupon he was ſo receiued of all the people and crowned King. He wrote certaine bookes, and died at the laſt with very great griefe of minde, in the yeere 1205. hauing bene Archbiſhop the ſpace of 11. yeeres 8. moneths and fiue dayes, by reaſon of the ciuill diſcords abroade, whereby all things went topſie turuie, and in the raigne of King Iohn.

The trauailes of Robert Curſon.

RObertus Curſon ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, diſciplinis tum prophanis, tum ſacris ſtudioſus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratiſsima Oxonij Academia. Præſtantiſsimis illic inſtitutoribus vſus, ex ſumma circa ingenuas artes induſtria, & aſsiduo literarum labore, famam ſibi inter ſuos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditatus Pariſiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipſam petijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus, Pariſius, ac Weſtmonaſterius, hoc de ipſo teſtimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. ſuorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini 1218. (inquiunt) in captione Damiatæ Ægypti vrbis, ſub Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum Rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanenſi Magiſter Bobertus de Curſon, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, &c. Boſtonus Burienſis in ſuo Catalogo Curſonum aliquos libros compoſuiſſe narrat. Claruit Anno ſuperius numerato per prædictos teſtes, in Anglia regnante Henrico 3. Ioannis Regis filio: fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Boſtono teſte, legatus.

¶ The

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RObert Curſon deſcended of a noble familie in England, vſed great diligence as well in prophane as in diuine ſtudies in the famous Vniuerſitie of Oxforde (as I coniecture.) Hee had there the beſt ſcholemaſters that were to be gotten, and was moſt induſtrious in the Arts and continuall exerciſes of learning: by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris and thence to Rome it ſelfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinitie, at Rome he was made Cardinal: whereupon both Matthew Paris and Matthew of Weſtminſter, produce this teſtimonie of him, The one in his 2. booke, the other in his 8. booke of Chronicles. In the yeere of our Lorde (ſay they) 1218. at the taking of Damiata a Citie of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne King of Ieruſalem, M. Robert Curſon an Engliſhman, a moſt famous clearke of noble parentage and Cardinall of the Church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanenſis, &c. Boſton of Burie in Norfolke in his Catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers bookes. He flouriſhed in the yere aforeſaid by the witneſſes aforeſaid. Henry the thirde the ſonne of King Iohn being then King of England: and by the further teſtimonie of Boſton this Curſon was Legate into England in ẏ dayes of Honorius the third biſhop of Rome.

The trauailes of Raynulphe Glanuile Earle of Cheſter.

RAnulphus Glanuile Ceſtriæ Comes, vir nobiliſſimi generis, & in vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illuſtrium virorum à me merito ponendus venit. Ita probè omnes Adoleſcentiæ ſuæ annos, legibus tum humanis, tum diuinis conſecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaſerit, quàm nomen decuſque ab inſigni eruditione ſibi comparauerit. Cum profecti eſſent Francorum Heroes Ptolomaydem, inito cum Ioanne Brenno Hieroſolymorum Rege conſilio, Damiatam Ægypti vrbem obſidendam conſtituebant, anno Salutis humanæ 1218. Miſit illuc Henricus Rex, ab Honorio 3, Rom. Pontifice rogatus, cum magna armatorum manu Ranulphum, ad rem Chriſtianam iuuandam. Cuius virtus Polydoro teſte, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, Ranulphus in patriam reuerſus, ſcripſit, De legibus Angliæ librum vnum. Fertur præterea, & alia quædam ſcripſiſſe, ſed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abſtulit. Claruit anno à Seruatoris noſtri natiuitate 1230 confectus ſenio, dum Henricus tertius ſub Antichriſti tyrannide in Anglia regnaret.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RAynulph Glanuile Earle of Cheſter, a man of a very noble houſe and learned in both the Lawes, deſerues of duetie to be here placed by me in the Catalogue of worthy and notable men. He applied ſo well all the yeeres of his youth to the ſtudie of humane and diuine Lawes, that he came not ſo ſoone to the age of a man, as he had purchaſed to himſelfe by reaſon of his ſinguler learning, renowne and honour. When the noble men of Fraunce went to Ptolomais, vpon the counſell of Iohn Brenne King of Ieruſalem, they reſolued to beſiege Damiata a Citie of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the King vpon the motion of Honorius the 3. biſhop of Rome, ſent thither this Earle Raynulph with a great power of armed ſouldiers, to further the enterpriſe of the Chriſtians: whoſe valure in that warre (by the teſtimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilouſly commended of all men. After the ende of which buſines, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the Lawes of England. It is alſo reported that hee wrote other bookes, but time the deſtroyer of many memorials, hath taken them from vs. He flouriſhed in the yeere after the natiuitie of Chriſt 1230. being very aged, and in the raigne of K. Henry the 3.

The voyage of William" Longeſpee, a notable and valiant *Gentleman of England into Aſia, in the yeere* 1248. *and in the* 32. yeere of the raigne of Henrie the 3. King of England.

"Or, longſword.

LEwes the French King being recouered of his ſickenes which hee fell into, in the yeere 1244. vowed thereupon for a free will ſacrifice to God, that he (if the Counſell of his Realme would ſuffer him,) would in his owne perſon viſite the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France holde in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the King according to his vowe ſhould take his iourney into Aſia, and the time thereof was

alſo prefixed, which ſhould be after the feaſt of S. Iohn Baptiſt the next yeere enſuing.

At which time William Longeſpee a worthie warriour, with the biſhop of Worceſter and certaine other great men in the Realme of England (mooued with the example of the French men) prepared themſelues likewiſe to the ſame iourney.

It fell out in this enterpriſe, that about the beginning of October the French king aſſaulted and tooke Damiata, being the principall fort or hold of the Sarracens in all Egypt, Anno 1249. and hauing fortified the Citie with an able garriſon left with the Duke of Burgundie, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eaſtward. In whoſe armie followed William Longeſpee, accompanied with a piked nomber of Engliſh warriours retayning vnto him. But ſuch was the diſdaine of the Frenchmen againſt this William Longeſpee & the Engliſhmen that they could not abide them, but flouted them after an opprobrious maner with Engliſh tailes, inſomuch that the French king himſelfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

The originall cauſe of this grudge betweene them beganne thus. There was not farre from Alexandria in Egypt a ſtrong fort or caſtle repleniſhed with great Ladies and riche treaſure of the Sarracens: which holde it chanced the ſaide William Longeſpee with his companie of Engliſh ſouldiers to get, more by politique dexteritie then by open force of armes, wherewith hee and his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof (they not being made priuie hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning againſt the Engliſh ſouldiers, and could not ſpeake well of them after that.

A fort wonne by the Engliſhmen.

Iſt happened againe not long after, that the ſaide William had intelligence of a companie of riche marchants among the Sarracens going to a certaine Faire about the parts of Alexandria, hauing their camels, aſſes and mules, richly loden with ſilkes, precious iewels, ſpices, golde, and ſiluer, with Cart loads of other wares, beſide victuall and other furniture, whereof the ſouldiers then ſtood in great neede: he hauing ſecret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Engliſhmen vnto him that he could, and ſo by night falling vpon the Marchants, ſome he ſlew with their guides and conducters, ſome he tooke, ſome he put to flight: the Carts with the driuers, and with the oxen, camels, aſſes, and mules, with the whole cariage and victuals he tooke and brought with him, looſing in all the ſkirmiſh but one ſouldier and 8. of his ſeruitors: of whom notwithſtanding ſome he brought home wounded to be cured.

A rich booty alſo gotten by the Engliſhmen.

This being knowen in the Campe, forth came the French men which all this while loytered in their pauillions, and meeting this cariage by the way, tooke all the foreſaide praye whole to themſelues, rating the ſaid William and the Engliſhmen for aduenturing and yſſuing out of the Campe without leaue or knowledge of their Generall, contrary to the diſcipline of warre. William ſaid againe he had done nothing but he would anſwere to it, whoſe purpoſe was to haue the ſpoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

The iniurie of the Frenchmen to our Engliſh.

When this would not ſerue, hee being ſore grieued in his minde ſo cowardly to be ſpoyled of that, which hee ſo aduenturouſly had trauailed for, went to the King to complaine: But when no reaſon nor complaint would ſerue by reaſon of the proude Earle of Artoys the kings brother, which vpon ſpight and diſdaine ſtoode againſt him, he bidding the King farewell ſaide hee would ſerue him no longer: and ſo William de Longeſpee with the reſt of his companie breaking from the French hoſte went to Achon. Vpon whoſe departure the Earle of Artoys ſaide, Now is the armie of Frenchmen wel ridde of theſe tailed people, which words ſpoken in great deſpight were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

William Longeſpee miſlip forſaketh the French King.

But not long after when the keeper of Cayro and Babylonia, bearing a good mind to the Chriſtian Religion, and being offended alſo with the Soldan, promiſed to deliuer the ſame to the French King, inſtructing him what courſe was beſt for him to take to accompliſh it, the King hereupon in all haſte ſent for Willam Longeſpee, promiſing him a full redreſſe of all his iniuries before receiued: who at the Kings requeſt came to him againe, and ſo ioyned with the French power.

After this it happened that the French King paſſing with his armie towardes Cayro aforeſayde came to the great riuer Nilus, on the further part whereof the Soldan had pitched himſelfe to withſtand his comming ouer: there was at this time a Sarracen lately conuerted to Chriſt, ſeruing the Earle Robert the French Kings brother, who told him of the abſence of the Soldan from his tents, and of a ſhallow foord in the riuer where they might eaſily paſſe ouer. Whereupon the ſaide Earle Robert & the Maſter of the Temple with a great power, eſteemed to the third part of the Armie yſſued ouer the Riuer, after whom followed W. Longeſpee with his band of Engliſh ſouldiers. Theſe being ioyned together on ỹ other ſide of the water, encoũtred the ſame day with the Sarracens remaining in the tents & put them to the worſt. Which victory being gotten, the

French

French Earle ſurpriſed with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needes forward, deuiding himſelfe from the maine hoſte, thinking to winne the ſpurres alone. To whome certaine ſage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counſell, aduiſed him not to doe ſo, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and ſo ſhould they be more ſure againſt all deceites and dangers, which might be layd priuily for them. The maner of that people (they ſayd) they better knewe, and had more experience thereof then he: alleaging moreouer their wearied bodies, their tired horſes, their famiſhed ſouldiers, and the inſufficiencie alſo of their number, which was not able to withſtand the multitude of the enemies, eſpecially at this preſent brunt, in which the aduerſaries did well ſee the whole ſtate of their dominion now to conſiſt either in winning all, or loſing all.

Which when the proude Earle did heare, being inflated with no leſſe arrogancie then ignorance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly baſtards, and betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common report of many, which ſayd, that the land of the holy croſſe might ſoone be wonne to Chriſtendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hoſpitalaries, and their followers.

To theſe contumelious rebukes, when the maſter of the Temple anſwered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding them diſplay his enſigne when he would, and where he durſt, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe before them, then began William de Longeſpee the worthy knight to ſpeake, deſiring the Earle to giue eare to thoſe men of experience, who had better knowledge of thoſe countries and people then had he, commending alſo their counſell to be diſcreete and wholeſome, and ſo turning to the maſter of the Temple, began with gentle words to mitigate him likewiſe. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his words out of his mouth, began to fume and ſweare, crying out of thoſe cowardly Engliſhmen with tailes: What a pure armie (ſayd he) ſhould we haue here, if theſe tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like words of villany, and much diſdayne: whereunto the Engliſh knight anſwering againe, well, Earle Robert (ſayd he) whereſoeuer you dare ſet your foote, my ſtep ſhall goe as farre as yours, and (as I beleeue) we goe this day where you ſhall not dare to come neere the taile of my horſe, as in deede in the euent it proued true: for Earle Robert would needes ſet forward, weening to get all the glory to himſelfe before the comming of the hoſte, and firſt inuaded a litle village or caſtle, which was not farre of, called Manſor. The countrey Boores and Pagans in the villages, ſeeing the Chriſtians comming, ranne out with ſuch a maine crye and ſhowte, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Chriſtians inuading and entring into the munition incircumſpectly, were pelted and paſhed with ſtones by them which ſtood aboue, whereby a great number of our men were loſt, and the armie ſore maymed, and almoſt in deſpaire.

The worthy anſwere of William Long eſpee to Earle Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the ſame, commeth the Soldan with all his maine power, which ſeeing the Chriſtian armie to be deuided, and the brother ſeparated from the brother, had that which he long wiſhed for, and ſo incloſing them round about, that none ſhould eſcape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady raſhnes, but it was too late, who then ſeeing William the Engliſh knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, cried vnto him moſt cowardly to flie, ſeeing God (ſaith he) doth fight againſt vs: To whome the Knight anſwering againe, God forbid (ſayth he) that my fathers ſonne ſhould runne away from the face of a Sarracen. The Earle then turning his horſe, fled away, thinking to auoid by the ſwiftnes of his horſe, and ſo taking the riuer Thafnis, oppreſſed with harneſſe, was there ſunken and drowned.

The cowardly flight of Earle Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to diſpaire and ſcatter. Then William de Longeſpee bearing all the force of the enemies, ſtoode againſt them as long as he could, wounding and ſlaying many a Sarracen, till at length his horſe being killed, and his legges maimed, he could no longer ſtande, who yet notwithſtanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Sarracens much ſorrow, till at laſt after many blowes & wounds, being ſtoned of the Sarracens, he yeelded his life. And after the death of him, the Sarracens ſetting vpon the reſidue of the armie, whome they had compaſſed on euery ſide, deuoured and deſtroied them all, inſomuch that ſcarſe one man remained aliue, ſauing two Templaries, one Hoſpitaler, and one poore raſcall ſouldier, which brought tidings hereof to the King.

The valiant ende of William Longeſpee.

And thus by the imprudent and fooliſh hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were diſcomfited, and that valiant Engliſh Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Chriſtian people, the glorie of the Sarracens, and the vtter deſtruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

The

The voyage of Prince Edward the ſonne of King Henry *the third into Aſia, in the yeere* 1270.

ABout the yeere of our Lord, 1267. Octobonus the Popes Legat being in England, prince Edward the ſonne of King Henry, and diuers other Noble men of England tooke vpon them the croſſe vpon S. Iohns day the Baptiſt, by the ſaid Legates hands at Northhampton, to the reliefe of the Holy lande, and the ſubuerſion of the enemies of the croſſe of Chriſt. For which purpoſe, and for the better furniſhing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a ſubſidie throughout all the Realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord, 1270. he began to ſet forward.

At Michelmas following, he with his companie came to Eguemortes, which is from Marſilia eight leagues weſtward, and there taking ſhip againe (hauing a merrie & proſperous wind) within ten daies arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and intertained of the Chriſtian princes that there were to this purpoſe aſſembled, as of Philip the French King, whoſe father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the King of Sicilia, and the two Kings of Nauarre, and Arragon, and as this Lord Edward came thither for his father the King of England, thither came alſo Henry the ſonne of the King of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage, was ſlaine in a Chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demaunded of theſe Kings and princes what was to be done, they anſwered him againe, and ſaid, the prince of this citie and the prouince adioyning to the ſame, hath bene accuſtomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euery yeere: and now for that the ſame hath bene for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres vnpaied and more, therefore we thought good to make inuaſion vpon him. But the King knowing the ſame tribute to be but iuſtly demanded, hath now accoording to our owne deſire ſatiſfied for the time paſt, and alſo paid his tribute before hand.

Then ſaid he, My Lords, what is this to the purpoſe? are we not here all aſſembled, and haue take vpon vs the Lords Character to fight againſt the infidels & enemies of Chriſt: what meane you then to conclude a peace with them. God forbid we ſhould do ſo, for now ẏ land is plaine and hard, ſo that we may approch ẏ holy city Ieruſalem. Then ſaid they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the ſame. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is paſt we may well take ſhipping to Acra. But this counſel nothing at all liked him, neither did he ſhewe himſelfe wel pleaſed therewith: but after he had made them a princely banket, he went into his cloſet or priuy chamber from amongſt them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithſtanding continuing their purpoſe, at the next merry wind tooke ſhipping, and for want of ſhips left 200. of their men a ſhoare, crying out, and piteouſly lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being ſomewhat mooued to compaſſion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and ſtowed them in his owne ſhips, being the laſt that went aboord.

Within ſeuen daies after, they arriued in the kingdome of Sicilia, ouer againſt the citie Trapes, caſting their ankers a league from thence within the ſea, for that their ſhippes were of great burden, and throughly fraught: and from the hauen of the citie, they ſent out barges and boates to receiue and bring ſuch of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their horſes for the moſt part, and all their armour they kept ſtill within boord.

At length towards the euening, the ſea began to be rough, & increaſed to a great tempeſt and a mighty: inſomuch that their ſhips were beaten one againſt anothers ſides, and drowned there was of them at that tempeſt lying at anker more then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable ſoules beſides, and that wicked money alſo which they had taken before, likewiſe periſhed, and was loſt.

But the tempeſt hurt not ſo much as one ſhip of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. nor yet had one man loſt thereby, for that (as it may be preſuppoſed) he conſented not to the wicked counſell of the reſt.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the ſea ſide, and ſaw al their ſhips drowned, and ſaw their men and horſes in great number caſt vpon the land drowned, they had ful heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ſhips and mariners, which were in number 1500. beſides the common ſouldiers, there was no more ſaued then the mariners of one onely ſhip, and they in this wiſe.

There was in that ſhip a good and wiſe Matrone, a Counteſſe or an Earles wife, perceiuing the tempeſt to grow, & fearing her ſelfe, called to her the M. of the ſhip, & aſked him whether in attempting

tempting to the ſhoare it were not poſſible to ſaue themſelues: he anſwered, ẏ to ſaue ẏ ſhip it was impoſſible, howbeit ẏ men that were therin by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then ſaid the Counteſſe, for the ſhippe force no whit, ſaue the ſoules therein, and haue to thee double the value of the ſhippe: who immediatly hoyſing the ſailes with all force, ranne the ſhippe aground ſo neere the ſhoare as was poſſible, ſo that with the vehemencie of the weather and force he came withall, brake the ſhip and ſaued all that was within the ſame, as the Maſter had ſhewed, and ſayd before.

Then the Kings and Princes (altering their purpoſe after this ſo great a ſhipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands. Onely Edward the ſonne of the King of England, remained behind with his men and ſhips, which the Lord had ſaued and preſerued.

Then Prince Edwarde renouating his purpoſe, tooke ſhipping againe, and within fifteene dayes after Eaſter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers and moſt expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreſhing both his men and horſes, and that in this ſpace he might learne and knowe the ſecrets of the land. After this he tooke with him ſixe or ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, and marched forward twentye miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and thoſe that he founde there he ſlewe, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue ſet vpon them at ſome ſtreight or other aduantage, were eſpied by the Prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and ſlewe many of them, and the reſt they put to flight.

The arriuall of Prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the Prince.

After this, about Midſommer when the Prince had vnderſtanding that the Sarracens began to gather at Cakowe which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither ſet vpon them very earely in the morning, and ſlewe of them more then a thouſand, the reſt he put to flight, and tooke riche ſpoiles, marching forward till they came to a Caſtle named Caſtrum peregrinorum, ſituate vpon the ſea coaſt, & taried there that night, & the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie againſt the Sarracens, wherein 1000. of them were ſlaine.

In the meane ſeaſon the King of Ieruſalem ſent vnto the Noble men of Cyprus, deſiring them to come with ſpeede to ayde the Chriſtians, but they would not come, ſaying they would keepe their owne land, and goe no further. Then Prince Edward ſent vnto them, deſiring that at his requeſt they would come and ioyne in ayde with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation and furniture for the warres, ſaying, that at his commandement they were bound to doe no leſſe, for that his predeceſſors were ſometimes the gouernours of that their land, and that they ought alwaies to ſhewe their fidelitie to the Kings of England.

The Princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Chriſtians being herewith animated, made a thirde voyage or roade, and came as farre as the forte called Vincula ſancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had ſlaine certaine there, not finding any to make reſiſtance againſt them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of Prince Edward grewe amongſt his enemies, and that they began to ſtand in doubt of him, they deuiſed among themſelues how by ſome pollicie they might circumuent him and betray him. Whereupon the great Prince and Admirall of Ioppa ſent vnto him, faining himſelfe vnder great deceite willing to become a Chriſtian, and that he would draw with him a great number beſides, ſo that they might be honourably intertained and vſed of the Chriſtians. This talke pleaſed the Prince well, and perſwaded him to finiſh the thing he had ſo well begun by writing againe, who alſo by the ſame meſſenger ſent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the ſame matter, whereby no miſtruſt ſhould ſpring.

This meſſenger (ſayth mine Author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the ſtonie hearted, that neither feared God, nor dreaded death.

The fift time when this meſſenger came, and was of the Princes ſeruants ſearched according to the manner and cuſtome what weapon and armour he had about him, as alſo his purſe, that not ſo much as a knife could be ſeene about him, he was had vp into the Princes chamber, & after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the Prince from his lorde, as he had done others before. This was about eight daies after Whitſontide, vpon a Tueſday, ſomewhat before night, at which time the Prince was layd vpon his bed bare headed, in his Jerkin, for the great heate and intemperature of the weather.

When the Prince had read the letters, it appeared by them that vpon the Saterday next following, his lorde would be there ready to accompliſh all that he had written and promiſed. The report of theſe newes by the Prince to the ſtanders by, liked them well, who drewe ſomewhat backe to conſult thereof amongeſt themſelues. In the meane time, the Meſſenger kneeling, and making his obeiſance to the Prince (queſtioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out ſome ſecrete letters, and ſuddenly he pulled out an inuenomed knife, thinking to haue ſtroken the Prince into the belly therewith as he laye: but the Prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blowe, was ſtriken a great wound into the arme, and being about

to

Prince Edward traiterouſly wounded.

to fetch another ſtroke at him, the prince againe with his foote tooke him ſuch a blowe, that he felde him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with ſuch violence wraſted the knife from him, that he hurt himſelfe there with on the forehead, and immediatly thruſt the ſame into the belly of the Meſſenger and ſtriker, and ſlew him.

The princes ſeruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the buſkling, came with great haſte running in, and finding the Meſſenger lying dead in the flooze, one of them tooke vp a ſtoole, and beate out his braines: whereat the prince was wroth for that he ſtroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident as it was ſtrange, ſo it went ſoone thoroughout all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly diſcouraged. To him came alſo the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a coſtly and precious drinke againſt poiſon, leaſt the venome of the knife ſhould penetrate the liuely bloode, and in blaming wiſe ſayde vnto him: did I not tell your Grace before, of the deceite and ſubtiltie of this people? Notwithſtanding, ſayde he, let your Grace take a good heart, you ſhall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But ſtraight way the Surgions and Phyſitions were ſent for, and the prince was dreſſed, and within fewe dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the fleſh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the prince, began to mutter among themſelues, and were very ſad and heauy.

Which thing he himſelf perceiuing, ſaid vnto them: why mutter you thus among your ſelues? what ſee you in me, can I not be healed? tell me the trueth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one ſaid vnto him, and like your Grace you may be healed, we miſtruſt not, but yet it will be very painefull for you to ſuffer. May ſuffering (ſayd he againe) reſtore health? yea ſayth the other, on paine of looſing my heade. Then ſayd the prince, I commit my ſelfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then ſayd one of the Phyſitians, is there any of your Nobles in whome your Grace repoſeth ſpeciall truſt? to whome the prince anſwered yea, naming certaine of the Noble men that ſtoode about him. Then ſaid the Phyſitian to the two, whome the prince firſt named, the Lorde Edmund, and the Lord Iohn Voyſye. And doe you alſo faithfully loue your Lorde and Prince? Who anſwered both, yea vndoubtedly. Then ſayth he, take you away this Gentlewoman and Ladie (meaning his wife) and let her not ſee her Lorde and huſband, till ſuch time as I will you thereunto. Whereupon they tooke her from the princes preſence, crying out, and wringing her hands. Then ſayd they vnto her, be you contented good Ladie and Madame, it is better that one woman ſhould weepe a little while, then that all the Realme of England ſhould weepe a great ſeaſon.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenomed fleſh out of the princes arme, and threw it from them, and ſaid vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promiſe you within theſe fifteene dayes you ſhall ſhew your ſelfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horſeback, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promiſe he made the prince, it came to paſſe, to the no litle comfort and admiration of all his ſubiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the prince was yet aliue, he could ſcarſely beleeue the ſame, and ſending vnto him three of his Nobles and princes, excuſed himſelfe by them, calling his gods to witnes that the ſame was done neither by him nor his conſent. Which princes and Meſſengers ſtanding a looſe off from the Kings ſonne, worſhipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (ſayd the prince) doe reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderſtood him not, becauſe he ſpake in Engliſh vnto them, ſpeaking by an Interpretor: neuertheleſſe he honorably intertained them, and ſent them away in peace.

Thus when prince Edward had beene eighteene monethes in Acra, he tooke ſhipping about the Aſſumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after ſeuen weekes he arriued in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence traueled through the mids of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably intertained.

From thence he came into France, whoſe fame and noble prowes was there much bruted among the common people, and enuied of the Nobilitie, eſpecially of the Earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his companye, as may appeare in the ſtorie: but prince Edward continued forth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French King honorably intertained: and after certaine daies he went thence into Gaſcoyne, where he taried till that he heard of the death of the King his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned King of England, in the yeere of our Lord, 1274.

The

The trauaile of Robert Turneham.

RObertus Turnehã Franciscanus, Theologiæ professor insignis, Lynnæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Isidis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Sarracenos Assyriam incolentes, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectionem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa relligionis animos excitaret. Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus Assyrios vna cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280. varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo post Conquestum.

¶ *The same in English.*

RObert Turneham Franciscan, a notable professor of Diuinitie, was with great dignitie Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Mart Towne of Lynne, situate vpon the riuer of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the sonne of Henrie the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Sarracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lorde, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stirre vp ỹ peoples mindes in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standard bearer, went into Syria with the English armie, and performed his duetie with good commendation. He florished in the yeere of Christ 1280. setting forth diuers workes vnder the same King Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

The life of Syr Iohn Mandeuill Knight, written by *Master Bale*. *Centur. 6.*

IOannes Mandeuil, vir equestris ordinis, ex fano Albini oriundus, ita à teneris vt aiunt, vnguiculis literarum studijs assueuerat, vt in illis bonam fœlicitatis suæ partem poneret. Nam generis sui stemmata illustria, nulli vsui futura ducebat, nisi illa clariora doctis artibus redderet. Quare cum animum Euangelica lectione ritè instituisset, transtulit sua studia ad rem Medicam, artem inprimis liberali ingenio dignam. Sed inter alia, ingens quædam cupido videndi Africam, & Asiam, vastioris orbis partes, eius animum inuaserat. Comparato igitur amplo viatico, peregrè profectus est, anno à Christo nato, 1332. & domum tanquam alter Vlysses, post 34. annos rediens, à pauciss imis quidem cognitus fuit. Interim Scythiam, Armeniam Maiorem & Minorem, Aegyptum, vtramque Lybiam, Arabiam, Syriam, Mediam, Mesopotamiam, Persiam, Chaldæam, Græciam, Illyrium, Tartariam, & alia spacioſi orbis regna, laborioso itinere visitauit. Denique linguarum cognitione præditus, ne tot ac tantarum rerum varietates, & miracula quæ oculatus testis viderat, memoriæque mandauerat, obliuione præmerentur, in tribus linguis, Anglica, Gallica, & Latina, graphicè scripsit Itinerarium 33. annorum. Reuersus in Angliam, ac visis sui seculi malis, vir pius dicebat, nostris temporibus iam verius quàm olim dici potest, virtus cessat, Ecclesia calcatur, Clerus errat, dæmon regnat, simonia dominatur, &c. Leodij tandem obijt, anno Domini 1372. die 17. Nouembris, apud Guilielmitas sepultus.

¶ *The same in English.*

IOhn Mandeuil Knight, borne in the towne of S. Albons, was so well giuen to the studie of learning from his childhood, that he seemed to plant a good part of his felicitie in the same: for he supposed that the honour of his birth would nothing auaile him, except he could render the same more honourable by his knowledge in good letters. Hauing therefore well grounded himselfe in religion by reading the Scriptures, he applied his studies to the arte of Physicke, a profession worthy a noble wit: but amongst other things, he was rauished with a mightie desire to see the greater partes of the world, as Asia and Africa. Hauing therefore prouided all things necessarie for his iourney, he departed from his countrey in the yeere of Christ, 1332, and as another Vlysses returned home, after the space of 34. yeeres, and was then knowen to a very fewe. In the time of his trauaile he was in Scythia, the greater and lesse Armenia, Egypt, both Lybias, Arabia, Syria, Media, Mesopotamia, Persia, Chaldæa, Greece, Illyrium, Tartarie, and diuers other kingdomes

kingdomes of the world: and hauing gotten by this meanes the knowledge of the languages, least so many and great varieties, and things miraculous, whereof himselfe had bene an eie witnes, should perish in obliuion, he committed his whole trauell of 33. yeeres to writing in three diuers tongues, English, French and Latine. Being arriued againe in England, and hauing seene the wickednes of that age, he gaue out this speach: In our time (sayd he) it may be spoken more truely then of olde, that vertue is gone, the Church is vnder foote, the Clergie is in errour, the deuill raigneth, and Simonie beareth the sway, &c.

He died at Leege, in the yeere 1372. the 17. day of Nouember, being there buried in the Abbie of the Order of the Guilielmites.

The Tombe and Epitaph of Sir Iohn Mandeuil, in the citie of Leege, spoken of by Ortelius, in his booke called Itinerarium Belgiæ, in this sort.

Fol. 15. 16. MAgna & populosa Leodij suburbia, ad collium radices, in quorum iugis multa sunt, & pulcherrima monasteria, inter quæ magnificum illud, ac nobile D. Laurentio dicatum, ab Raginardo Episcopo. Est in hac quoque regione, vel suburbijs Leodij, Guilielmitarum Cœnobium, in quo Epitaphium hoc Ioannis à Mandeuille, excepimus.

Epitaphium. Hîc iacet vir nobilis, D. Ioannes de Mandeuille, aliter dictus ad Barbam, Miles, Dominus de Campdi, natus de Anglia, Medicinæ professor, deuotissimus, orator, & bonorum largissimus pauperibus erogator, qui toto quasi orbe lustrato, Leodij diem vitæ suæ clausit extremum. Anno Dom. 1371. Mensis Nouembris, Die 17.

Hæc in lapide: in quo cælata viri armati imago, Leonem calcantis, barba bifurcata, ad caput manus benedicens, & vernacula hæc verba: *Vos qui paseis sor mi, pour l'amour deix proïes por mi.* Clipeus erat vacuus, in quo olim fuisse dicebant laminam æream, & eius in ea itidem cælata insignia, Leonem videlicet argenteum, cui ad pectus lunula rubea in campo cæruleo, quem Limbus ambiret denticulatus ex auro. Eius nobis ostendebant, & cultros, ephipiáque, & calcaria quibus vsum fuisse asserebant, in peragrando toto ferè terrarum orbe, vt clariùs testatur eius Itinerarium, quod typis etiam excusum passim habetur.

TABVLA PRAESENTIS LIBRI IOANNIS MANDEVIL, SINGVLA PER ORdinem capitula, & in eorum quolibet quid agitur, notificat euidenter.

CAPVT. I.

COmmendatio breuis terræ Hierosolymitanæ.

2 Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quàm per aquas, vsque in Constantinopolim.

3 De vrbe Constantinopoli, & reliquijs ibidem contentis.

4 Via tam per terras quàm per aquas, à Constantinopoli vsque Acharon, vel Acon.

5 Via à Francia & Flandria, per solas terras vsque in Hierusalem.

6 Via de Cypro vel de Hierusalem, vsque in Babyloniam Egypti.

7 De Pallatio Soldani, & nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.

8 De Campo Balsami in Egypto.

9 De Nilo fluuio, & Egypti territorio.

10 De conductu Soldani.

11 De Monasterio Sinay.

12 Iter per desertum Sinay, vsque in Iudæam.

13 De ciuitate Bethleem, & semita, vsque in Ierusalem.

14 De Ecclesia glorioſi sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ierusalem.

15 De tribus alijs Ecclesiis, & specialiter de Templo Domini.

16 De pluribus locis sacris extra vrbem.

17 De sacris locis extra muros ciuitatis.

18 De alijs locis notabilibus.

19 De Nazareth & Samaria.

20 De Territorio Galileæ & Samariæ.

21 De secta detestabili Sarracenorum.

22 De vita Mahometi.

23 De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.

24 Persuasio ad non credentes terrarum diuersitates per orbem terræ.

25 De Armenia, & Persia.

26 De Ethiopia & diamantibus, ac de infima & media India.

27 De foresto piperis.

28 De Ecclesia beati Thomæ Apostoli.

29 De quibusdam meridionalibus insulis, & farina

farina & melle.
30 *De Regno Cynocephalorum, & alijs Inſulis.*
31 *De multis alijs inſulis Meridionalibus.*
32 *De bona regione Mangi.*
33 *De Pygmeis, & itinere vſq; prouinciã Cathay.*
34 *De pallacio Imperatoris magni Chan.*
35 *De quatuor ſolemnitatibus, quas magnus Chan celebrat in Anno.* (ris.
36 *De præſtigijs infeſto, & de comitatu Imperato:*
37 *Qua de cauſa dicitur magnus Chan.*
38 *De territorio Cathay, & moribus Tartarorum.*
39 *De ſepultura Imperatoris magni Chan, & de creatione ſucceſſoris.*
40 *De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ ſubiectis.*
41 *De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ.*
42 *De frequentia Palatij, & comitatu Imperatoris præsbiteri Ioannis.*
43 *De quibuſdam miris per Regiones Imperij Indiæ.*
44 *De loco & diſpoſitione Vallis infauſtæ.*
45 *De quibuſdam alijs admirandis, per Indorum inſulas.*
46 *De periculis & tormentis in valle infauſta.*
47 *De Bragmannorum inſulis, & aliorum.*
48 *Aliquid de loco Paradiſi terreſtris per auditum.*
49 *In reuertendo de Regnis Caſſam, & Riboth, de Diuite Epulone, vel conſimili.*
50 *De compoſitione huius tractatus in Ciuitate Leodienſi.*

LIBER PRESENS, CVIVS AVTHOR EST IOANNES MANDEVILL militaris ordinis, agit de *diuerſis patrijs, Regionibus, Prouincijs, & inſulis, Turcia, Armenia* maiore, & minore, Ægypto, Lybia baſſa & alta, Syria, Arabia, Perſia, Chaldæa, Tartaria, India, & de infinitis inſulis, Ciuitatibus, villis, caſtris, & locis, quæ gentes, legum, morum, ac rituum inhabitant diuerſorum.

DEDICATIO LIBRI.

PRincipi excellentiſſimo, præ cunctis mortalibus præcipuè venerando, Domino Edwardo eius nominis tertio, diuina prouidentia, Francorum & Anglorum Regi Sereniſſimo, Hiberniæ Domino, Aquitaniæ Duci, mari ac eius inſulis occidentalibus dominanti, Chriſtianorum encomio & ornatui, vniuerſorumque arma gerentium Tutori, ac Probitatis & ſtrenuitatis exemplo, principi quoque inuicto, mirabilis Alexandri Sequaci, ac vniuerſo orbi tremẽdo, cum reuerentia non qua decet, cum ad talem, & tantam reuerentiam minùs ſufficientes extiterint, ſed qua paruitas, & poſſibilitas mittentis ac offerentis ſe extendunt, contenta tradantur.

Pars prima, continens Capita 23.

CAPVT. I.

Commendatio breuis terræ Hieroſolimitanæ.

CVm terra Hieroſolimitana, terra promiſſionis filiorũ Dei, dignior cũctis mundi terris ſit habẽda multis ex cauſis, & præcipuè illâ, quod Deus conditor cœli & mundi, ipſam tanti dignatus fuit æſtimare, vt in eo proprium filium ſaluatorem mundi Chriſtum exhibuerit generi humano per incarnationem ex intemerata Virgine, & per eius conuerſationem humillimã in eadem, ac per doloroſam mortis ſuæ conſummationem ibidem, atque indè per eius admirandam reſurrectionem, ac aſcenſionem in cœlum, & poſtremò quia creditur illic in fine ſeculi reuerſurus, & omnia iudicaturus, certum eſt, quòd ab omnibus qui Chriſtiano nomine à Chriſto dicuntur, ſit tanquam à ſuis proprijs hæredibus diligenda, & pro cuiuſque poteſtate ac modulo honoranda. A principibus quidem, & potentibus vt ipſam conentur de infidelium manibus recuperare, qui eam iam pridem à nobis, noſtris exigentibus meritis, abſtulerunt, & per annos heu plurimos poſſederunt: a mediocribus autem & valentibus, vt per peregrinationem deuotam loca tam pia, & veſtigia Chriſti ac diſcipulorum tam Sancta, principaliter in remiſſionem viſitent delictorum. Ab impotentibus verò, & impeditis, quatenus ſupradictos vel hortentur, vel in aliquo modo iuuent, ſeu certè fideles fundant orationes. Verum quia iam noſtris temporibus verius quàm olim dici poteſt, Loquitur ſecundum tempora in quibus vixit.

Virtus, Eccleſia, Clerus, damon, ſymonia,
Ceſſat, calcatur, errat, regnat, dominatur,

ecce iuſto Dei iudicio, credita eſt terra tam inclyta, & ſacroſancta impiorum manibus Saracenorũ, quod non eſt abſq; dolore pijs mentibus audiendum, & recolendum. EGO Ioannes Mandeuill militaris ordinis ſaltem gerens nomen, natus & educatus in terra Angliæ, in villa

sancti Albani,ducebar in Addolescentia mea tali inspiratione,vt quamuis non per potentiam, nec per vires proprias possem præfatam terram suis hæredibus recuperare, irem tamen per aliquod temporis spacium peregrinari ibidem, & salutarem aliquantulum de propinquo. Vnde in anno ab Incarnatione Domini 1322. imposui me nauigationi Marsilienſis maris & vsque in hoc temporis, Anni 1355. scilicet,per 33.annos in transmarinis partibus mansi, peregrinatus sum,ambulaui,& circuiui multas,ac diuersas patrias, regiones,prouincias,& insulas, Turciam, Armeniam maiorem,& minorem,Ægyptum,Lybiam bassam & altam,Syriam,Arabiam,Persiam,Chaldeam,Æthiopię partem magnam,Tartariam, Amazoniã,Indiam minorem, & mediam,ac partem magnam de maiori, & in istis, & circum istas regiones,multas insulas,Ciuitates,vrbes,castra,villas,& loca,vbi habitant variæ gentes, aspectuum, morum,legum, ac rituum diuersorum : Attamen quia summo desiderio in terra promissionis eram,ipsam diligentius per loca vestigiorum filij Dei perlustrare curaui,& diutius in illa steti. Quapropter & in hac prima parte huius operis iter tam peregrinandi, quam nauigandi,à partibus Angliæ ad ipsam describo,& loca notabiliter sancta, quæ intra eandem sunt breuiter cõmemoro & diligenter, quatenus peregrinis tam in itinere quam in prouentione valeat hæc descriptio in aliquo deseruire.

Ioannis Mandiuilli peregrinatio,per tres & triginta annos continuata.

Caput. 2.

Iter ab Anglia tam per terras quam per aquas vsq; in Constantinopolim.

QVi de Hybernia,Anglia,Scotia, Noruegia, aut Gallia iter arripit ad partes Hierosolymitanas potest saltem vsq; ad Imperialem Greciæ Ciuitatem Cõstantinopolim eligere sibi modum proficiscendi,siue per terras,siue per aquas. Et si peregrinando eligit transigere viam, tendat per Coloniam Agrippinam, & sic per Almaniam in Hungariam ad Montlusant Ciuitatem,sedem Regni Hungariæ.Et est Rex Hungarię multum potẽs istis temporibus.Nam tenet & Sclauoniam,& magnam partem Regni Comannorum, & Hungariam,& partem Regni Russiæ. Oportet vt peregrinus in finibus Hungariæ transeat magnum Danubij flumen, & vadat in Belgradum; Hoc flumen oritur inter Montana Almaniæ, & currens versus Orientem, recipit in se 40. flumina antequam finiatur in mare. De Belgrade intratur terra Bulgariæ,& transitur per Pontem petrinum fluuij Marroy,& per terram Pyncenars, & tunc intratur Græcia,in Ciuitates,Sternes,Asinopapc,& Andrinopolis,& sic in Constantinopolim, vbi communiter est sedes Imperatoris Greciæ. Qui autem viam eligit per aquas versus Constantinopolim nauigare, accipiat sibi portum, prout voluerit, propinquum siue remotum, Marsiliæ, Pisi, Ianuæ,Venetijs,Romæ,Neapoli,vel alibi : sicque transeat Tusciam, Campaniam,Italiam,Corsicam, Sardiniam,vsque in Siciliam,quæ diuiditur ab Italia per brachium maris non magnum. In Sicilia est mons Ætna iugiter ardens,qui ibidem appellatur Mons Gibelle, & præter illum habentur ibi loca Golthan vbi sunt septem leucæ quasi semper ignem spirantes: secundum diuersitatem colorum harum flammarum estimant Incolæ annum fertilem fore, vel sterilem, siccum vel humidum, calidum, vel frigidum : hæc loca vocant caminos Infernales, & à finibus Italiæ vsque ad ista loca sunt 25.miliaria. Sunt autem in Sicilia aliqua Pomeria in quibus inueniuntur frondes, flores, & fructus per totum annum, etiam in profunda hyeme. Regnum Siciliæ est bona, & grandis insula habens in circuitu ferè leucas 300. Et ne quis erret, vel de facili reprehendat quoties scribo leucam, intelligendum est de leuca Lombardica,quæ aliquantò maior est Geometrica; & quoties pono numerum,sub intelligatur fere,vel circiter,siue citra, & dietam intendo ponere,de 10. Lombardicis leucis : Geometrica autem leuca describitur,vt notum est, per hos versus.

Regis Hungariæ olim potentia.

Mons Aetna.

Aeolides insulæ.

Temperies Siciliæ Insulæ.

Leuca Lombardica.

Quid sit dieta.

Quinq; pedes passum faciunt,passus quoq; centum
Viginti quinque stadium, si millia des que
Octo facis stadia,duplicatum dat tibi leuca.

Postquam ita que peregrinus se credidit Deo & mari, si prospera sibi fuerit nauigatio, non ascendet in terram, donec intret aliquem portum Greciæ, scilicet, Myrroyt, Valonæ, Durase, siue alium prout Diuinæ placuerit voluntati, & exhinc ibit Constantinopolim prædictam, quæ olim Bysantium,vel Vesaton dicebatur. Hic autem notãdum est,quòd a portu Venetię,vsq; ad Cõstantinopolim directè per mare octingentæ leucæ, & 80. communiter computantur ibi contentæ.

Portus Greciæ.

Caput. 3.

De vrbe Constantinopoli,& reliquijs ibidem contentis.

COnstantinopolis pulchra est Ciuitas, & nobilis, triangularis in forma, firmiterque murata,cuius duę partes includũtur mari Hellespontо,quòd plurimi modò appellant brachium

sancti

ſancti Georgij,& aliqui Buke,Troia vetus,Verſus locum vbi hoc brachium exit de mari eſt lata terræ planities,in quà antiquitus ſtetit Troia Ciuitas de qua apud Poetas mira leguntur,ſed nunc valdè modica apparent veſtigia Ciuitatis. In Conſtantinopoli habentur multa mirabilia, ac inſuper multæ ſanctorum venerandæ relliquię, ac ſuper omnia, precioſiſſima Crux Chriſti, ſeu maior pars illius,& tunica inconſutilis, cum ſpongia & arundine,& vno clauorum,& dimidia parte coronæ ſpineæ,cuius altera medietas ſeruatur in Capella Regis Franciæ,Pariſijs.Nam & ego indignus diligenter pluribus vicibus reſpexi partem vtramque : dabatur quoque mihi de illa Pariſijs vnica ſpina, quam vſque nunc precioſe conſeruo, & eſt ipſa ſpina non lignea ſed velut de iuncis marinis rigida,& pũgitiua. Eccleſia Cõſtantinopolitana in honorem ſanctę Sophiæ,id eſt,ineffabilis Dei ſapientiæ dedicata dicitur,& nobiliſſima vniuerſarum mundi Eccleſiarum,tam in ſchemate artificioſi operis,quàm in ſeruatis ibi ſacroſanctis Relliquijs : nam & continet corpus ſanctæ Annæ matris noſtræ Dominæ tranſlatum illuc per Reginam Helenam ab Hieroſolymis: & corpus S.Lucæ Euangeliſtæ tranſlatum de Bethania Iudeæ; Et Corpus beati Ioannis Chryſoſtomi ipſius Ciuitatis Epiſcopi, cum multis alijs reliquijs precioſis; quoniam eſt ibi vas grande cum huiuſmodi reliquijs velut marmoreum de Petra Enhydros; quod iugiter de ſeipſo deſudans aquam, ſemel in anno inuenitur ſuo ſudore repletum. Ante hanc Eccleſiam, ſuper columnam marmoream habetur de ære aurato opere fuſorio, magna imago Iuſtiniani quondam Imperatoris ſuper equum ſedentis : fuit autem primitus in manu imaginis fabricata ſphæra rotunda,quæ iam diu è manu ſua ſibi cecidit,in ſignum quòd Imperator multarum terrarum dominium perdidit. Namque ſolebat eſſe Dominus, Romanorum, Gtæcorum,Aſiæ,Syrię,Iudeæ,Ægypti,Arabiæ,& Perſiæ,at nunc ſolum retinet Cręciam,cum aliquibus terris Greciæ adiacentibus, ſicut Caliſtrum, Cholchos, Ortigo, Tylbriam, Minos, Flexon,Melos,Carpates, Lemnon, Thraciam,& Macedoniam totam : Suntq; ſub eo Caypoplij,& alti Pyntenardi,ac maxima pars Commannorum. Porrò imago tenet manum eleuatam & extentam in orientem,velut in ſignum cominationis ad Orientales infideles. De prædicta terra Thraciæ fuit Philoſophus Ariſtoteles oriundus in Ciuitate Stageres, & eſt ibi in loco tumba eius velut altare, vbi & ſingulis annis certo diè celebratur à populo feſtum illius, ac ſi fuiſſet ſanctus.Temporibus ergò magnorum conſiliorum conueniunt illuc ſapientes terræ,reputantes ſibi per inſpirationem immitti conſilium optimum de agendis. Item ad diuiſionem Thraciæ & Macedoniæ ſunt duo mirabiliter alti montes,vnus Olympus, alter Athos,cuius vltimi vmbra oriente ſole ápparet ad 76. miliaria, vſque in inſulam Lemnon. In horum cacumine montium ventus non currit, nec aer mouetur, quod frequentèr probatum eſt per ingenium Aſtronomorum,qui quandoque aſcendentes ſcripſerunt literas in puluere,quas ſequenti anno inuenerunt quaſi recentèr ſcriptas,& quia eſt ibi purus aer ſine mixtione elementi aquæ,neceſſe eſt vt aſcendentes habeant ſecum ſpongias aquæ plenas pro anhelitus reſpiratione : In prædicta autem ſanctæ ſophiæ Eccleſia,(ſicut ibidem dicitur,) voluit olim quidam Imperator corpus cuiuſdam ſui defuncti ſepelire cognati: cuius cum foderetur ſepulchrum, ventum eſt ad mauſoleum antiquum in quo ſuper incineratum corpus iacebat diſcus auri puri,& erat ſculptum in eo literis Græcis, Hebraicis, & Latinis ſic. Ieſus Chriſtus naſcetur de Virgine, & ego credo in eum. Et erat ſimul inſcripta data defuncti ſecundum modum illius temporis, quæ continebat duo millia annorum ante incarnationem ipſius Chriſti de Maria Virgine. Seruatur quoque hodierno tempore eadem patina in Theſaurario eiuſdem Eccleſiæ, & dicitur illud corpus fuiſſe Hermetis ſapientis. Omnes quidem,terrarum,regionum,& inſularum homines, qui iſti Greco obediunt Imperatori ſunt Chriſtiani, & baptizati, tamen variant ſinguli in aliquo articulo fidem ſuam a noſtra vera fide Catholica,& diuerſificant in multis ſuos ritus à ritibus Romanæ Eccleſiæ, quia iamdiu omiſerunt obedire Pontifici Romano, dicentes,quoniam beatus Petrus Apoſtolus habuit ſedem in Antiochia, quamuis paſſus fuit in Roma : Idcirco patriarcha Antiochenus habet in illis Orientalibus partibus ſimilem poteſtatem,quàm Pontifex Romanus in iſtis Occidentalibus. Imperator etiam Conſtantinopolitanus creat eorum patriarcham, & inſtituit pro ſua voluntate Archiepiſcopos, & Epiſcopos, & confert dignitates,& beneficia, ſimiliter inuenta occaſione deſtituit,deponit,& priuat.

Eccleſia ſanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena Britanna.

Imago Iuſtiniani.

Patriarchæ Antiocheni authoritas.

Caput. 4.

Via tam per terras quam per aquas à Conſtantinopoli vſque "Acharon.

"Vel Achon.

A Conſtantinopoli qui voluerit ire pedes, tranſibit ſtatim nauigio Brachium Sancti Georgij quod ſatis eſt ſtrictum, ibique ad Ruphinal quod eſt forte caſtrum, inde ad Puluereal,& hinc ad caſtrũ Synopolũ. Ex tunc intrat Capadociam, terram latam ſed plenam altis

montibus, deinde Turciam ad portum Theueron, & ad Ciuitatem ita dictam, nunc munitam firmis turribus, ac muris, per quam tranſit fluuius Reglay. Poſtea tranſitur ſub Alpibus Noyremont, & per valles de Mallenbrinis in diſtricto Rupium, ac per villam Doronarum, & alias villas adiacentes fluuijs Reglay, & Gràconiæ, ſicque peruenitur ad Antiochiam minorem ſuper Reglay, quæ vocatur nobilior Ciuitas Syriæ: Notandum autem quòd Regnum olim
Antiochia. dictum Syria, modò communiter vocatur Suria. Iſta verò Antiochia, eſt magna, pulchra, ac firma; licet quandoque maior, pulchrior, ac firmior fuerit. Tunc autem tranſitur per Ciuitates Laonſam, Gibellam, Tortuſiam, Toruplam, & Berythum ſuper mare vbi ſanctus Georgius fertur occidiſſe Draconem. Hinc pergitur in Ciuitatem nunc dictam Acon, quondam Ptolomaidem, antiquitùs Acharon, quæ tempore quo eam vltimò Chriſtiani tenebant circa annũ incarnationis Domini 1280. erat Ciuitas valdè fortis, ſed modò apparent eius magnæ ruinæ. Porrò a Conſtantinopoli poterit peregrinus faciliùs verſus Hieroſolymorũ partes per mare nauigare quã per terras peregrinare prædictas, ſi deus illi propitius fuerit, & mare fidẽ cõſeruauerit. Qui
Vel Smyrnam. ergò a Cõſtantinopoli iter trãſire nauigando diſponit, tendat ad Ciuitatem "Myrnam vbi nunc oſſa Sancti Nicholai venerantur, & ſic procedendo per multa maritima loca veniet ad Inſulam
Sio. Sio vbi creſcit gummi maſtix lucidum: Inde ad Inſulam Pathmos Sancti Ioannis Euangeliſtæ, & ad Epheſum vbi idem noſcitur ſepultus: hanc totam minorem Aſiam tenent nunc peſſimi Turci, & eam appellant minorem Turciam. Poſt Epheſum nauigatur per plures Inſulas vſq; Pateram Ciuitatem, vndè oriundus fuit beatus Nicholaus, ac per Myrrheam vbi ſtetit Epheſus, vbi naſcuntur fortia vina valdè, deinde ad Inſulam Cretæ, hinc Coos poſtea Lango, vndè Hy-
Rhodus Inſula. pocrates Medicus dicitur natus: tuncq; ad grandem Inſulam Rhodum: & ſciendũ quod a Conſtantinopoli vſq; Rhodũ, per mare dicuntur ducẽtæ octuaginta leucæ. Hanc inſulam totam tenent, & gubernant Chriſtiani Hoſpitalarij nunc tẽporis, quæ quondam Coloſſe dicebatur: nam & multi Saracenorum adhuc eam ſic appellant, vnde & Epiſtola, quam beatus Paulus ad habitatores huius Inſulæ ſcripſit, intitulabatur ad Coloſſenſes. Ab hoc loco nauigando in Cyprum, aſpicitur abſorptio Ciuitatis Sathaliæ, quæ ſicut olim Sodoma dicitur perijſſe, propter vnicum crimen contra naturam a quodam Iuuene petulante commiſſum. Sciendum quod a Rhodo ad
Cyprus Inſula. Cyprum feruntur plenè quingentæ quinquaginta leucæ: Cyprus magna, & pulchra eſt Inſula habeus Archiepiſcopatũ, cum quinque Epiſcopatibus ſuffraganeis: Illuc Famogoſta, eſt vnus de principalibus portibus mundi, in quo ferè omnium mercatores conueniunt nationum, tam Chriſtianorum, quam multorum Paganorum, & ſimiliter apud portum Limechon. Eſt ibi & Abbatia ordinis ſancti Benedicti, in monte ſanctæ Crucis, vbi dicitur ſaluati latronis ſeruari crux, qui in eadem cruce audiuit à Chriſto, Hodiè mecum eris in Paradiſo. Corpus etiam ſancti
Fortia Cypri vina. Hylarionis ſeruatur ibi, in caſtro Damers quod Rex Cypri facit diligentiſſimè cuſtodiri: Vltrà modum fortia vina naſcuntur in Cypro, quæ primo rubra, poſt annum albeſcunt, & quo vetuſtiora, eo albiora, ac magis odorifera, ac fortia efficiuntur. Vlteriùs pauciſſimæ villæ, aut Ciuitates ſunt Chriſtianorum, ſed ferè omnia Saraceni poſſident infideles: et proh dolor, ab Anno 1200. incarnationis Domini aut circà, pacificè tenuerunt. Qui autem a Cypro proſperè legit
Ioppa, vel Iaffe. ſpacia maris, poterit in duobus naturalibus diebus peruenire in portum Ioppæ, qui Iaffe nunc nuncupatur, & proximus eſt a Ieruſalem, diſtans 16. tantum leucas, hoc eſt dieta cum dimidia. Et ſciendum quod circa medium, inter Cyprum, & Iaffe eſt portus Tyri quondam munitiſſimæ
Portus Tyri, alias Sur. Ciuitatis, hanc dum vltimo Saraceni à Chriſtianis ceperunt turpiſſimè deſtruxerunt, cuſtodientes iam curioſè portum, timore Chriſtianorum. Iſte portus non vocatur modò Tyrus, ſed Sur, Nam & ab illa parte eſt ibi introitus terræ Suriæ. Ante iſtam Ciuitatem Tyrum habetur quidam lapis, ſuper quem dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus ſedendo ſuis diſcipulis vel populis prædicauit. Vnde, & Chriſtiani olim ſuper hunc locum conſtruxerunt Eccleſiam in nomine Saluatoris. Peregrinus vero qui ab hoc loco vult peregrinari, moroſè ſciat, quod ad octo leucas à Tyro in orientem eſt Sarepta Sydoniorum, vbi olim Elias Propheta filium viduæ ſuſcitauit a morte. Itemq; ſciat, quod a Tyro in vnica dieta pergere poteſt in Achon, ſiue Acharon ſupra
Achon, olim Acharon. ſcripta. Circa Acon verſus mare, ad 120. ſtadia, quorum 16. leucam conſtituunt, eſt mons Car-
Mons Carmeli. meli, vbi morabatur præfatus Elias, & ſuper alium montem Villa Saffra vbi ſanctus Iacobus, & Ioannes germani Apoſtoli naſcebantur, & in quorum natiuitatis loco pulchra habetur Eccle-
Foſſa Beleon. ſia. Item propè Acon ad ripam dictam Beleon, eſt foſſa multum vtilis, & mirabilis quæ dicitur foſſa Mennon, hæc eſt rotunda circumferentia, cuius diameter continet prope 100. cubitos, plena alba & reſplendente arena, & munda ex qua conficitur mundum & perlucidum vitrum. Pro hac arena venitur per aquas, & per terras, & exportatur manibus & vehiculis propè & procul, & quantumcunque de die exhauritur, repleta manè altero reperitur: Et eſt in foſſa ventus grandis & iugis, qui mirabiliter arenam commouere videtur. Si quis autem vitrum de hac

arena

arena factum in foſſa reponeret, conuerteretur iterum in arenam, & qui imponeret fruſtum metalli, verteretur in vitrum: nonnulli reputant hanc foſſam eſſe ſpiraculum maris arenoſi, de qno mari aliquid loeuturus ſum in ſequentibus. Ab Acon via verſus Ieruſalem bifurcatur: nam qui tenet vnum latus poteſt ire ſecus Iordanem fluuium, in Ciuitatem Damaſcum, qui verò aliud, ibit in tribus aut quatuor dietis Gazam, de qua olim fortis Samſon aſportauit nocte fores portarum: deinde in Cęſaream Philippi, & Aſcalonem, & Ioppam portum ſupradictum, Hincque in Rama, & Caſtellum Emaus, & ſic in Ieruſalem vrbem ſacroſanctum.

Caput. 5.

Via à Francia aut Flandria per ſolas terras vſque Ieruſalem.

ITineribus, quæ per terras, & per mare a noſtris partibus ducunt in terram promiſſionis deſcriptis, reſtat breuiter dicendum de alia via, per quam omnino mare tranſeundum non eſt, videlicet per Almaniam, per Bohemiam, per Ptuſſiam, & hinc per terram Paganorum regni Lituaniæ, & ſic per longam, & peſſimam terram primę Tartariæ vſque in Indiam: Dico autem Tartariæ primę, quoniam de hac exijt primus Imperator totius Tartariæ, qui ſemper vocatur Grand Can, quo vix maiorem mundus habet terrenum Dominum, excepto Imperatore ſuperioris Indiæ, de quibus in ſecunda & tertia huius tractatus partibus, aliquanto eſt diffuſius narrandum. Cuncti principes huius primæ Tartariæ, quorum ſummus ſemper vocatur Bachu, & moratur in Ciuitate Horda, reddunt Imperatori Grand Can, magna tributa. Eſt autem hæc prima Tartaria terra miſera & ſabuloſa, & infructuoſa: hoc enim ſcio, quòd per aliquod tempus ſteti in ea, & perambulaui Inſulas, regiones, & terras circumiacentes, ſcilicet, Ruſſię, Inflau, Craco, Latton, Reſtau, & alias nonnullas: creſcunt namque in iſta Tartaria modica blada, pauca vina, & fructuum, ac frugum parua copia, exceptis herbis pro paſtu Beſtiarum, quarum ibi eſt abundantia: nam carnibus illarum veſcuntur pro omnibus cibarijs, ius earum ſorbentes, & pro potu bibentes lac de omni genere beſtiarum. Quin etiam pauperiores manducant canes, lupos, catos, ratos, talpas, ac mures, ac huiuſmodi beſtiolas omnes: ſed nec aliquis Princeps aut prælatus comedit vltra ſemel in die, & hoc parcè, vel parciſſimè: & ſunt homines valdè immundi, quia non niſi benè diuites vtuntur mappis, linteaminibus, aut lineis indumentis: ſed nec habent copiam lignorum, vnde & fimum boum, ac omnium beſtiarum deſiccatum ad ſolem accipiunt pro ignis materia, vbi ſe calefaciunt, & coquendo coquunt. Aeſtiuo tempore, cadunt ibi frequenter tempeſtates tonitruorum, fulminũ, & grandinum, quibus domus, arbores, beſtiæ, & homines, comburuntur, euelluntur, & occiduntur. Nam & quandoque ſubrepentè oritur ibi calor immoderatus, & improuiſo frigus immoderatum. Deinque cum terra illa, ſe multum inclinet ad polum Septentrionalem, fortius ibi gelare ſolet, & frequentius, ac diutius quàm ad partes noſtras, vnde & quaſi omnes habent ibi ſtupas, in quibus manducant, & operantur. Nec valet à noſtris partibus ingredi ad illam niſi tempore gelicidij, quod ad introitum eius ſunt tres dietæ, de via molli, aquatica, & profunda, in qua dum viator putaret ſe ſtare ſecurum, profunderetur in lutum ad tibias, ad genua, ad femora vel ad renes: hoc ergo ſciendum quòd pauciſſimi tendunt per hanc terram in viam promiſſionis: Nam iter eſt graue, diſtortum, longum, & periculoſum ſicut audiſtis, imò periculoſius quàm ſcribo.

Horda eſt multitudo viuens in agris.

Mores Tartarorum.

Hyeme præcipue iter faciunt per terram.

Caput. 6.

Via de Cypro vel Ieruſalem vſque in Babyloniam Ægypti.

DEſcripto ſicut potui triplicitèr itinere in terram ſanctam, reſtat videre de duabus alijs vijs, quæ incidenter ſolent contingere peregrinis: Multi namque illorum ex ſpeciali deuotione deſiderant viſitare oſſa beatiſſimæ Virginis Catharinæ in monte Sinay: Cum igitur ipſis ſit neceſſarius Soldani Babyloniæ conductus eo quod Imperator ſit, & dominus omnium illarum terrarum, quidam poſtquam perueniunt in Cyprũ tenduut primò in Babyloniam Ægypti, pro impetrando conductu ſecuro, atque indè pergentes in Sinay vadunt in Ieruſalem. Quidam verò poſtquam perfecerunt peregrinationem Hieroſolymitanam, pergunt per terras ad Soldanum pro conductu, & tum in Sinay, propter quòd vtramque viam breuiter deſcribo. De Cypro in Ægyptum itur per mare relinquendo Hieroſolymorum terram ad manum ſiniſtram, & accipitur primus portus Ægypti, dictus Damaiata: ibi quondam fuit Ciuitas valdè munita, ſed quod Chriſtiani illam, prima & altera vice ceperunt, Sarraceni vltimò deſtruxerunt, & aliam remotius à mari ciuſdem nominis Ciuitatem ædificauerunt: Hinc venitur in portum Alexandriæ Ægypti, quæ eſt Ciuitas magna, pulchra, & fortis valde, ſed abſq; aquis potabilibus. Adducit tamen ſibi per longos ductus aquam Nili fluminis in ciſternis ad potandum. Alexandria nobilis 30. ſtadia habet longitudinis decemque inlatum. In ea reſtant adhuc

Babylonia Aegypti.

Damiata portus Aegypti.

Alexandria.

plures Eccleſiæ à tempore Chriſtianorum, ſed Sarraceni non ſuſtinentes picturas Sanctorum omnes parietes albauerunt. De Alexandria per terras venitur in Babyloniam Ægypti, quæ etiã fundata iacet ſupra prædictum Nilum fluuium: Dicitur autem hæc Babylonia minor ad differentiam magnæ Babyloniæ, ſiue Babel, vbi Deus linguas confudit olim, quæ tendendo inter Orientem & Septentrionem diſtat ab iſta dietas circiter 40. nec eſt ſub poteſtate Soldani, ſed Imperatoris Perſarum, qui illam tenet in homagio ab Imperatore Cathay, dicto, Grand Can. Hęc autem Babylonia Ægypti eſt Ciuitas grãdis & fortis, tamen valdè prope eam eſt alia maior dicta Cayr, in qua vt ſæpiùs reſidet Soldanus, quanquam Babylonia nomen per ſeculum diffuſius eſt cognitum. Altera autem via peregrinorum de Hieroſolymis pro conductu tendentium ad Soldanum talis eſſe poteſt. Primò tendant de Ieruſalem in ſuprà dictam Gazam Paleſtinorum, inde ad Caſtellum Dayre, atque ex tunc exitur de terra Syriæ, & intratur à ſuperiori parte in deſertum longùm arenoſum, & ſterile, propè ad ſeptem dietas, quod lingua eorum vocatur Abilech: tamen per illud inueniantur plura hoſpitia, vbi haberi poſſunt ad victum neceſſaria. Et qui in eundo rectum iter tenet, veniet in Ciuitatem dictam, Balbes, quæ eſt ad finem Regni Halapiæ: Sicque expleto Deſerto, intratur terra Ægypti, quam ipſi Canopat vocant, & aliqui Merſur, atque ex tunc in Babyloniam, & Cayr præfatam: In iſta verò Babylonia habetur pulchra Eccleſia Mariæ virginis, in loco vbi morabatur cum filio ſuo, & Ioſeph tempore ſuæ fugæ, & creditur ibi contineri corpus Virginis Barbaræ.

Cayr ciuitas.

Abilech deſertum.

Caput. 7.

De Pallatio Soldani, ac numero, & nominibus præteritorum Soldanorum.

CAyr ciuitas Imperialis & Regalis eſt valdè munita, & grandis, decorata ſede propria Sarracenorum Regni, vbi Dominus eorum Soldanus cõmuniter reſidere ſolet, in ſuo Calahelick, id eſt, caſtro forti, & lato, ac in euecta rupe ſtatuto. Siquidem Soldanus eorum lingua ſonat nomen ſimilis maieſtatis, quo nos in Latino dicimus Cæſarem, aut Imperatorem. Pro cuſtodia huius Caſtri ſunt ibidem omni tempore morantes ſex millia perſonarũ, & pro ſeruiendo, dum ibi reſidet, ipſi Soldano, qui omnes de Curia eadem accipiunt neceſſaria, & donatiua. Iſte Imperator Soldanus, eſt Rex, Dominuſque quinque Regnorum magnorum: Canopat, hoc eſt, Ægypti; totius Iudeæ, ſicut olim Dauid, & Salomon; Halapiæ, in terra Machſyriæ, cuius ciuitas Damaſcus olim erat principalis; Arabiæ, quod eſt regnum valdè protenſum, & cum his poſſidet dominatus omnium Caliphorum: ad quod ſciendum, quòd quandoque fuerunt tres Caliphorum dominatus: Ex quibus primus Caliphus qui dicebatur Chaldęorum, & Arabum, erat ſedes in Ciuitate Baldac. Alter Barbarorum & Affricorum, cuius erat ſedes in Maroco ſuper Mare Hiſpaniæ. Tertius Aegypti: Eſt autem Caliphus inter eos, velut inter nos Imperator, & Papa ſimul, ſcilicet, Dominus Temporalium, & ſpiritualium. Exactis igitur Caliphis circa annum incarnationis Chriſti 1150, primus Soldanorum fuit nominatus Saracon: ſecundus filius eius, Saladin, qui Anno 1190. cum Turcis totam ferè terram promiſſionis abſtulit à Chriſtianis. Et ſub quo Richardus Rex Anglię cum alijs principibus Chriſtianis cuſtodiebat paſſum Rupium, ne ille ſicut propoſuerat tranſire, profeciſſet vltra. Tertius Melachſala, à quo ſanctus Ludouicus rex Franciæ captiuabatur in bello. Quartus Turquenã, qui Regem prædictũ redimi dimiſit pro pecunia. Quintus Meleth. Sextus Melethemes. Septimus Melec dayr, ſub quo Edwardus Rex Angliæ intrauit cum noſtris Syriam, damnificans plurimum Sarracenos. Octauus Melec ſalle. Nonus Elphi, qui Anno Incarnationis Domini 1289. deſtruxit in illis partibus enormiter Chriſtianos, & penitus omnes inde fugauit, atque recepit Tripolim Ciuitatem. Decimus Melethaſſeras: hic cepit Anno Domini 1291. in octaua paſchæ Accharon, fugatis vel occiſis ex ea omnibus Chriſtianis. Exinde amiſſis ſuccedentium nominibus, ſextus decimus dicebatur vel dicitur Melec Mandibron: ſub iſto ſteti ego per aliquod tempus ſtipendiarius in guerris ſuis contra Bedones, qui ei tunc temporis rebellabant. Horum etiam mores, & continentiam populorum, in ſequentibus declarabo: ſicut veraciter fateri poſſum, ipſe ad filiam cuiuſdam ſui Principis me obtulit vxorare, & magnis dotare poſſeſſionibus, dummodò Chriſtianitati reſignaſſem: Eumque dimiſi Soldanum, quando de partibus illis receſſi. Soldanus præter homines ad ſua caſtra ſeruanda deputatos, poteſt educere quoties velit in exercitum de hominibus de ipſius ſtipendijs viuentibus, & ad eius iugitèr mandata paratis, 20. millia armatorum, ex ſola Ægypto: Et ex Syria, & Turcia, & alijs terris, 50 millia exceptis miralibus, & Ciuitatum comitatibus, qui ſunt velut innumerabiles. Miles quidem ſtipendiarius recipit de Curia pro anni Tempore 121. aureos, & ſub tali ſtipendio ſeruit, cum tribus equis & vno Camelo. Quadringenti, vel Quingenti horum militum ordinati ſunt ſub vno rectore, qui vocatur Admirabilis: Et ille ſolus recipit de Curia tantum, ſicut omnes ſibi ſubditi: Notandum quod nunquam extraneus Nuncius ire permittitur ad Soldanum niſi auratis indutus veſtibus, vel

Caliphus quidſit.

Series Soldanorũ Aegypti.

Richardus Rex Angliæ.

Edwardus princeps Angliæ, Regis Henr. 3. filius.

Dominus Mandeuil ſtipendiarius Soldani contra Arabes.

Potentia Soldani Aegypti.

vel panno Tartarico,aut camoleoto ad modum nobilium Sarracenorum: & oportet vt vbicũque primum nuncius Soldanum aſpiciat,ſiue ad feneſtras,ſiue alibi,vt cadat ad genua,vel protinus oſculetur terram, quia talem reuerentiam facere,ſignum eſt quòd ille deſiderat ei loqui. Quamdiu autem tales loquuntur ſibi,aut literas oſtendunt, circumſtant Apparitores extenſis brachijs,leuatos tenentes mucrones,gladios,gezas,& mackas ad feriendum,& occidẽdum,ſi quid dictum vel nunciatum fuerit,quod Imperatori diſpliceat, quàm citò ille ſignauerit trucidari. Veruntamen ſciendum eſt,quòd nullius hominis perſonaliter ab ipſo quidquam petentis conſueuit repellere preces rationabiles,& contra eorum leges aut mores non venientes. Porrò ego in Curia manens,vidi circa Soldanum vnum venerabilem, & expertum medicum, de noſtris partibus oriundum: ſolet namque circa ſe retinere diuerſarum medicos nationum,& quos nominandæ audierit eſſe famæ: Nos tamen rarò inuicem conuenimus ad colloquium,eò quòd meum ſeruitium eum ſuo modicum congruebat: longo autem poſteà tempore,& ab illo loco remotè,videlicet in Leodij ciuitate, compoſui hortatu & adiutorio eiuſdem venerabilis viri hunc tractatum, ſicut in fine operis totius enarrabo. Itémque in Cayr ciuitate ducuntur ad forum communiter tam viri quàm mulieres aliarum legum, & nationum venales, & ad modum beſtiarum venduntur pro pecunia ad ſeruiendum in ſuis artificijs. Habetur quoque ibi domus plena furnis paruis,in quibus per cuſtodes domus tam hyeme quàm æſtate fouentur oua gallinarum,anatum,aucarum,& columbarum, vſque ad procreationem ſuorum pullorum, & hijs intendunt,pro certo pretio accipiendo à mulierculis illic oua ferentibus.

Reuerentia exhibita Soldano.

Cuius nomen erat M. Ioannes ad Barbam.

Mos oua furnis fouendi.

Caput 8.

De Campo Balſami in Egypto.

Extra hanc ciuitatem Cayr,eſt campus ſeu ager Balſami: circa quod ſciendum, quòd optimum totius mundi Balſamum in magno creſcit Indiæ deſerto,vbi Alexander Magnus dicitur quondam locutus fuiſſe arboribus Solis & Lunæ, de quo in ſequentibus aliquid eſt ſcribendum. Illo itaque Indiæ Balſamo duntaxat excepto,non eſt liquor in vniuerſo orbe,qui huic creditur comparari. Has arbores ſeu arbuſta Balſami fecit quondã quidam de Caliphis Aegypti de loco Engaddi inter mare mortuum,& Ierico, vbi Domino volente excreuerat, eradicari, & in agro prædicto plantari: Eſt tamen hoc mirandum,quod vbicunque alibi ſiue propè, ſiue remotè plantantur,quamuis fortè virent,& exurgant,non tamen fructificant. Et è contrario apparet hoc miraculoſum,quod in hoc agro Cayr non ſe permittunt coli per Sarracenos, ſed ſolummodò per Chriſtianos,vel aliter non fructificarent: Et dicunt ipſi Sarraceni hoc ſæpiùs ſe tentaſſe: ſunt autem arbuſta trium vel quatuor pedum altitudinis, velut vſque ad renes hominis,& lignum eorum aſpiciendum,ſicut vitis ſylueſtris. Folia non marceſcunt, quin priùs marceſcant fructus,cernitur ad formam Cubebæ, & gummi eorum eſt Balſamum. Ipſi appellant arbores,Enochkalſe,fructum Abebifau,& liquorem gribalſe. Extrahitur verò gummi de arbuſculis per hunc modum: De lapide acuto, vel de oſſe fracto dant ſciſſuras per cortices in ligno,& ex vulneribus Balſamum lachrymatur,quod in vaſculis ſuſcipiunt, cauentes quoutpoſſunt,ne quid de illo labatur in terram. Nam ſi de ferro, vel alio metallo fieret inciſſura, liquor Balſami corrumperetur à ſua virtute. Veri Balſami virtutes ſunt magnæ quidem, & innumeroſæ: nam vix aliquis mortalium ſcire potuit omnes, quamuis inter Phyſicos quinquaginta ſcribantur. Rarò vtique Sarraceni vendunt Chriſtianis purum & verum Balſamum, quin priùs commiſceant,& falſificant ſicut ego ipſe frequenter vidi. Nam aliqui tertiam, ſeu quartam partem immiſcent terrebynthinę. Alii ramuſculos arbuſtarum,& fructus eorum coquunt in oleo,quod vendunt pro Balſamo: & quidam (quod peſſimum eſt) nil Balſami habentes,diſtillant oleum,per clauos gariophillos,& ſpicum nardum,& ſimiles odoriferas ſpecies,hoc pro Balſamo exponentes,atque aliis pluribus modis deludunt ementes. Sed & Mercatores inuicem nonnunquam ſophiſticant altera vice: probatio autem veri Balſami poteſt haberi pluribus modis,quorum aliquos hîc deſcribo. Eſt enim Citrini coloris,valdè clarum, & purum, & fortiſſimum in odoris fragrantia: ſi ergò apparet alterius quàm Citrini coloris,ſciatur non ſimplicis,ſed cuiuſcunque commixtæ ſubſtantiæ,vel ita ſpiſſum,vt non poſſit fluere,ſcitote ſophiſticatum. Item ſi poſueris modicum veri Balſami in manus palma,non poteris ſuſtinere eam linialiter in feruore ſplendentis Solis ad ſpacium recitandæ Dominicæ orationis. Item ſi in clara flamma ignis vel candelæ cereæ miſeris punctum cultelli cum gutta puri Balſami,ipſa gutta de facilè comburetur. Item ſi in ſcutella munda cum puro lacte caprino poſueris modicum veri Balſami,ſtatim miſcebit ſe, & vnietur cum lacte, ita vt Balſamum non cognoſcetur. Item è contrà,ſi poſueris verum Balſamum cum aqua Lympida, nunquam miſcebit ſe aquæ, etiamſi aquam moueris vehementer, imò Balſamum ſemper tendit ad fundum vaſis, nam eſt in ſui quanti-

Balſamum.

Virtutes veri Balſami.

Sophiſticationes Balſami.

Probatio veri Balſami.

quantitate valdè ponderosum,& iuxta quod minùs ponderosum inueneris,ampliùs falsificatum noueris.

Caput. 9.

De Nilo fluuio,& Aegypti territorio.

Nilus suprà dictus fluuius Aegypti appellatus est alio nomine Gyon, cuius origo est à Paradiso terrestri.Hic venit currens per deserta Indiæ Maioris, hincque per meatus subterraneos transit plures terras: exiens sub Monte Aloth,inter Indiam, & Aethiopiam, & Mauritaniam intra deserta Aegypti, irrigans totam longitudinem Aegypti vsque ad Alexandriam, ibíque se perdit in mare. Sole intrante signum Cancri omni anno, hoc est,ad quindenam ante Festum Natiuitatis Ioannis Baptistæ incipit paulatim fluuius crescere, & inundare, quousque sol intret Virginem, quod est circa Festum Laurentij, atque ex tunc decrescere, & minui,donec Sole veniente in Lybram intra suos alueos se conseruet:Dúmque per inundationem nimis effluit, damnificat terræ culturas, & fit Charistia in Aegypto. Et similiter dum parùm exundat, ingruit esuries, quoniam in Aegypto rarissimè pluit, aut apparent nubes, quoniam si quandoque pluerit in æstate,terra muribus adimpletur. Terra Aegypti continet in longitudine dietas quindecim,in latitudine ferè tres, & habet triginta dietas deserti: à finibus Aegypti vsque Nubiam,duodecim sunt dietæ.Hi Nubij sunt Christiani,sed nigri,velut Aethiopes,vel Mauri.

Inundatio Nili.

Raro in Aegypto pluuia.

Nubia.

Phœnix auis, de qua dicitur,quod semper vnica sit in mundo,viuens per annos quingentos, quæ & seipsam comburit,ac de cineribus eius,siue per naturam, siue per miraculum alia creatur, hæc interdum apparet in Aegypto, & sicut mihi monstrabatur, vidi duabus vicibus.Modicùm est maior Aquila, cristam in capite maiorem pauonis,collum habens croceum, dorsum Indicum, alas purpureas, caudam duobus coloribus, per transuersum croceo & rubeo regulatam, qui singuli colores sunt ad splendorem Solis delectabiliter videntibus resplendentes. In Aegypto multæ habentur arbores, sexcies aut septies in anno fructificantes, ibíque frequenter inueniuntur in terra Smaragdi, & circa oram Nili alij lapides pretiosi.A Babylonia Aegypti,vsque ad ciuitatem Meccam, (quam Pagani ibidem appellant Iacrib, & est in magnis desertis Arabiæ) sunt triginta duæ dietę. In ea veneratur detestandum cadauer Machon siue Machometi honorabiliter & reuerenter in Templo eius, quod ibi vocatur Musket, de cuius vita aliquid infrà narrabo. Per prædicta itaque apparet, quod Imperator Sarracenorum Soldanus Babyloniæ,valdè potens est Dominus.

Phœnix visa a Mandeuillo.

Mecha.

Caput 10.

De conductu Soldani,& via vsque in Sinay.

Prius dictum est de reuerentia Soldani, quando ad ipsum intratur exhibenda. Sciendum ergò, cùm ab eo petitur securus conductus, nemini denegare consueuit, sed datur petentibus communiter sigillum eius, in appenditione absque literis: hoc sigillum, pro vexillo in virga aut hasta dum peregrini ferunt, omnes Sarraceni videntes illud flexis genibus in terram se reuerenter inclinant, & portantibus omnem exhibent humanitatem. Verumtamen satis maior fit reuerentia literis Soldani sigillatis,quod & Admirabiles, & quicunque alij Domini, quando eis monstrantur, antequam recipiant, se multùm inclinant: Deinde ambabus manibus eas capientes ponunt super propria capita, posteà osculantur, & tandem legunt inclinati cum magna veneratione, quibus semel aut bis perlectis, offerunt se promptos ad explendum quicquid ibi iubetur, ac insuper exhibent deferenti, quicquid possint commodi, vel honoris: sed talem conductum per literas Soldani vix quisquam peregrinorum accipit, qui non in Curia illius stetit, vel notitiam apud illum habuerit. *Ego autem habui in recessu meo, in quibus etiam continebatur ad omnes sibi subiectos speciale mandatum, vt me permitterent intrare, & respicere singula loca, pro meæ placito voluntatis, & mihi exponerent quorumcunque locorum mysteria distinctè & absque vllo velamine veritatis, ac me cum omni sodalitate mea benignè reciperent, & in cunctis rationalibus audirent, requisiti autem si necesse foret de ciuitate conducerent in ciuitatem.* Habito itaque peregrinis conductu, ad Montem Sinay potest à Cayr vnam duarum incipere semitarum, vsque vallem Helim, vbi adhuc sunt duodecim fontes aquarum. Nam vna viarum est, vt pertranseat passagium maris rubri, non longè ab eodem loco, vbi olim populus Israel Duce Mose, Deo iubente, siccis pedibus transijt idem mare. Quod quidem, licèt aqua sit satis clara, dicitur ibi Rubrum propter lapillos, & arenas subrusi coloris: & continet ibi nunc temporis passus ma-

Literæ Soldani in gratiam Mandeuilli concessæ.

atio,cur Rubrum mare sic ppellatur.

ris

ris in latitudine ferè ſex leucas. Tranſmiſſóque mari, ibit ſuper hanc longè ab oris eiuſdem per dietas quatuor, atque ex tunc relinquens mare, tendit per deſerta ſex aut ſeptem dierum, vſque in vallem præfatam. Alia eſt autem via, vt de Babylonia intret Dyrcen deſerta, tendens ad quendam fontem, quem dicitur Moſes feciſſe: & hinc ad riuulum Marach, qui quondam, Moſe imponente lignum, ab amaritudine dulceſcebat, & ſic tandem in præmiſſam vallem perueniant. Et reſtat via grandis dietæ ad Montem Sinay ab hac valle. Nam à Babylonia vſque in Sinay, æſtimatur eſſe via duodecim dietarum, quamuis nonnulli citiùs perueniunt. Hoc verè ſciendum, neminem peregrinorum per hæc deſerta ſine ductore poſſe tendere, cui notæ ſunt viæ, ſed nec equi valent tranſire, præcipuè quòd non inuenirent in deſertis quid bibere. Aliquo tamen modo tranſitur per Camelos, eò quòd ſe continere poſſunt de potu duobus aut tribus diebus: Et oportet vt itinerantes ferant ſecum per viam neceſſaria ad victum proprium, & Camelorum, niſi quòd interdum fortè Cameli aliquid ſibi abrodere poſſunt circa cortices arbuſtorum, & folia ramuſculorum.

Vel Maſſa.

Abſtinentia Camelorum ab aquis.

CAPVT. II.

De Monaſterio Sinay, & reliquijs beatæ Catherinæ.

MOns Sinay appellatur ibi deſertum Syn: quaſi in radice montis iſtius habetur Cœnobium Monachorum pergrande, cuius clauſura in circuitu eſt firmata mûris altis, & portis ferreis, pro metu beſtiarum deſerti. Hi Monachi ſunt Arabes, & Græci, & in magno conuentu, multùm Deo deuoti: viuunt in magna abſtinentia, vtentes ſimplicibus cibariis, de lotis & dactylis, & huiuſmodi, nec vinum potantes, feſtis exceptis. Illic in Eccleſia Beatæ Virginis & matris Catherinæ ſemper lampades plurimæ ſunt ardentes, nam habetur ibi plena copia olei oliuarum. A poſteriori parte magni altaris monſtratur locus, vbi Moyſi apparuit Dominus in rubo ardente, ipſum rubum adhuc ſeruans, quem dum Monachi intrant, ſemper ſe diſcalceant gratia illius verbi, quo Deus iuſsit Moyſi ibidem, Solue calciamentum de pedibus tuis, locus enim in quo ſtas, terra ſancta eſt: hunc locum appellant Bezeleel, id eſt, vmbra Dei. Et propè altare tribus gradibus in altitudine, habetur capſa, ſeu Tumba Alabaſtri, ſanctiſsima continens oſſa Virginis. Chriſtiani qui ibidem morantur, cum magna reuerentia aduenientibus peregrinis, à Monachorum prælato, ſeu ab alio in hoc inſtituto, excipiuntur. Is quodam inſtrumento argenteo conſueuit oſſa defricare, ſiue linire, vt ex iis exeat modicũ olei, velut parumper ſudoris, quod tamen non apparet in colore ſui tanquam olei ſeu Balſami, ſed aliquantulum pluris magnitudinis. Et ex iſto traditur interdum aliquid petentibus peregrinis, ſed parùm, quia nec multùm exudat. Oſtendere ſolent & caput ipſius Catherinæ cum inuolumento ſanguinolento, & multas præterea ſanctas, & venerabiles reliquias, quæ omnia intuitus ſum diligenter & ſæpè, oculis indignis. Habent quoque in iſta Eccleſia propriam Lampadem quilibet Monachorum, quæ imminente illius diſceſſu lumen per diuinum miraculum variat vel extinguit. Ego etiam curioſiùs ſuper vno dubio quod priùs audieram, plures interrogationes feci ab aliquibus Monachorum, vtrum ſcilicet prælato eorum decedente ſemper ſucceſſor per diuinum ſignum eligeretur: & vix tandem ab eis recepi reſponſum, quòd per vnum iſtorum miraculorum habetur ſucceſſor, videlicet in miſſa ſepulturæ defuncti omnibus Monachorum lampadibus extinctis, illius ſola Dei nutu reaccenditur, quem fieri vult prælatum, vel de cœlo inuenitur miſſus breuiculus ſuper altare, inſcriptum habens nomen prælati futuri. Intra hanc Eccleſiam nunquam muſca, vel aranea, aut huiuſmodi immundi vermiculi naſcuntur, quod ſimiliter per diuinum accidit miraculum: nam antè replebatur Eccleſia talibus immunditiis, & totus conuentus recederet ad conſtruendam Eccleſiam in alio loco. Et ecce D. I. genetrix virgo beata eis viſibiliter obuiauit, iubens reuerti, & dicens nunquam Eccleſiam ſimilibus infeſtari. In cuius obuiationis loco, in aſcenſu procliuo huius montis per multos gradus conſtruxerunt Eccleſiam, ædificium excellens, in honorem eiuſdem virginis. Et aliquantò altiùs, per eiuſdem montis aſcenſum eſt vetus Capella, quam vocant Eliæ Prophetæ, & locum ſpecialiter appellant Horeb. A cuius latere in montis appendentia colitur vinea, quam nominant Ioſuæ ſchophis, de qua quidam putare volunt, quod Sanctus Ioannes Euangeliſta eam primò plantauit. In ſuperiori verò montis vertice, eſt Capella, quam dicunt Moyſis, & illic rupis ſeruans adhuc corporis eius formam impreſſam dum ſe abſcondit, veritus dominum reſpicere in facie. Locus quoq; ibi oſtenditur, in quo Deus tradidit ei decem mandata, ſiue legem proprio digito ſcriptam, & ſub rupe cauerna, in qua manſit ieiunus diebus 40. Ab hoc monte qui vocatur Moſi, reſtat via producta ad quartam Leucæ, vſque in montem qui dicitur Sanctæ Catherinæ per vallem ſpecioſam, ac multùm frigidam. Circa eius medium habetur Eccleſia, nomine 40. Martyrum conſtructa, vbi interdum veniunt Monachi cantare miſſam. Hic mons eſt

Monachorum ſophiſmata.

ſatis

satis altior Monte Moysis, in cuius vertice Angeli Dei piè creduntur attulisse, & sepeliisse corpus sanctissimæ Martyris Catharinæ cum inuolumento capitis suprà dicto. Attamen in ipso certo sepulturæ loco, licèt quandoque stetit Capella, modò non est habitaculum, sed modicus aceruus petrarum. Notandum, quòd vterque horum montium potest vocari mons Sinay, eò quòd totus circumiacens locus deserti Sin appellatur. Sur desertum inter mare Rubrum, & solitudinem Sinay. desertum Sur idem Scriptura quod & Cades. Visitatis igitur à peregrinis his sacrosanctis memorijs, & valefacto Monachis, recommendant se eorum orationibus, & meritis: túncque solet aliquid victualium offerri peregrinis, pro inchoanda via deserti Syriæ versus Ierusalem. Et sicut dixi de priori deserto, sic nec istud securè est peragrandum absque Drogemijs, id est, semitarum ductoribus, propter vastitudinem deserti.

Caput. 12.

Iter à deserto Sinay vsque ad Iudæam.

PEr istud latum & longum desertum, moratur vel potiùs vagatur maxima multitudo malorum, & incompositorum hominum, qui non manent in domibus, sed sub pellium tabernaculis, quemadmodum & olim filij Israel in eodem deserto ambulauerunt, quoniam aquæ non manent ibi diu in locis certis: & ideò mutant tabernacula sequentes aquas: non colunt terras, rarò manducant panem, sed tantùm carnes bestiarum deserti quas venantur, coquentes super petras calefactas ad Solem: fortes sunt & feroces, & velut desperati de vita propria non curantes, qui licèt non habeant arma præter lanceam, & tarchiam, & caput grandi albo linteolo inuolutum, tamen non verentur exercere guerras, & inire prœlia contra Dominum suum Soldanum: nam & ego stipendiarius in expeditione Soldani contra eos sæpiùs fui. Isti sunt quidem Arabes, sed notiori nomine appellantur Bedoyns & Acopars, & quamuis plurima mala agunt per desertum, rarò tamen nocent peregrinis beatæ Virginis Catharinæ. Itaque peregrinus qui debitum tenuit iter, veniat à finibus deserti in primam ciuitatem Iudeæ, quæ dicitur Bersceba: est vicus grandis Hebron inde miliario vergens ad Austrum: Hieronymus. Notandum, Theros Mons Dei in regione Maglaw iuxta Montem. Notandum similiter, Arabiam in deserto esse, cui iungitur Mons, & desertum Sarracenorum, quod vocatur Phaaran. Mihi autem videtur, quod duplici nomine, nunc Mons Sinay, nunc Oreb vocatur. Hieronymus. Phaaran nunc oppidum trans Oreb, iam iunctum Sarracenis, qui in solitudine vagi pererrant. Hos interfecerunt filij Israel, cùm de Monte Sinay castra mouissent. Est ergo, vt dixi, trans Iordanem contra Australem plagam, & distat ab Helyn, contra Orientem, itinere dierum trium. In deserto autem Phaaran, Scriptura commemorat habitasse Ismaelem, vnde & Ismaelitæ, qui nunc Sarraceni. Legimus quo que Chederlaomer percussisse eos qui erant in deserto Phaaran quod nunc dicitur Ascalon, & circa eam Regio Palestinorum. Hieronymus. Hæc Bersheba erat bona & spectabilis, vltimo tempore Christianorum, & adhuc ibi restant nonnullæ Ecclesiæ.

Ioannes Mandeuil militans contra Arabes.

Beersheba.

Ciuitas Hebron.

Hinc ad Leucas duas venitur in ciuitatem Hebron, & Hebron ab Helyn distat ad Meridianam plagam millibus circiter 39. de qua legitur, quòd primis temporibus fuerit habitatio maximorum Gigantium, Regúmque, postea à Dauidis. In hac est illa spelunca duplex, quæ seruat ossa sanctorum Patriarcharum, Abrahæ, Isaac, & Iacob, Saræ, & Rebeccæ, consistítque ad radicem montis, & habetur super istam cum propugnaculis ad modum castri constructa pulchra Ecclesia. Sarraceni appellant istam speluncam Kariackaba, custodientes locum diligenter ac reuerenter propter honorem Patriarcharum, & non permittentes quenquam Christianorum aut Iudæorum ingredi, nisi ostenderit super hæc specialem gratiam à Soldano. Nam ipsi communi[ter] reputant tam Christianos quàm Iudæos pro canibus, & quando despectiuè eos volunt appellare, dicunt Kylp, id est, canis.

Vallis Mambræ.

Quercus arida.

Ab Hebron incipit vallis Mambre, quæ protenditur ferè vsq; Ierusalem: haud remotè ad Hebron est mons Mambre, & in ipso monte arbor quercus aridæ, quæ pro antiquitate sui, speciale sibi nomen meruit in mundo vniuerso, vt vocetur arbor sicca: Sarraceni autem eam dicunt Dirp: hæc creditur stetisse ante tempora Abrahæ, tamen quidam volunt putare à mundi initio, virens donec passionis Christi tempore siccaretur. Hoc autem certum est, haberi eam ab omnibus nationibus in veneratione.

Gambil species Aromatis.

In quodam loco præfatæ vallis est planicies, vbi per plures fossas effodiunt homines Gambil, quod comeditur loco specierum aromaticarum, & per villas defertur venale. Sed & hoc audiui, quòd nulla ibi fossa ita valet exhauriri, si dimittatur per annum, quin inueniatur de prædicta Gambil impleta.

Ad duas leucas de Hebron. monstratur sepultura Loth filii fratris Abrahã. Itẽ de ciuitate Hebrõ per quinque leucas amoeni itineris, hoc est, in media die, venitur in Bethleem Iudeæ. Notandũ,

Arbe,

Arbe,id eſt,quatuor,primùm dicam de eo quod ibi tres Patriarchæ Abraham,Iſac,& Iacob ſepulti ſunt,& Adam magnus,vt in Iudæorum libro ſcriptum eſt, licèt eum quidam conditum in loco Caluariæ ſuſpicentur. Corruptè in noſtris codicibus Arboth ſcribitur, alibi erat arbor cùm in Hebræis legatur Arbe,hæc eſt autem eadem Hebron olim Metropolis Philiſtinorum, ab vno filiorum Caleb ſortita vocabulum. Kiriath-Arbe.

CAPVT 13.

De ciuitate Bethleem,& ſemita vſque in Ieruſalem.

BEthleem Ciuitas longa ſed parua, firmata eſt vndique foſſatis fortibus: cuius modò habitatores quaſi omnes ſunt Chriſtiani.In illa ad orientem honeſta,& placida habetur Eccleſia: (neſcio an aliquam eiuſdem quantitatis viderim placentiorem,)extrinſecus habens turres ſaltaturas,pinnacula,& propugnacula nobili artificio fabricata,& intrinſecus 44. de marmore decoro columnas.Ad principalis autem turris dextram in deſcenſu 16.graduum,eſt diuerſorij locus,vbi ex intacta & benedicta Virgine naſcebatur Chriſtus homo Deus. Hic locus eſt multùm artificioſè operatus marmore,& generoſè depictus auro & argento, varióque colore, cui propè ad tres paſſus eſt præſepe in quo reclinabatur natus Dominus, ibíque videtur puteus quidam,in quo aliqui putare volunt cecidiſſe ſtellam ductricem trium Magorum, poſt eius peractum officium.

Eſt etiam ante præſepe Domini,tumba beati Interpretis Hieronymi,& extra Eccleſiam mõſtratur cathedra,in qua reſidere ſolebat.Sub clauſura huius eccleſiæ ad dextram,per 18.gradus apparet foſſa, quæ dicitur oſſium innocentium cauſa Chriſti ab Herode impio occiſorum. Hinc ad quingentos,vel citra pedes habetur alia Eccleſia nomine Sancti Nicholai, in quo ſcilicet loco,poſt receſſum Magorum beata Virgo tempus ſui puerperij obſeruauit.Ibíque monſtrantur rubra ſaxa albis reſperſa maculis, quòd ſimpliciores narrant ſaxis eueniſſe de abundantia lactis virginis ab vberibus eiecti.In via Bethleem ab Helya miliario contra meridianam plagam iuxta viam quæ ducit Ebron, Chriſtiani de Bethleem colunt circa ciuitatem multam copiam vinearum,ad potum ſui ipſorum.Nam Sarraceni non colunt vineas, nec vina vendunt neque in manifeſto bibunt,eò quòd liber legis Mahomet,facit ſuper hoc prohibitionem,& interpretatur maledictionem. Taxat ſimplicitatem vulgi. Sarraceni non bibunt vinum in manifeſto.

De Bethleem in Auſtrum duabus leucis habetur clauſtrum Sanctæ Charitatis, ibidem ſuo tempore Abbatiſſæ. A Bethleem tendendo Ieruſalem inuenitur ad dimidiam leucam Eccleſia, in cuius loco Angelus dixit paſtoribus,Annuncio vobis gaudium magnum, quod natus eſt nobis Saluator qui eſt Chriſtus Dominus.Eſt & tumba Rachel Patriarchæ, vbi etiam coaceruata iacent 12.ſaxa magna,quæ quidam autumant illic tumulaſſe Iacob, eò quòd Beniamin duodecimus ſibi filius naſcebatur ibidem.Sícque venitur in Sanctam Ciuitatem Ieruſalem.Notandum,Bethel vicus eſt 12.ab Helya ad dextram euntibus Neapoli, quæ primùm Luza vocabatur.Sed ex eo tempore quo ibat ad Ieroboam filium Nebat,vituli aurei fabricati ſunt, & à decem tribubus adorata,vocata eſt Bethauen, id eſt, Domus Idoli, quæ antè vocabatur Domus Dei.Ieronymus.Sed & Eccleſia ædificata eſt vbi dormiuit Iacob,pergẽs Meſopotamiam,vbi & ipſo loco Bethel,id eſt,domus Dei nomen impoſuit. Sancta Charitas. Bethel.

CAPVT 14.

De Eccleſia glorioſi Sepulchri Domini in vrbe Ieruſalem.

IEruſalem cum tota terra promiſsionis,eſt quaſi vna de quinque prouincijs vel pluribus, quibus Regnum Syriæ diſtinguitur.Iungitur autem Iudæa ad Orientem Regno Arabiæ, ad meridiem Aegypto,ad Occidentem mari magno,& ad Aquilonem Regno Syriæ.Iudeæ terra per diuerſa tempora à diuerſis poſſeſſa fuit nationibus,Cananæorum,Iudæorum,Aſſyriorum, Perſarum,Medorum, Macedonum,Græcorum,Romanorum,Chriſtianorum,Sarracenorum,Barbarorum,Turcorum,& Tartarorum.Cuius rei cauſa meritò poteſt æſtimari,quod non ſuſtinuit Deus magnos peccatores longo tempore permanere in terra ſibi tam placita,& tam ſancta.

Itaque peregrinus veniens in Ieruſalem primò expleat ſuam peregrinationem, ad reuerendum & ſacroſanctum Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti ſepulchrum: cuius Eccleſia eſt in vltima ciuitatis extremitate,ad partem aquilonarem,cum proprio ſui ambitus muro ipſi ciuitati adiuncto.Ipſa verò Eccleſia eſt pulchra & rotundæ formæ cooperta deſuper cum tegulis plumbeis, habens in Occidente turrim altam & firmam,in pauimenti Eccleſiæ medio ad figuram dimidij compaſsi habetur nobili opere Latonico ædificatum paruum Tabernaculum quaſi 15. pedum tam longitudinis quàm latitudinis, & altitudinis miro artificio intus extráque compoſitum,ac multùm diligenter diuerſis coloribus ornatum. Hoc itaque in Tabernaculo ſeu Capella, Templum Sepulchri.

la,ad latus dextrum,continetur incomparabilis thesaurus glorioſiſsimi ſepulchri,habentis octo pedes longitudinis,& quinque latitudinis. Et quoniam in toto habitaculo nulla eſt apertura præter paruum oſtium,illuſtratur accedentibus peregrinis, pluribus lampadibus, (quarum ad minus vna coram ſepulchro iugiter ardere ſolet) ingreſſus.

Sciendum,quòd ante breue tempus ſolebat ſepulchrum eſſe ingreſsis peregrinis acceſsibile,ad tangendum & oſculandum,ſed quia multi vel effringebant,vel conabantur ſibi effringere aliquid de petra ſepulchri,iſte Soldanus Melech Mandybron fecit illud confabricari,vt nec oſculari valeat,nec adiri,ſed tantummodo intueri. Et ob illam cauſam in ſiniſtro pariete in altitudine quinque pedum immurari effracturam petræ ſepulchri ad quantitatem capitis humani,quod tanquam pro ſepulchro ibi ab omnibus veneratur,tangitur,& oſculatur.

Melech Mandybron Soldanus.

Dicitur ibi quoque communiter præfatam lampadem coram ſepulchro ſingulis annis in die Sanctæ Paraſcheues,hora nona extingui,& in media nocte Paſchæ ſine humano ſtudio reaccendi,quod (ſi ita eſt) euidens diuini beneficii miraculum eſt.Et quamuis id plurimi Chriſtiani ſimpliciter in magno pietatis merito credant,pleriſque tamen eſt in ſuſpicione. Fortè talia Sarraceni cuſtodes ſepulchri fingentes diuulgauerunt,pro augendo emolumenta tributi,quod inde reſultaret,ſeu oblationum quæ dantur.

Mandeuillus de hoc dubitat.

Singulis autem annis in die cœnæ Domini in Paraſcheue,& in vigilia Paſchæ, tribus his diebus manet Tabernaculum hoc apertum continuè,& patet omnibus Chriſtianis gentibus acceſſus,aliàs verò non per annum ſine redditione tributi. Intra Eccleſiam, propè parietem dextrum,eſt Caluariæ locus,vbi crucifixus pependit Chriſtus Dominus . Per gradus aſcenditur in hunc locum,& eſt rupis velut albi coloris , cum aliqua rubedine per loca commixta, habens ſciſſuram,quam dicunt Golgotha, in qua maior pars precioſi ſanguinis Chriſti dicitur influxiſſe : vbi & habetur altare conſtructum,ante quod conſiſtunt tumbæ Godefridi de Bullion, & aliorum Regum Chriſtianorum,qui circa annum incarnationis Domini,1100. debellauerunt & obtinuerunt ſanctam vrbem cum tota patria ex manibus Sarracenorum, & per hoc conquiſierunt ſibi magnum nomen,vſque in finem ſæculi duraturum. Propè ipſius crucifixionis locum continetur literis Græcis hoc ſcriptum : ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. hoc eſt dicere,Deus Rex noſter ante ſecula operatus eſt ſalutem in medio terræ.Item directè in loco,vbi crux ſancta ſtetit cum Chriſto, rupi infixa habetur hoc exaratum in ſaxo rupis : ὁρᾷς τὸ θεμέλιον τοῦ κόσμου,hoc eſt,quod vides,fundamentum eſt fidei huius mundi.

Tumba Godefridi de Bollion.

Pſal.74.12.

Haud remotè ab hoc Caluariæ monte,habetur & aliud altare, vbi iacet columna flagellationis Domini,cui ſtant de propinquo,& aliæ columnæ quatuor de Marmore aquam iugiter reſudantes,& (ſecundùm opinionem ſimplicium) paſſionem innocentem Chriſti deflentes. Eſt ſub iſto altari crypta,42.graduum profunda,vbi ſancta Helena Regina reperit tres cruces,videlicet Chriſti,& latronum cum eo crucifixorũ,ac etiam clauos crucis Domini in cryptæ pariete.

Iterum taxat ignorantiam vulgi.

Regina Helena Angla.

In medio autem chori huius Eccleſiæ,eſt locus pauimenti ſtratus mirè & pulchrè, ad integrã cõpaſsi figuram,vbi depoſitũ corpus Chriſti de cruce Ioſeph ab Aramathia cum ſuis adiutoribus lauit & cõdiuit aromatibus.Itẽ infra Eccleſiam à ſeptentrionali parte oſtenditur locus, vbi Chriſtus Magdalenæ apparuit poſt ſuam reſurrectionẽ,quando eum credidit hortulanum.

A dextro autem latere ad ingreſſum Eccleſiæ,habentur gradus 18. ſub quibus eſt Capella Indorum,vbi ſoli peregrini de India per ſacerdotes ſuos cantant iuxta ritum ſuum Miſſas , celebrántque diuina.Miſſam faciunt quidèm breuiſsimam,conficientes in principio verbis debitis ſactamentum corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti de pane & vino,ac poſteà paucis orationibus additis,totum oratione Dominica concludunt officium . Hoc autem verum eſt,quod cum maxima attentione,reuerentia,humilitate,& deuotione ſe gerunt,& continent diuinis.

Indorum Capella ſiue ſubditorum præſbiteri Ioannis.

Porrò illud,quod quidam peruulgauerunt,aut opinati ſunt,Iudæam aut Ieruſalem, vel Eccleſiam iſtam conſiſtere in medio totius mundi,propter prædictam ſcripturam, (in medio terræ) hoc intelligi non poteſt localiter ad menſuram corporis terræ : Nam ſi ad terræ latitudinem,quam æſtimant inter duos polos,reſpiciamus,certum eſt Iudæam non eſſe in medio,quod tunc eſſet ſub circulo Aequatoris,& eſſet ibi ſemper æquinoctium, & vtrumq; polorum ſtaret iis in horizõte.Quod vtiq; nõ eſt ita,quod exiſtẽtibus in Iudęa eleuatur multùm polus arcticus.

An Ieruſalem ſit in medio mundi.

Rurſus ſi ad terræ longitudinem ſpectemus,quæ æſtimari poteſt à Paradiſo terreſtri, ſcilicet à digniori & latiori terræ loco,verſus eius Nadir,ſcilicet,verſus locum ſibi in Sphæra terræ oppoſitum,tunc Iudæa eſſet ad Antipodes paradiſi,quod apparet ita non eſſe, quod tunc eſſet viatori de Iudæa ad Paradiſum tendentis æqua itineris menſura, ſiue tenderet verſus Orientem, ſiue verſus Occidentem.Sed hoc non eſt veriſimile nec verum, ſicut probatum conſtat per experientiam multorum.Mihi autem videtur,quod præfata Prophetæ ſcriptura,poteſt exponi,in medio terræ,id eſt,circa medium noſtri habitabilis , videlicet vt Iudæa ſit circa medium inter

Paradiſum

Paradiſum & Antipodes Paradiſi, diſtans tantum ab ipſo Paradiſo in oriente 96. gradibus, prout ego ipſe per viam orientalem tentaui: quanquam de hoc non videtur de facili plena certitudo haberi, eo quòd in longitudine cœli nullæ ſtellæ manent immobiles, ſicut in latitudine manent poli ſempèr fixi. Vel poteſt ita exponi, quòd Dauid qui erat Rex Iudeę, dixit in medio terræ, hoc eſt, in principali ciuitate terræ ſuæ Ieruſalem, quæ erat ciuitas regalis, ſiue ſacerdotalis terrę Iudeæ: vel fortè ſpiritus ſanctus, qui loquebatur per os prophetę in hoc verbo vult intelligi non corporeum aut locale, ſed totum ſpirituale, de quo intuitu nihil ad præſens eſt ſcribendum.

Caput. 15.

De tribus alijs Eccleſijs, & ſpecialiter de templo Domini.

VLtrà duo ſtadia ab Eccleſia ad Meridiem ſancti ſepulchri habetur magnũ hoſpitale ſancti Ioannis Hieroſolymitani, qui caput & fundamentum eſſe dignoſcitur ordinis hoſpitaliorum modò tenentium Rhodum inſulam: in quo recipi poſſunt omnes Chriſtiani peregrini cuiuſcunque ſint conditionis, ſeu ſtatus, vel dignitatis. Nam Saraceni pro leui cura anxij rumoris, prohibent ne apud quenquam ſuorum Chriſtianus pernoctet. Ad ſuſtentationem ædificij huius hoſpitalis, habentur in eo 124. columnæ marmoreę, & in parietibus diſtincti 54. pilarij. Satis propè hunc locum in orientem, eſt Eccleſia quę dicitur, de Domina noſtra magna: & indè non remotè alia, quæ dicitur noſtrę Dominę latinorũ ędificata ſuper locum, vbi Maria Magdalene, & Maria Cleophę cum alijs pluribus, dum Chriſtus cruci affigebatur, flebant & dolores lamentabiles exercebant.

Item ab Eccleſia Sancti Sepulchri in orientem ad ſtadium cum dimidio habetur ædificium mirabile, ac pulchrum valdè, quod templum Domini nominatur, quod conſtructum eſt in forma rotunda, cuius circumferentiæ diameter habet 64 cubitos, & altitudo eius 126, & intrinſecus pro ſuſtentatione ædificij, multi pilarij. In medio autem templi eſt locus altior 14. gradibus, qui & ipſe columnis vndiq; eſt ſtipatus: & ſecundum quatuor mundi plagas habet templum quatuor introitus per portas Cypreſſinas artificioſè compoſitas, nobiliterq; ſculptas, & exciſas. Et ante portam aquilónarem intra templum fontem aquæ mundæ, qui quamuis olim exundabat, tamen nunc minimè fluit. In toto circuitu ædificij extrinſecus eſt valdè pro atrio latum ſpacium loci, ſtratum per totum pauimentum marmoribus. Hoc templum non ducitur ſtare in eodem loco vbi templum Dei ſtetit in tempore Chriſti, quo poſt reſurrectionem a Romanis deſtructo, iſtud longo poſt tempore Adrianus Imperator extruxit, ſed non ad formam templi prioris: prædictum tamen excelſum in medio templi locum vocant Iudæi ſanctum ſanctorum.

Sciatis itaq; quòd Sarraceni magnam exhibent huic templo reuerentiam, & honorem, ſæpius illud diſcalceati intrantes, & poſitis genibus deuotè Deum omnipotentem exorantes, nulla enim ibidem habetur imago, ſed multæ lampades relucentes. Neminem Chriſtianorum ſeu Iudæorum ingredi ſinunt hoc templum, reputantes eos indignos ad hoc, & nimium immundos, vndè niſi virtute literarũ quas habui a Soldano, nec ego fuiſſem ingreſſus. Ingrediens autem cum meis ſodalibus depoſuimus calciamenta, recogitantes cum multa cordis deuotione, nos magis id facere debere, quàm incredulos Sarracenos. Literæ Soldani traditæ Mandeuillo.

Et verè meritò eſt iſte locus in magna reuerentia habendus: dum enim Rex Salomon primùm in illo templo per Dei iuſſionem, & Dauidis patris ſui commiſſionem ędificaſſet, exorauit præſente cuncto populo Iſrael, vt quicunque illic Deum pro iuſta cauſa rogaret audiretur; & Dominus monſtrauit ex auditionis ſignum per nebulam de cœlo emiſſam, proùt narrat hiſtoria veritatis 3. Regum libro.

Porrò in eo loco vbi ſtatuerat idem Rex ante templum altare holocauſti, videlicet extra portam templi occidentalem, habetur & nunc altare, ſed non ad inſtar, nec ad vſum primi: Nam Saraceni, quaſi nihil curantes, traxerunt in eo lineas tanquam in aſtrolabio figentes in linearum centro batellum, ad cuius vmbram per lineas diſcernuntur diei horę.

Etiam in hac atrij parte apparent adhuc veſtigia portę ſpecioſę, vbi Petrus Apoſtolus, cum Euangeliſta Ioanne dixit contracto, In nomine Chriſti Ieſu Nazareni ſurge, & ſtatim conſolidabantur illi plantę.

Caput. 16.

De pluribus locis ſacris iuxta vrbem.

VIaturo ad dextram ſatis de propinquo habetur & alia Eccleſia, quę nunc appellatur ſchola Salomonis: rurſuſq; ad Meridiem eſt & aliud templum ſiue Eccleſia, quę vocatur Templum Salomonis, quòd olim fuit caput, & fundamentum totius ordinis Templariorum. Templarij à templo Salomonis dicti.

A clauſtro huius tẽpli extrinſecus in Aquilonem habetur decora Eccleſia beatę Annę, in cuius

loco creditur virgo Maria in eiusdem matris suę vtero fuisse genita, & concepta, parentũq; illius, scilicet, Ioachim & Annę, tumba saxea mõstratur in descensu Ecclesię, per 22. gradus, vbi & adhuc patris eius ossa putantur quiescere, sublato inde per reginam Helenam corpore sanctæ Annæ, & recondito (vt prædictum est) in Ecclesia Constantinopoli sanctæ Sophiæ.

Regina Helena, Angla.

Est & intra hanc Ecclesiam probatica piscina, vbi quondam post motionem Angeli omnes accedentes primi, a quocunq; languore sanabantur infirmi, quę tamen nunc temporis ita neglecta iacet, & deformata, vt videtur immunda cistrina. Habetur & ante Ecclesiam arbor grandis & antiqua, de qua nonnulli fabulantur, quod ad beatæ Mariæ natiuitatem principium accepit, & ortum.

Probatica piscina.

Mons Sion est excelsior locus in vrbe ad cuius radicem, est castrũ spectabile constructum per aliquem Soldanorum. In montis autem cacumine videntur multę sepulturę regum Iudeæ, videlicet Dauid, Salomonis, & quorundam de successoribus suis. Ad introitum montis habetur capella, & in illa lapis monumenti quem Ioseph de Arimathea obuoluit ad ostiũ sepulchri est valde magnus, & est ibidem aliqua pars columnæ flagellationis, ac pars mensę super quam Dominus vltimò cænauit cum Apostolis, & instituit noui Testamenti sacramentũ sui venerandi corporis, & sanguinis. Sub hac capella ad aliquos gradus monstratur locus eiusdem cęnationis, videlicèt cęnaculi magni, & in eo vas aquarũ, in quo Christus lauabat pedes Apostolorum: iuxta quod vas, à Gamaliele, & alijs viris timoratis primus sepultus fuit protoMartyr Stephanus.

Mons Sion.

In eo quoq; loco intrauit post resurrectionẽ suam Dominus ianuis clausis ad discipulos dicens pax vobis, & agens alia, quę plenius Euãgelica pandit Historia, ac tandẽ in die Pentecostes ijsdem spiritũ sanctũ, in linguis igneis misit ibidem. Ab hoc mõte Sion versus ciuitatem habetur Ecclesia dedicata sancto saluatori, in quo nunc dicuntur seruari ossa S. Stephani supradicti, & sinistrũ brachium S. Ioannis Chrisostomi, cuius corpus vt dictũ est requiescit Constantinopoli.

Item ab hoc monte versus Austrum ab opposito plateæ, est pulchra Ecclesia nostræ Dominę, in cuius loco diu morabatur post ascensionem filij sui, quamuis pro parte eiusdem temporis in valle Iosaphat manserit: nam in ista defungebatur, & in illo ab Apostolis honorificè sepulta fuit.

Natatoria Siloe.

Itemque ab hoc monte in vico eundo versus vallem Iosaphat inuenitur fons aquæ dictus Natatoria Siloe, vbi cęcus natus à Christo missus lauabat oculos, & regressus est videns. Et dicunt quidam ibidem sepultum Isaiam Prophetam.

Porro mons olim dictus Moria, de quo loquitur Scriptura sacra, est rupis haud longè a supradicto templo Domini in ipsius meridiè, in cuius rupis loco excelso velut eminenti sed edito Dominus noster Iesus Christus frequentèr instruebat suos discipulos, & populos, magnaque miracula exhibebat, atque deprehensæ mulieri in adulterio omnia peccata dimittebat.

Iohn. 8.

Ab opposito autem prędicti fontis natatorij habetur imago lapidea, rudi & vetusto opere sculpta, deformitèrque detrita, quæ manus Absalon nuncupatur, cuius ratio lib. 2. Regum monstratur. Vbi de propè vidi Arborem Sambucum, ad quam vel citrà cuius locum (vt dicitur) Iudas traditor per se suspensus crepuit medius, & diffusa sunt viscera eius.

Prætera à monte Sion versus Meridiem vltrà vallem ad iactum lapidis est locus Acelderna, in quo emptus ager 30. denarijs proditionis est, Et in quo sunt plures sepulturæ peregrinorum, & vestigia cellularum, de quondam illic commorantibus Heremitis.

CAPVT. 17.

De sacris locis extra muros Ciuitatis.

Vallis Iosaphat.

EXtra muros ciuitatis Ierusalem ad plagam orientalem, est vallis Iosaphat cõtigua, ac si esset fossata muris ipsius ciuitatis, & Ecclesia vbi sanctus Stephanus lapidabatur, & obdormiuit in Domino. Hinc non longè est porta ciuitatis, quę dicitur aurea, quę nunc sempèr obstructa seruatur. Per hanc intrauit Christus sedens asino, & adhuc ostenditur rupis seruare vestigia animalis in tribus aut pluribus sui locis. Statim vltrà vallem Iosaphat aspicitur mons Oliueti, sic dictus à pluribus, quia ibi sũt oliuarum Arbores, In planicie huius vallis decurrit riuulus dictus torrens Cedron, secus quem habetur pulchra, & honorificata Ecclesia sacrosanctę sepulturę beatę, & gloriosę matris Christi: descenditur autem in Ecclesiam per gradus 44. quòd extrinsecus est vallis inculta per fluxum fortassè torrentis, seu per alios euentus proptèr Antiquitatem temporis. Ibique monstratur sepulchrum eius vacuum. Habentur iuxta sepulchrum duo altaria, sub vno est fons Aquæ quę putatur exire de vno Paradisi flumine.

Mons oliuarum.

Torrens Cedron.

Satis propè ab hac Ecclesia ad rupem Gethsemane habetur capella, vbi scilicet Iudęis traditus fuit Christus à Iuda. In ipsa quoque rupe ostendebatur mihi figura impressę manus ad digitorum extensionem, quæ artificiosius humano studio sculpi non posset, quam referunt Christũ sua venerabili manu inclinando ad rupem efficisse, dum Iudæi impuras manus ad capiendum iniecerunt in eum. Hic ad iactum lapidis in meridie orauit ad suum patrem, & pro vehementi

orationis

orationis intentione ſanguineum exûdauit ſudorem: atque ibi non remotè videtur tumba regis Iudeæ Ioſaphat, à quo & vallis ſibi nomen aſſumpſit: & credimus in hanc vallem Chriſtum venturum ad nouiſſimum, & generaliſſimum iudicium, vbi (Iohele propheta teſtante) diſceptabit de omni actione mortalium. Ad tractum ſagittę de hac tumba, eſt Eccleſia vbi ſanctus Iacobus maior Apoſtolus primò poſt martyrium fuit ſepultus, cuius modò ſacrata oſſa venerantur Compoſtellæ in Galizia. S. Iacobi ſepultura.

Vltra vallem in ſupremo montis Oliueti apice diſcipulis cernentibus, Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus eleuatis manibus aſcendit in cœlum, & ſuper eundem locum digna habetur Eccleſia, in qua eiuſdem Aſcenſione tale ſeruatur in rupe pauimenti indiciũ, quod ſiniſtri pedis Chriſti videtur vltimum veſtigium.

Hinc ſatis propè habetur & capella medio montis, vbi Chriſtus ſedens prædicauit octo beatitudines, vbi & creditur docuiſſe diſcipulos orationem Dominicam, ſcilicet, *Pater noſter, &c.* Ab eo quoq; loco non diſtat multum Eccleſia beatæ Marię Ægyptiacæ, in qua & eius tumba videtur: & haud procul inde eſt vicus Bethphage, vbi Chriſtus miſit ante paſſionis ſuæ tempus duos de diſcipulis pro aſina & pullo eius. In cliuo verò huius mõtis Oliueti verſus ciuitatem, monſtratur locus, de quo videns Dominus Ieruſalem, fleuit ſuper illam, dicens, quòd ſi cognouiſſes & tu, &c. Atq; vltrà montem in diſcenſu eius in orientem eſt villa ſiue caſtellum Bethanię, diſtans quaſi ad leucam ab vrbe vbi in domo cuiuſdam Symonis inuitatus Chriſtus condonauit omnia peccata Mariæ Magdalenę. Et in ipſo caſtello, quòd erat ſororis Marthæ, & Mariæ reſuſcitauit fratrem earum Lazarum quatriduanum mortuum. Bethania.

De Bethania in Ierico ſunt 5. leucæ, quę quondam fuit ciuitas ſpecioſa ſed iam eſt villa modica: ibi Diues Zachęus aſcendit in arborem Sycomorum, vt videret tranſeuntem Dominum, & reſtituens fraudata quadruplum, obtinuit peccatorum remiſſionem omnium. Ierico

Item de Bethania ad flumen Iordanis eſt iter ferè octo leucarum, per montes, ac valles deuios, & deſertos. Porrò de Bethania in orientem ad 6. leucas venitur in montem magnum, vbi Chriſtus expleto 40. dierum, ac noctium ieiunio temptatus eſt à diabolo, fuitq; in eodem loco quandoq; Eccleſia, ſed modo habetur ibi quaſi cœnobiũ quorũdam Chriſtianorum, qui Georgici vocantur. Sciendum enim eſt, quod vbiq; intra terram Saracenorum, & ſimiliter multorum Paganorum inueniuntur Chriſtiani diſperſi, habitantes ſub tributo, qui licet ſint baptizati omnes, & beatiſsmam Trinitatem credentes, diuerſificantur tamen nominibus, moribus, ritibus, fide, & opinionibus: ita vt ſemper vel in multis vel in aliquibus diſſentiant à Romanæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudinibus. Chriſtiani Georgici.

Aliqui namque eorũ dicuntur Chriſtiani Iacobitę: hij errant circa peccatorum remiſſionem, dicentes, non debere confiteri homini ſed ſoli Deo. Alij Syrij, Iſti in fermentato pane conficiunt Sacramentum altaris ritu Gręcorum. Alij Georgici, hi omnes ferunt in capite tonſuras: clerici rotundas, laici quadratas, ſequentes etiam in multis mores Græcorum. Alij Cordelarij eo quod ſe cingunt deſuper corde. Alij Indi, Nubij, Neſtorini, & Arriani. Iacobitæ. Syrij. Georgici. Cordelarij. Indi. Nubij. Neſtorini. Arriani.

Præfatus autem mons magnus, vocatur hortus Abrahæ, ex eo quod Abraham patriarcha ibi dicitur commoratus, & currit propè montem riuulus, in cuius aqua vel fonte Deus ſal per Helizeũ prophetam mitti iuſſit, vt ſanaretur ſterilitas, id eſt, amaritudo aquæ. Nec diſtat hic mons à Ierico vltra grandem leucam.

Caput. 18.

De notabilibus aliis locis, & mari mortuo.

RVrſum de ciuitate ſanctę Ieruſalem verſus Occidentem itinere leucę, habetur pulchra ſatis Eccleſia, in loco vbi dicitur creuiſſe arbor crucis ſalutiferę. Arbor excelſa, digno ſtipite ſacra Chriſti mẽbra tangere. Tenetur iſtud quidẽ pro certa veritate: nam & hoc ſatis teſtatur conſtructio tãtæ, & talis Eccleſię, quãuis multa aliena, & incerta ſcripta de crucis arbore ferãtur per orbẽ. Hinc ad duas leucas eſt & alia Eccleſia, vbi obuiauerũt ſibi Maria virgo, & Elizabeth eius cognata, & ad ſalutationem Marię Chriſti baiulę exultauit Ioannes in vtero Elizabeth grauidæ. Nota.

De iſto quoque ad leucam eſt Emaus caſtellum, diſtans in ſpacio ſtadiorũ 60. ab Ieruſalem, vbi diſcipuli in cœna die reſurrectionis Domini cognouerant eum in fractione panis. Porrò ab Ieruſalem ad alium exitum, ad duo ſtadia videtur ſpelunca grandis de qua dicitur quòd tempore Coſdri Imperatoris Perſarum, fuerunt circa Ieruſalem 12. mille martyrum occiſi, quorum omnium corpora leo habitans in ſpelunca congregauit ibidem voluntate diuina, tanquam pro ſingulorum ſepultura obſequioſa. Emaus caſtellum. Coſdrus Imperator.

Item ab vrbe ad leucas duas habetur in monte tumba ſepulturæ ſancti Samuelis prophetæ, qui mons nunc vocatur exultationis vel lęticię, eò quod peregrinis ab illa parte intrãtibus reddit primum ſanctę ciuitatis aſpectum. Ab oppido autem Ierico in 30. ſtadiorum ſpacio venitur Mons exultationis.

ad Iordanis fluuij locum, vbi beatus Ioannes Baptista Christum sacri baptismatis merebatur tingere lymphis. Et in cuius reuerendi mysterij venerationem habetur ad dimidiam leucam à fluuio ædificium honestæ Ecclesiæ consecratum in nomine eiusdem venerabilis baptistæ ministri. Ab hac Ecclesia de propè vidi domum de qua patiebar mihi narrari, quòd in eodem loco olim fuerit Ieremiæ sancti habitatio prophetæ.

Iordanis descriptio.

Notandum est. Iordanis fluuius quamuis grandis non sit, bonorum tamen piscium copiam nutrit, ortum accipiens sub monte Libanon ex duobus fontibus, scilicet Ior, & Dan, quæ nomina simul mixta nomen Iordanis efficiunt. Decurrit autem per quendam locum dictum Maron, ac secus stagnum quod dicitur Mare Tyberiadis, ac subter montes Gylboe per amœnissima loca, atque in subterraneis meatibus per longum spacium se occultans tandem exit in planitie, quæ dicitur Meldam, id est, forum, quod certis temporibus ibi Nundinę exercentur, & ad extremum se iactat in mare mortuum.

Mare mortuum.

Hoc stagnum quod vocatur mare mortuũ habet longitudinis 600. ferè stadia, & latitudinis 150. & appropinquat aliqua pars huius maris ad quatuor leucas propè Ierico, videlicet ad latus camporum Engadi, ex quibus (vt suprà dictum est) eradicatæ fuerunt arbores Balsami, quæ modò sunt in agro Cayr Ægypti. Istud mare dicitur mortuum.

Nota.

Cur mare mortuum dicatur.

Primò quidem quòd non viuidè currit, sed est quasi lacus.

Secundò quod amara est eius aqua, & fœtidum reddit odorem.

Tertiò quòd propter eius amaritudinem terra adiacens littori nil viride profert.

Quartò (prout dicitur) si cadat in ea bestia, vel aliud quid viuens, vix poterit plenè mori siue submergi in octo diebus, nec nutrit in se pisces aut quid simile:

Littora quoque sua variant quam sepè colorem, & sine vlla agitatione ventorum eijcit in quibusdam locis se aqua, extra proprios terminos. Per huiusmodi aquam dicitur Deus pro indicibili vitio Pentapolim submersisse, Sodomam, Gomorram, Adamam, Seboim, & Segor.

Quidam vocant hoc mare lacũ Asphaltidis, alij fluuium Dæmonũ, aut flumen Putre. Quod autem olim propheta interpretans dixit, montes Gilboe, nec ros nec pluuia veniat super vos, magis spiritualitèr quàm literalitèr videtur intelligendum. Nam ibi crescunt altissimi cedri, & arbores poma ferentes, ad capitis quantitatem humani, ex quibus valdè saporosus fit potus.

Nota.

Mare istud mortuum determinat fines terræ promissionis, & Arabiæ, Ideoq; vltra ipsum mare condidit quondam, vnus successorum Godfridi de Bollion forte & spectabile castrum, ponens illic copiosam Christianorum militiam ad terram promissionis custodiendum. Nunc verò temporis, est Soldani, & appellatur Caruth, id est mons Regalis. Sub hoc monte est villa dicta Sobal: habitat in illis partibus magna Christianorum multitudo.

CAPVT. 19.
De Nazareth, & Samaria.

NAzareth in prouincia Galileæ in qua nutritus, & de qua cognominatus est Dominus vniuersorum, distans ab Hierosolymis ad tres circiter dietas, erat quondã ciuitas, quæ nunc est dispersa, & rara domorum, quod vix villæ sibi competit nomen: & in loco Annunciationis, vbi Angelus ad Mariam dixit, *Aue gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, habebatur olim bona Ecclesia, pro qua paruum Saraceni restituerunt habitaculum, in colligendas peregrinorum offerendas.

A Nazareth redeundo per terram Galileę, transitur per Ramathaym Sophim, vbi nascebatur fidelis Samuel propheta Domini, & per Sylo, vbi locus orationis erat antequam in Ierusalem: & per Sichem magnæ vbertatis vallem, itur in prouinciam Samariæ, vbi habetur & bona ciuitas nunc dicta Neapolis, distans à sancta vrbe spacio solius dietæ, ac per fontem Iacob, super quem Iesus fatigatus ab itinere colloquebatur Samaritanæ, vbi & apparet ruina destructæ Ecclesiæ quondam illic habitæ. Et est ibi villa adhuc vocata Sychem, & in eo est mausoleum Ioseph patriarchæ filij Iacob: ad cuius ossa visitanda sub deuotione non minus peregrini Iudæi aduenient, quàm Christiani.

Samaria, nunc sebaste.

Hinc satis propè est mons Garizin cum vetusto templo orationis Samaritanorum: ex tunc intratur Samaria, quę modò appellatur Sebaste, & est illius principalis ciuitas prouincię. In qua fuit primum terræ mandatum corpus beati Ioannis Baptistæ, inter sacra corpora Helizæi, & Abdiæ Prophetarum, vt quorum assimilibatur virtutibus in vita, corporibus iungeretur in sepultura. Hæc quoque distat ab Hierosolymis, fortassis 2. dietas.

Habetur & alius puteus aut fons intra illa montana, quem plerique similiter fontem Iacob appellant, cuius aqua secundum quatuor anni tempora variatur à suo colore, vt sit quandoq; clara, quandoque turbida, nunc viridis, & nunc rubra. Certum est autem tempore Apostolorũ, cum Samaria recepisset verbum Dei, illos fuisse conuersos, & baptizatos, in nomine Domini

Nota.

Iesu,

Ieſu,& tamen poſtea per quendam Caliphorum peruerſos,Ogerus dux Danorum per Templariorũ virtutem rurſum ſubiugauit Chriſtianitati:ſicq; poſt plures euentus,& variationes,illi qui nũc ſunt Samaritę,finxerunt ſibi hæreſim propriam,& ritũ ab omnibus nationibus ſingularem. Ogerus Dux Danus.

Fatentur autem ſe credere in Deum,qui cuncta creauit: recipiuntque pentateucum ſcripturæ,cum Pſalterio Dauidis, acerrimè contendentes,ſe ſolos dilectiſſimos Dei filios: qui etiam pro nobili differentia inuoluunt capita linteo rubeo, Saraceni autem albo,Indi croceo,& Chriſtiani ibi manentes Indico,hoc eſt,aereo,ſeu hiacynthino. Tegumenti capitis differentia.

Porro à Nazareth quatuor leucis, eſt ciuitas olim dicta Naym, in 2.miliario Thabor montis contra Meridiem iuxta Endor. Ieronimus. Ante cuius portam reſuſcitauit Chriſtus defunctum filium vnicum matris ſuæ,præſentibus duabus turmis hominum copioſorum. Hinc quoque ad leucas duas,eſt ciuitas Iſrael, vbi olim morabatur peſſima regina Iezabel, quam Dei iudicio equorum vngulis conculcatam,canes ferè vſque ad caluariam comederunt.

CAPVT. 20.

De territorio Galileæ,& Samariæ,& de villa Sardenay.

ITem à Nazareth ad leucæ dimidium, monſtrantur in rupe veſtigia pedum,quæ dicuntur eſſe Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti vbi de manibus Iudæorum, ipſum de alta rupe præcipitare volentium deſiluit in iſtam. De quo ſaltu quidam intelligunt illud ſcriptum Euangelicum,Ieſus autem tranſiens per medium illorum ibat.

Ad quatuor autem leucas de Nazareth, eſt Cana Galileæ, vbi Chriſtus ad vrbanas matris preces,mutauit vndam in vinum optimum.

Ad diſtantiam quatuor leucarum à Nazareth,venitur in Thabor,montẽ ſpectabilẽ,vbi tranſfigurabatur Chriſtus, coram quibuſdam ſuis Apoſtolis, apparentibus ibidem, Moſe, & Helia, prophetis, voceq; dilapſa à magnifica Patris gloria, & videbatur Petro bonum ibi eſſe: quondam in hoc monte habebatur ciuitas, cum pluribus Eccleſijs, quarum nunc ſola reſtant veſtigia, excepto quod ille locus tranſfigurationis eſt inhabitatus, qui eſt Schola Dei nominatus. Notandum, Thabor eſt in medio Galileæ,campus mira iucunditate ſublimis, diſtans à Dioteſaria 3. milliaribus contra Orientem. Mons Thabor obſeruetur.

Item de Nazareth in tres leucas eſt villa, ſeu caſtrum Zaffara, de quo recolo me ſupradixiſſe capitè 4. Et inde venitur in Mare Galileæ,quod quamuis dicatur mare,eſt lacus aquæ dulcis longus.

Vltra centum 60.forſitan ſtadia eſt lacus,bonorum piſcium ferax & vber, qui etiam in alio loco ſui vocatur mare Tyberiadis, & in alio mare Genezareth, varians ſibi nomen,ſecundum ciuitates,& terras propinquas. Circa hoc mare Chriſtus frequentèr, & libentèr ambulaſſe videtur: hîc vocauit ad ſui diſcipulatum, Petrũ,& Andream,Iacobum,& Ioannem: hîc ſuper vndã ſiccis ambulabat veſtigijs, & præcipitem Petrũ filiũ tentantem, verbo increpationis releuat ne mergatur, hîc denique rediuiuus à morte repleuit diſcipulorum rete magnis piſcibus 153. Mare Tyberiadis.

Item in ciuitate Tiberiade,quæ eſt propè hoc mare habetur in veneratione menſa illius cœnæ, quam in Emaus caſtello Chriſtus cænauit, cum ab oculis commenſalium euanuit. Hic de propè monſtratur mons ille fertilis,mons ille pinguis, in quo de paucis panibus, & de paucioribus piſcibus iuſsu Chriſti fuerunt ſaturati, quinque milla hominum.

Ad initium autem prædicti maris iuxta villam Capernaum habetur fortius caſtrum totius terræ promiſſionis,in quo dicitur nata fuiſſe ſancta Anna mater virginis Mariæ.

Prædictis itaq; Chriſti veſtigijs, & terræ ſanctę locis à peregrino cum deuotione cordis & reuerentia debita viſitatis, ſi deſiderat reuerti, poſſit illud facere per Damaſcum, quæ eſt ciuitas longa,nobilis,& grandis,ac plena omnium rerum mercimonijs, cum tamen diſtat à portu maris tribus plenè dietis, per quod ſpacium itineris, cuncta traijciuntur à ſuis equis Dromedarijs, & Camelis: & putatur à pleriſque narrantibus fundata in loco vbi Cain protoplaſtorum filius Abel fratrem ſuum occidit. Damaſcus.

A Damaſco de propinquo eſt mons Seyr, ciuitas grandis firmata duplicibus muris ac populoſa nimis,in qua ſunt multi in arte Phyſica famoſi profeſſi.Item à Damaſco haud remotè diſtat caſtrum ſatis munitum,& firmum,quod Derces eſt nominatum. Habent autem in illis,& vlterioribus partibus hunc vſum: ſi quando caſtrum ab hoſtibus fuerit ſic obſeſſum, quòd Dominus eius non poſſit emittere nuncium amico ſuo remotè moranti, recipit columbam olim in caſtro, vel domo amici natam,vel educatam, quam hic ſibi per certam prouiſionem allatam detinuit incaueatam,& ſcriptas quas vult literas alligans collo columbæ, dimittit liberam volare, quæ protinus feſtinat ad locum propriæ natiuitatis. Sicque videtur cognoſci in illo caſtro quid agatur in iſto.

Cęterum peregrinus à Damaſco reuertendo, in quinque leucis venit Sardenay,quæ eſt villa

Villa Sardenay.

in alta rupe,cum multis Ecclesijs religiosorum Monachorum, & sanctarũ monialiũ fidei Christianæ. In quarum vna coram maiori altari in tabula lignea erat olim imago beatissimę virginis Marię non sculpta sed depicta in plano spacio. Ex hoc reditur per valles Bokar fertiles, & pro pascendis pecorum gregibus exuberantes: & intratur in montana vbi copiositas est fontium qui efluunt impetu de Libano.Ibique decurrit fluuius Sabbatayr, sic dictus quod diebus Sabbatis euidentèr rapidius transit, quàm alijs sex diebus.

Sur,vel Tyrus.

Peruenitur hinc ad satis altum montem, propè Tripolim ciuitatem, in qua ad præsens plures Christiani Catholicæ fidei habitant iugo infideliũ nimis oppressi,Ex hoc loco sibi deliberet peregrinus, quem sibi maris portũ accipiat ad repatriandũ, videlicet Beruth, an Sur vel Tyrũ.

Postremò sciendum,quod terra promissionis in totali longitudine sui à Dan qui est sub Libano vsq; ad Berseba in Austrum continet circiter centum,& 80.leucas Lombardicas,& ab Hierico in totali latitudine circiter 60. Notandum,Dan est viculus in quarto à Penneade Miliario euntibus,contra Septentrionem: vsque hodiè sic vocatur terminus Iudeæ, contra Septentrionem :est etiam & fons Ior,de quo & Iordanis fluuius erumpens alterũ sortitus nomen Ior. Termini Iudeæ terræ à Bersabe incipiunt vsque ad Dan,qui vsque Peneaden terminatur,Ieronimus.

Caput. 21.

De secta detestabili Saracenorum,& eorum fide.

Diligentia Mandeuilli.

IAm restat vt de secta Saracenorũ aliquid scribam vel compendiosè, secundum quòd cum ijs frequentèr colloquendo audiui, & liber Mahometi,quem Alcaron,vel Mesahaf,vel Harmè vocant,ijs præcipit,sicut illum sæpè inspexi,& studiosè perlegi.

Fides Saracenorum.

Credunt itaq; Saraceni in Deũ creatorem cœli & terrę qui fecit omnia in ijs contenta,& sine quo nihil est factum.Et expectant diem nouissimum iudicij,in quo mali cum corpore & anima descensuri sunt in infernũ perpetuò cruciandi,& boni equidem cum anima & corporè intraturi Paradisum fœlicitatis ęternæ.Et hęc quidẽ fides pœnè inest omniũ mortaliũ nationibus,lingua & ratione vtentibus. Verumtamèn de qualitate Paradisi est magna diuersitas inter credentes.

Nam & Saraceni & Pagani & omnes sectæ præter Iudæos & baptizatos Christianos sentiunt bonorum Paradisum fore terrestrem illum de quo fuit expulsus Adam propter inobedientiam protoplaustus: qui (vt putant) fluit, vel tunc fluet pluribus riuis lactis & mellis, & vbi in domibus & mansionibus nobilitèr iuxta meritum vniuscuiusq; ædificatur auro, & argento & gemmis,perfruentur omnibus corporalibus delicijs,in oblectatione animę ęternaliter sine fine. Illi ergò qui fide sanctæ Trinitatis carent, & Christum qui est vera lux ignorant,in tenebris ambulant.Iudęi verò & omnes baptizati rectè sentiunt Paradisum cœlestem & spiritualem,vbi quilibet secundum meritum Diuinitati vnietur,per cognitionem, & amorem.Attamen Iudæi quod contra Scripturas suas sanctæ Trinitati contradicunt, & Christo obloquuntur, qui est vera via, nesciunt quo vadunt.De baptizatis autẽ, qui firmitèr fidẽ Catholicam in humilitate cordis sub Ecclesię pręceptis seruauerunt,hi soli filij sunt lucis,& in via veniendi ad cœlestẽ Pardisum quẽ Christus verbo prędicauit,& ad quẽ corpore & anima,videntibus discipulis,de facto cõscendit.

Credunt etiam Saraceni, omnia esse vera, quę Deus ore prophetarum est locutus, sed in diuersitate,quia nesciunt specificari,imò specificanti contradicerent defacili,vel negarent. Inter omnes prophetas ponunt quatuor excellentiores,quorum supremum & excellentissimũ fatentur Iesum Mariæ Virginis filiũ,quem & asserunt,sermonẽ,vel loquelam,vel spiritũ Dei,& pronunciatorẽ sententiarũ Dei,in iudicio generali futuro,& missũ à deo ad Christianos docèndos.

Secundo loco Abrahamum dicunt fuisse verum Dei cultorem,& amicum.

Tertium dant Mosi locum tanquam prolocutori Dei Misso specialiter, ad instruendos Iudęos.

Quartum volunt esse Mahomet,sanctum,& verum Dei nuncium ad seipsos missum,cum lege diuina in dicto libro plene contenta. Tenent itaq; indubitatè, quod beata Maria Iesum peperit,& cõcepit virgo manens intacta,ac libẽtèr loqui audiunt de incarnatione in ipsa facta per annunciationem Gabrielis Archangeli. Nam & Alcharõ eorum dicit, ad salutationem Angeli virginem expauisse, quòd tunc erat in partibus Galileæ incantator, Turquis nomine, qui per susceptam sibiformam Angeli plures virgines defloraverat, & beatam Virginem conuenisse Angelum,an esset Turquis. Refert quoq; eam peperisse sub palma Arbore,vbi habebatur præsepe bouis,& asinæ, & illic præ confusione puerperij,& verecundia ac dolore,fuisse in proximò desperatam, & infantulum in consolationem matris dixisse,mater ne timeas,Deus in te effudit secreta ad salutationem Mundi. Hæc & his similia multa ibi scribuntur figmenta,& isti plura inter se narrando componunt,quę hoc loco ventilanda non sunt.

Et dicit liber Iesum sanctissimum omnium Prophetarum fuisse veracem in dictis & factis, benignum, pium, iustum, & ab omni vitio penitus alienum : Sanctum quoque Ioannem Euangelistam post prædictos Prophetas fuisse alijs Sanctiorem, cuius & Euangelium fatentur

tur eſſe plenum ſalutari, ac veraci doctrina, & ipſum Sanctum Ioannem illuminaſſe cæcos, leproſos mundaſſe, ſuſcitaſſe mortuos, & in cælum volaſſe viuentem. Erat enim (prout dicit) plus quàm Propheta, & abſque omni peccato, contradicente eodem de ſeipſo, ſi dixerimus quòd peccatum non habemus, veritas in nobis non eſt: vnde & ſi quando Sarraceni tenent ſcriptum Euangelij Sancti Ioannis, aut illud beati Lucæ, miſſus eſt Angelus Gabriel, eleuant ambabus manibus pro reuerentia ſuper caput & ſuper oculos id ponentes, & oſculantur quàm ſæpè cum ſumma deuotione. Nonnulli etiam eorum in Græco, aut Latino literati conſueueuerunt cum deuotione cordis id lectitare.

Idem liber dicit Iudæos perfidos fuiſſe, quòd Ieſu eis primùm miſſo à Deo, & multa miracula facienti credere noluerunt, quódque per ipſum tota gens Iudæorum fuit dignè decepta, & meritò illuſa hoc modo. Ieſus in hora dum Iudas eum pro ſigno traditionis oſculabatur, poſuit per Metamorphoſin figuram ſuam, in ipſum Iudam, ſicque Iudæi in ambiguo lumine nocturni temporis, pro Ieſu Iudam capientes, ligantes, trahentes, deridentes, in fine crucifixerunt, putantes ſe omnia facere Ieſu, qui protinus capto & ligato Iuda, viuus aſcendit in cælum, deſcenſurus iterum viuus ad iudicium in die finali.

Et addit, Iudæos falſiſſimè vſque hodie nos Chriſtianos ſuo mendacio decipere, quo dicunt ſe Ieſu crucifixiſſe, quem non tetegerunt. Hinc errorem tenent Sarraceni obſtinati: & quoddam argumentum inire conantur. Nam ſi Deus (aiunt) permiſiſſet Ieſum, innocentem, & iuſtum ita miſerabiliter occidi, cenſuram ſuæ ſummæ iuſtitię minuiſſet. Sed cùm ipſi, vt ſupradictum eſt, in tenebris ambulant, idcircò ignorantes Dei iuſtitiam, ſtatuere volunt iuſtitiam, imò iniuſtitiam quam fabricant in corde ſuo, quia nos de cruce Chriſti ſcriptum nouimus, benedictum eſt lignum per quod fit iuſtitia. Iſti tamen quod in aliquibus appropinquant veræ fidei, multi quandoque eorum inuenti ſunt conuerſi, & plures adhuc de facili conuerterentur, ſi haberent prædicatores, ſincerè eis verbum tractantes, quippe cùm iam fateantur legem Mahometi quandoque defecturam, ſicut nunc perijt lex Iudæorum, & legem Chriſtianorum vſque in finem ſeculi permanſuram.

Conuerſio Sarracenorum non deſperanda.

CAPVT 22.

De vita, & nomine Mahometi.

PRomiſi in ſuperioribus aliquid narrare de vita Mahometi legiſlatoris Sarracenorum, prout vidi in ſcriptis, vel audiui in partibus illis. Itaque Macho, ſiue Machon, vtrum in ſecunda ſyllaba ſcribatur N, litera, vel non idem refert: & ſi tertia ſyllaba addatur, & dicatur Machomet, vel etiam quarta, Machometus, nihil differt, quòd ſemper idem nomen repreſentat. Ipſi tamen illum ſæpiùs nominant Machon. Putatur autem iſtum Mahomet habuiſſe generationis ortum de Iſmael Abrahæ filio naturali de concubina Agar, vnde & vſque hodie quidam Sarracenorum dicuntur Iſmaelitæ, alij Agareni: ſed & quidam Moabitæ, & Ammonitæ, à duobus Loth filijs Moab & Amon, genitis per inceſtum de proprijs filiabus.

Hic verò Machon, circa annum incarnationis Domini ſexcenteſimum natus, in Arabia pauper erat gratis paſcens camelos, & interdum ſequens Mercatores in Aegyptum fordellos illorum proprio collo deferens pro mercede. Et quoniam tunc temporis tota Aegyptus erat Chriſtianæ fidei, didicit aliquid de fide noſtra, quòd diuertere ſolebat ad cellulam Heremitæ commorantis in deſerto. Et quodammodo fabulantur Sarraceni, quod illo quandoque ingrediente cellulam, cellulæ oſtium mutatum in ianuam valdè patentem, velut ante palatium, & gloriantur hoc primum miraculum. Qui ex tunc conquerendo ſibi pecunias, & diſcendo ſeculi actus diues eſt effectus, & prudens ab omnibus reputatus, in tantum, vt poſtmodum in terræ gubernatorem Corrozaen, (quæ eſt vna prouinciarum regni Arabiæ) aſſumeretur, ac deinde defuncto principe Codige per coniugium illius relictæ in eiuſdem prouinciæ principem eleuaretur. Erat autem ſatis formoſus, & valens, & vltra modum in verbis & factis maturus, & principalis, & ſatis diligebatur à ſuis, magis tamen metuebatur, & erat epilepticus, nemine tamen ſciente. Sed tandem ab vxore comperto contriſtabatur, ſe tali morbido nuptam, qui verſutus fefellit, & conſolabatur mœſtam figmento mendacij excogitati, dicens ſanctum Dei Archangelum Gabrielem ad colloquendum & inſpirandum ſibi, quædam arcana & diuina interdum venire, & pro virtute aut claritate veniente ſe ſubitò cadere & iacere ad intendendum inſpirationem.

Tempus Natiuitatis Mahometi.

Fabulæ Sarracenorum.

Poſt hoc autem, mortuo etiam Rege Arabiæ, tanta egit per ſimulationem ſanctitatis, per donorum effuſionem, & copiam promiſsionum, quod electus eſt & aſſumptus, in totius Arabiæ Regem.

Incrementum authoritatis Mahometi.

Confirmato igitur Mahometo in regnationis ſuæ maieſtate ſuprema, tranſactis à conceptione Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti annis ſolaribus 612. in die Iouis feria quinta Hebdomadæ promulga-

Tempus promulgationis Alcharani.

mulgauit præfatum detestandæ legis suæ librum, plenum perfidiæ & erroris,& à subditis tempore vitæ suæ seruari coegit,qui & vsque hodie in tanto æuo, & tot populis non sine iusto Dei iudicio colitur & seruatur, quamuis miserabile, & miserandum videtur, quòd tot animæ in illo perduntur.Erat quoque tempore regni eius,& alius Heremita in deserto Arabiæ, quem etiam quasi pro deuotione frequentare solebat, ducens secum aliquos de principibus & familia.Super quo plures eorum attendiati tractabant occidere Heremitam.Accidit tandem vna noctium, vt rex Heremitam & seipsum inebriaret, & inter loquendum ambo consopiti dormirent.Et ecce habita occasione comites gladio de latere Regis clàm extracto Heremitam interfecerunt, iterum clàm condentes cruentum gladium in vagina : ac ille euigilans virum videns occisum, magno furore succensus imposuit familiæ factum, volens omnes per iustitiam condemnari ad mortem.Cúmque coram iudicibus & sapientibus ageretur, hi omnes pari concordia,simili voce,& vno ore testabantur tam diuisim quàm coniunctim, Regem in ebrietate sua hominem occidisse,quamuis fortasis esset facti oblitus. Et in plenariam rei probationem,dixerunt ipsum reposuisse mucronem in loculo nudum intersum, sed calido cruore madentem. Quo ita inuento, ac tantis rex obrutus testificationibus, nimiùm erubuit,plenè obmutuit,& confusus recessit. Et ob hoc omnibus diebus suis vina bibere renunciauit : & in lege sua à cunctis bibi vetuit,ac vniuersis bibẽtibus,colentibus,& vendentibus maledixit.Cuius maledictio cõuertatur in caput eius,& in verticẽ ipsius iniquitas eius descẽdat,cùm de vino scriptum cõstet,quòd Deum & homines lętificet.Igitur de eo Sarraceni in sua superstitione deuoti vinum non bibunt,quanquam plures eorum quòd timent in publico non verentur in secreto.

Occasio vina interdicendi Sarracenis.

Est autem communis potus eorum dulcis,delectabilis, & nutritiuus de Casaniel confectus, de qua & Saccarum fieri solet.

Potus Sarracenorum.

Mahometus iste post mortem suam pessimam (mors enim peccatorum pessima) conditus fuit honorificè in capsa,ditissimo auro,& argento,& saxis perornata in vna ciuitate regni sui Arabiæ,vbi & pro sancto,& vero Dei nuncio incepit deuotè coli à suis per annos ducentos sexaginta,atque ex tunc circa annum Domini nongentissimum cum veneratione multa cadauer eius translatum est, in digniorem ciuitatem dictam Merchuel Iachrib, vbi iam longè latéque pro maximo sanctorum, à cordibus à diabolica fraude deceptis colitur,requiritur & adoratur.

Aliàs Mecca.

In ipsius translatione ipsa ciuitas restaurabatur,& firmabatur multò honorificentiùs,& fortiùs destructione sua,quæ per Carolum magnum Regem Francię anteà fuit plenè annihilata, dũ Ogerus dux Danorum præfatus in ea tenebatur captiuus,quem Templarij ad filios Brehir Regis Sarracenorum cum traditione vendiderant, eò quòd ipse Ogerus dictum Brehir in prœlio occiderat,iuxta Lugdunum Franciæ ciuitatem. Et si quando nationis alterius quis ad legem conuertitur Sarracenorum,dum à flamine eorum recipiendus est,dicit & facit eum Dei nuncium,& repetit sic : *Laellech ella alla Mahomet zoyzel alla heth:* quod valet tantum: Non est Deus nisi vnus,& Mahomet fuit eius nuncius.

Ogerus a Templariis proditus.

Caput 23. *De colloquio Authoris cum Soldano.*

Finaliter Sarraceni ponunt Iudæos malos,eò quòd legem Dei violauerunt sibi missam,& cõmissam per Mosem.Et à simili probant Christianos malos,quòd non seruant legẽ Euãgelij Christi,quam seruandam susceperint.Inest enim ijs falsa persuasio ita vt putent vnũquemq; in ea qua natus est secta posse beari,si susceptam seruauerit illibatè : ideóq; probant ab opposito se esse bonos,quia,sicut dicunt, obseruant scripta legis præcepta & ceremonias sancti libri sui à Deo sibi transmissi per beatũ nunciũ suũ Mahomet.Vnde & ego non tacebo quid mihi cõtigit.

Error eorum qui putant vnumquemque in sua religione posse beari.

Dominus Soldanus quodam die in castro,expulsis omnibus de camera sua,me solùm retinuit secum tanquam pro secreto habẽdo colloquio.Consuetũ enim est ijs eijcere omnes tẽpore secretorum: qui diligenter à me intetrogauit qualis esset gubernatio vitæ in terra nostra,breuiter respondebã,bona,per Dei gratiam,qui recepto hoc verbo dixit ita non esse.*Sacerdotes*(inquit) *vestri,qui seipsos exhibere deberent alijs in exemplũ,in malis iacent actibus, parùm curant de Templi seruitio:habitu & studijs se conformant mundo: se inebriant vino,continentiã infringentes,cum fraude negotiantes,ac praua principibus consilia ingerentes.Cõmunis quoq; populus,dum festis diebus intẽdere deberent deuotioni in templo,currit in hortis,in spectaculis,in tabernis vsq; ad crapulam,& ebrietatem,& pinguia manducans & bibens, ac in bestiarum morem,luxuriam prauam exercens. In vsura, dolo, rapina, furto, detractione, mendacio & periurio viuunt plures eorum euidenter, ac si qui talia non agant, vt fatui reputantur, & pro nimia cordis superbia nesciunt ad libitum excogitare,qualiter se velint habere,mutando sibi indumenta, nunc longa,nunc curta nimis,quandoq; ampla,quandoq; stricta vltra modum,vt in his singulis appareant derisi potiùs quàm vestiti:pyleos quoque, calceos,calligas,corrigias sibi fabricant exquisitas,cum etiam è contra deberent secundum Christi sui doctrinam simplices,Deo deuoti,humiles,veraces,inuicem diligentes,inuicẽ concordantes,& iniuriam*

Colloquium Soldani cum Mandeuillo. Reprehensio Sacerdotum.

Reprehensio vulgi iustissima.

Vestimentorum varietas reprehensa.

de

de facili remittentes. Scimus etiam eos propter peccata ſua perdidiſſe hanc terram optimam quam tenemus, nec timemus eam amittere, quamdiu ſe taliter gubernant. Attamen non dubitamus, quin in futurum per meliorem vitæ conuerſationem merebuntur de noſtris eam manibus recuperare.

Ad hoc ego vltra confuſus & ſtupefactus, nequiui inuenire reſponſum; verebar enim obloqui veritati, quamuis ab Infidelis ore prolatæ, & vultu præ rubore demiſſo percunctatus ſum, Domine, ſalua reuerentia, qualiter poteſtis ita plenè hoc noſcere? De hominibus (ait) meis interdum mitto ad modum Mercatorũ per terras, & regiones Chriſtianorũ, cum Balſamo, gemmis, ſericis, ac aromatibus, ac per illos ſingula exploro, tam de ſtatu Imperatoris, ac Põtificum, Principum, ac Sacerdotum, quàm Prælatorum, nec non æquora, prouincias, ac diſtinctiones earum.

Igitur peracta collocutione noſtra ſatis producta, egreſſos principes in cameram reuocauit, ex quibus quatuor de maioribus iuxta nos aduocans, fecit eos expreſſè ac debitè, per ſingulas diuiſiones in lingua Gallicana deſtinguere per partes, & ſingularum nomina partium, omnem regionem terræ Angliæ, ac alias Chriſtianorum terras multas, acſi inter noſtros fuiſſent nati, vel multo tempore conuerſati.

Nam & ipſum Soldanum audiui cum ijs bene & directè loquentem idioma Francorum. Itaque in omnibus his mente conſternatus obmutui, cogitans, & dolens de peccatis ſingulis, rem taliter ſe habere.

Nunc piè igitur (rogo) conſideremus, & corde attendamus, quantæ ſit confuſionis, & qualis opprobrij, dum Chriſtiani nominis inimici nobis noſtra exprobrant crimina. Et ſtudeat quilibet in melius emendare, quatenus (Deo propitio) poſſit in breui tempore, hæc de qua loquimur, terra Deo delecta, hæc ſacroſancta terra, hæc filijs Dei promiſſa, nobis Dei adoptiuis reſtitui: vel certè, quod magis exorandum eſt, ipſi Sarraceni ad fidem Catholicam, & Chriſtianam obedientiam, Eccleſiæ filijs aggregari, vt ſimul omnes per Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum conſubſtantialem Dei filium perueniamus ad cæleſtem Paradiſum.

Inſignis Mandeuilli peroratio.

Explicit prima pars huius operis.

Secunda pars.

Caput. 24.

Perſuaſio ad non credentes terrarum diuerſitates per orbem terræ.

MIrabilis Deus mirabililia propter ſemetipſum creauit, vt ſcilicet ab intellectualibus creaturis ſuis intelligeretur, & per hoc diligeretur, atque in hoc ipſe creator, & creatura ſe mutuò fruerentur. Mirabilis eſt ergo Deus maximè in illo, quòd ipſe ſolus ſufficit ſibi: & mirabilis in altis Dominus, hoc eſt, in cælo & in cæleſtibus: ſed & mirabilis in terris, & in terreſtribus: tamen ſi verum iudicauerimus, nihil eſt mirabile, quod mirũ videri non debet, ſi ille qui omnipotens eſt, fecit quæcunque voluit in cælo & in terra. Sed ecce dum nobis contingit videre rem quam priùs non vidimus, miratur noſter animus, non quòd ſimpliciter mirum eſt, ſed quod nobis id mirum & nouum. Deus vnus, ſimplex quidem eſt, vt creaturæ cæleſtes quò Deo magis de propinquo ſunt eò ſimpliciores exiſtunt. Terreſtres autem quòd in ſitu remotiori ſint, idcircò magis diuerſæ, magis contrariæ inter ſe ſunt.

Ergo quicunque ſapiens eſt non ſtupet animo, dum in terrenis reſpicit res varias, & diuerſas, vel dum diuerſa contingunt, ſeu inueniuntur in partibus terræ diuerſis: ſed qui intellectum ſuper ſenſum non eleuant, & magis credunt oculo ſuo corporeo, quàm ſpirituali, & qui nunquam à natiuitatis ſuę loco receſſerunt, iſti vix volunt credere, ſeu poſſunt alijs vera narrantibus de mundi diuerſitatibus.

Reprehenſio incredulorũ, qui nihil credunt, niſi quod domi viderint.

Attamen tales, ſi vellent, de facili videre poſſint ſuum errorem. Quia quicunque natus in vna ciuitate, vel patria, ſi tantummodò moueat ſe ad proximam ciuitatem, inueniet ibi procul dubio aliquam differentiam, vel diuerſitatem in idiomate linguæ, vel in modo loquendi, in moribus hominum, in occupationibus, in legibus, in conſuetudinibus, vel etiam in agrorum fructibus, in arborum frugibus, ſeu in his quæ gignuntur in terra, in aere, & in aquis.

Si ergo aliqualiter inueniri poſsit differentia in proximo, quant ò maior ſit diſtantia, tantò maior differentia æſtimanda eſt in remoto, vel in remotiori, ſeu remotiſsimo loco. Vnde ego, quia in præcedente parte tractatus narrare cœpi aliqua, quæ in his, & in peregrinatione mea vſque in terram promiſsionis ſanctam vidi, de quibus etiam poteſt, & poterit conſtare multis, qui

qui in partibus noſtris eadem peregrinatione me præceſſerunt, & ſecuti ſunt, procedam in deſcribendo aliqua illorum, quæ vidi & percepi in deambulatione mea, qua peragraui multas alias terras, & perlegi multas vndas, vſque in multorum hoc tempus annorum, & propter inſipientes, & diſcredentes non tacebo. Sed nec propter credentes nec ſapientes ſatis mouebor; tamen vt diuerſa Dei opera qui reſpicere non poſſunt oculo, ſaltem legant, vel audiant ex hoc ſcripto. Pauca vtique vidi horum quæ ſunt, ſed pauca horum quæ vidi, narrabo.

CAPVT. 25. *De Armenia, Perſia, & Amazonia.*

DE regionibus quæ Iudeæ contiguantur, ſcilicet Arabia, Aegypto & Syria, ſtatui modicum vltra narrare, relinquens hunc locum narrandi alijs peregrinis. Et feſtinans ad terras remotiores, Armeniam minorem, non per ſingulas ciuitates, ſed celeriter tranſiens, vidi à remotis amplum caſtrum vocatum Del eſpoyer, de quo mihi ſuſtinui dici, quod ſit vaſtum, & à nemine habitatum, niſi à fantaſtica quadam Domina, ſeruante in medio maioris aulæ ſuper perticam, volucrem rapacem, quæ dicitur Latinè accipiter, vel huiuſmodi: quam auem, ſi aliquis hominum ingrediens ſe cuſtodire perũgil abſq; vlla ſomnolentia per ſeptem continuos dies & noctes poſſet, ipſa Domina in fine facti apparens concederet illi quantamcunque faceret petitionem terræ, commodi, vel honoris, ſed ſi obdormiret, periret. Huic tamen dicto parùm curaui accommodare aurem, niſi quòd communiter dicebatur, in bene tranſacto tempore prædicta fuiſſe tentata per duas perſonas, vnum Regem, & alterum Paſtorem. Et Regi quidem quod indebitam fecit petitionem, vile ſucceſſit negotium, paſtori peroptimè ſucceſſit negotium.

Mandeuillus nihil facit has fabulas.

In Armenia maiori, eſt magna & bona ciuitas Artyron ad dietam propè fluuium Euphratem. Et ſunt ibi duo montes erecti valdè, vnus Sabiſſatele, alter Ararath, quorum vltimus habet per anfractus, & periodos per aſcẽſum viæ, ferè 7. leucas, & quaſi omni tẽpore eſt plenus niue.

Artyron ciuitas.
Sabiſatelle.
Ararath.

In illo loco fertur quieuiſſe Arca diluuij, cuius vnicus aſſer mõſtratur, in Eccleſia Monachorũ ad montis pedẽ habitantiũ: attamẽ nullus hominũ pro frigore nimio attẽtare preſumit aſcenſũ.

Landania.

Eſt autem & ibi ciuitas Landania, de qua nonnulli dicunt quòd Noe illam fundauerat, & ciuitas magna Hany, in qua, tempore Chriſtianorum mille habebantur Eccleſiæ.

Hany magna ciuitas.

In illa Armenia ſub Imperio Perſiæ eſt famoſa ciuitas Tauris, vbi de mercimonijs ponderalibus fit ineſtimabilis mercatura. Hinc ad decem dietas ad Orientem habetur ciuitas Zadona, in ea Imperator Perſarum moratur, & eſt in eodem imperio ciuitas valdè magna Caſſach, quæ recto itinere dicitur ſtare ab Hieroſolymis 55. dietis. Geth ciuitas imperialis, & melior totius Perſiæ in hâcterra noſcitur eſſe, cùm tamen Carnaa ſit ſatis maior.

Tauriza ciuitas famoſa.
Zadone ciuitas.
Caſach.
Geth.
Carnaa.

Circa fines Perſiæ in terra "Sennaar, eſt illa quæ olim dicebatur Babylonia, nec apparet ibi aliquid, quàm ruinæ grandis & vetuſtæ ciuitatis, quæ ab hominibus eſt deſerta, ſed à Draconibus inhabitata, & alijs animalibus, & volucribus venenoſis. Hanc terram tenet Imperator Perſarum, vt ſuprà dixi. Etiam intra fines Perſiæ, eſt terra, vbi ſanctus Iob patiens morabatur, quæ modò dicitur terra Sues, in cuius montanis inuenitur Manna, quod venditur in Apothecis. Huic terræ Sues contiguatur Chaldæa, quæ non eſt magna, quamuis nobilis regio habeatur. Et ab iſta intratur Amazonia.

"Vel Sinar.
Ruinæ antiquæ Babyloniæ.
Manna Apothecariorum
Chaldæa.
Amazonia inſula.

Amazonia eſt modica inſula, quam abſque viris ſolæ regunt & inhabitant mulieres: cuius rei prima cauſa hæc fuit.

Olim cum inſula communiter à viris, & mulieribus habitabatur, Rex eius dictus Colopius cum omnibus nobilibus ſuis in bello contra Regnum Scithiæ occiſus fuit. Audientes igitur nobilium vxores ipſius inſulæ ſe viduatas, ſuper his, in doloroſo furore animi ad plures congreſsiones occiderũt & fugauerunt omnes aliarum mulierum maritos, ne ſcilicet ſua ingenuitas ſubiaceret voluntati, & poteſtati plebis. Et tandem poſt reformatam inter ſe pacem mulieres inito conſilio ſtatuerunt ſe ſolas abſque viris dominari in terra, atque ex tunc ſumi ſibi regimen per certam electionis formam, quæ robuſta, agilis, ſapiens, iuuenis, ac valens apparet in armis.

Sciendũ tamen eſt, extra hanc inſulam flumen eſſe, & alias modicas inſulas, quarũ vna dicitur Carmagite, de quibus licitum eſt ijs accerſire viros, & amaſios bis in anno, ita vt nulla moram trahat ſeptem dierum naturaliũ ſub pœna indubitata occiſionis. Infantem maſculũ nutrire licet quoadu ſq; per ſe comedat & gradiatur, tunc tranſmittendus eſt in domũ paternam. Generoſæ natæ puellæ aufertur ignito cultro vber ſiniſtrum pro ſcuto gerendo, degeneri dextrum, ad ſagittandum de arcu Turco.

Regina cum conſiliaribus & officialibus ſuis regit ſapientèr & benè terram, & ſeruat omnes ſibi ſub diſtricta obedientia, per leges, & pœnas, & amendas conſcriptas. Et cùm circumiacentium inſularum Reges contra ſe ad inuicem prœliari ſolent, tunc Regina Amazoniæ cum ſuis Nobilibus ab vna parte pro magno ſtipendio vocari ſolet in adiutoriũ, vbi & inuẽtæ ſunt ſapiẽtes in conſilijs, probæ in armis, acres in conflictibus, & in omnibus Curiæ actibus bene valẽtes.

CAP.

Caput 26.

De Aethiopia, & Diamantibus, & de infima India.

Aethiopia conſiſtit à terra Chaldæorum in Auſtrum, quæ diſtinguitur in Oriẽtalem Aethiopiam, & Meridionalem, quarum prima in illis partibus vocatur Cuſh, propter hominum nigredinem, altera Mauritania. Et eſt ibi Regnum Saba, de quo legitur, quod Regi Salomoni Reges Arabum, & Saba, dona & tributa adduxerunt. Eóque Regina Saba venit à finibus, hoc eſt, à longinquis terræ partibus audire ſapientiam Salomonis. Omnes in Aethiopia aquę in fluuijs & riparijs, & fontibus ſapiunt Sal, propter nimium calorem. Eſt ibi vnus aquæ fons ita de nocte calidus, vt nemo in eo ſuſtineat manum, & ita de die frigidus, vt bibi vix poſſit.

Mauritania. Regnum Saba

Plinius.

Generaliter iſti de Mauritania Aethiopes comedunt parùm, de facili inebriantur, fluxum ventris patiuntur, nec diu viuunt.

De Aethiopia intratur in Indiam mediam, nam triplex eſt, videlicet infima, quæ in quibuſdam ſuis partibus eſt nimis frigida ad inhabitandum: Media quæ ſatis temperata eſt, & ſuperior, quæ nimis calida. In India infima propter continuum & graue frigus generatur chriſtallum de aqua per gelu, ſicut quidam aſſerunt. Sed certum eſt ibi haberi rupes chriſtalli, & in illis gigni optimos Diamantes, quos lingua illius vocant Hameſht.

India triplex.

Diamantes.

Eſt autem diamas paruus præcioſus lapis, magnæ virtutis, ſicut pleniùs deſcribitur in lapidariis. Quidam inueniuntur in magnitudine piſi, vel etiam piſo minores: alii ad quantitatem fabæ, ſed nullus maior auellana, vel nuce. Et dicitur de eo in partibus illis, quod ſi hic qui portat ſit continens, & ſobrius reddit illum magnanimum & audacem, & iuuat in cauſis iuſtis certantem, conſeruat ſubſtantias corporales, aufert praua ſomnia, depellit prauorum ſpirituum illuſiones, ſortilegia, & incantationes, ac valet contra lunaticam paſsionem, & dæmonis obſeſsionem, & venenoſum quod illi appropinquauerit exſudat, & exhumeſcit.

Optimi Diamantes de India aſsimulantur in colore multùm chriſtallo, ſed ſunt aliquantulum magis citrini, & pro ſui duritie poliri non poſſunt. Inueniuntur autem ibi nonnulli ſubnigri ad colorem violę: Alii naſcuntur in Arabia nigri, & tenuiores prædictis, alii in Macedonia, & quidam in Cypro, ſed in mineriis auri, dum prima maſſa in minutias confringitur, interdum reperiuntur. Sciendum enim eſt, ſæpè plures ſimul creſcere, nec non generant, & concipiunt inuicem de rore cæli, quemadmodum & Margaritæ: quod ego pluries tentans, accepi de rupe ceſpitem cum diamante maſculo, & femella, plantans in pratello, & frequentans, focillans madefeci de rore Maii. Et ecce in breui, paruulus ex iis gignebatur, naſcebatur, & adoleſcebat ad debitam quantitatem: fiunt verò omnes per naturam cum pluribus angulis vt trium vel quatuor, aut quinque laterum, & nonnulli cum lateribus ſenis. E contra, omnes margaritæ naſcuntur in forma ſphærica, ſeu rotunda.

Experientia Mandeuilli in diamantibus.

Et notandum quòd mercatores, pro diamantibus, frequenter aliud vendunt: Nam ſolet commixtio fieri de chriſtallo Crochee, de Saphiro, de Lonpes Citrino, de lapide Yri, & de paruis petris ex murium nidis. Probatio veri diamantis haberi poteſt his modis.

Diamantum ſophiſticatio.

Probatio veri diamantis.

Primò, ſi ita inuenitur tener, vt ſe poliri dimittat, non eſt verus.

Item ſi de eo non poteſt ſcindi vitrum criſtallum, non eſt verus.

Item accipe paruum quantitatis lapidem Adamantem, qui ſolet ſibi attrahere acum & ferrum, & pone verum diamantem ſuper adamantem, túncque ſi miniſtraueris adamanti acum, videbis adamantem operari nihil, vero diamante præſente, dum tamen adamas non ſit diamante maior.

Item ſi cultellum laminæ tenuis, habentem in manubrio incluſum vel alligatum verum diamantem in menſa vel aſſere erexeris, protinus vt ipſi venenum appropinquabit, ſtabit tremulans atque ſudans. Et notandum, quòd per luxurioſum, ſeu guloſum qui ferret diamantem amitteret virtutem ad tempus.

Terra Indiæ appellatur ab Indo ibi currente fluuio, cuius anguillæ inueniuntur quandoque vltra 20. pedes in longitudine. In media India tranſitur per multas inſulas vſque ad mare Oceanum, in inſulam Ormuz, vbi Mercatores Venetiæ ſæpè tendunt, ſed viri, qui aſſueti non ſunt tantum ſuſtinere calorem, ne exeant perpendicula de corporibus propè ad genua, ibi ſe contra hoc debitè inuoluunt, & ligant, nec audent ibi tranſire nauibus ferrum continentibus, ne teneantur de rupibus adamantum.

Terra Indiæ vnde dicta.

Inſula Ormuz

A Balſara, per ſinum Perſicũ ad Ormuſium nauigantes, talibus hodie vtuntur nauigiis, ſine ferreis clauis.

Hìc in aliquibus Aethiopiæ partibus habitant publicè, inhoneſtorum vtriuſque ſexus hominum conſuetudinem inhoneſtam gerentes, & in æſtu meridiano refrigerandi cauſa exeunt circa ciuitatem ad riparias iacere, & diſcurrere nudis prorſus corporibus omni pudore reiecto, ex quo procul dubio inhoneſta vitia ſequuntur.

Eſt

Insula Chaua, vel Chaul forte.

Est & non longè ab ista insula regio seu insula Caua vel Chaua, quæ à primo statu multùm est minorata per mare. Hi sunt infidelissimi Paganorum. Nam quidam adorant Solem, alij Lunam, ignem, aquam, & terram, arborem, vel serpentem, vel cui de manè primò obuiant. Ibi magni mures, quos nos dicimus rattas, sunt in quantitate paruorum canum. Et quoniam per cattos capi non possunt, capiuntur per canes maiores.

Corpora mortuorum non sepeliuntur ibi, nec cadauera quælibet bestiarum operiuntur, quòd ad aeris æstum carnes in breui tempore consumuntur, nam & tota insula consistit sub zona torrida. Inde transiri potest per mare in Indiam superiorem, siue maiorem, videlicet Imperium Presbyteri Ioannis ad portum ciuitatis Zarke, quæ est elegans & bona satis. In ea habitãt plurimi Catholicæ fidei Christiani: & habentur plurimæ Abbatiæ religiosorum, quas olim Dux Danorum Ogerus constituit, vnde & vsque nunc dicuntur Ecclesiæ Dani, atque ex hoc nauigari potest in terram Lombe.

Zarke, vel Zarchia.

Terra Lombe.

Caput 27.

De foresto Piperis, & fonte iuuentutis.

Regio seu insula dicta Lombe, spatiosa quidem est, continens forestum dictum aliàs Tombar, longũ per dietas 18. In orbe vniuerso nõ noscimus crescere piper, præterquàm in hoc foresto. In quo & habẽtur duæ ciuitates, vna Flandrina, (& illa ciuitas inhabitata est à Iudæis, & Christianis, inter quos sæpè magna seditio oritur) altera Singlant: quas quondam Danus fertur fundasse Ogerus, vocans vnam Flandrinam, nomine auiæ suæ ex parte patris sui, alteram Florentam nomine auiæ ex parte matris suæ, quæ mutato nomine nunc vocatur Singlant.

Flandrina.

Singlant.

Sciendum est autem, piper ibi crescere in hunc modum: sicut nos plantamus vites aut quercus arbores robustas, vt vitis cum fructibus se spargat, vt supportetur per ramos, sic coluntur arbusta piperis ad arbores foresti, & sparguntur per ramos, & dependent fructus vt botri. Et venit in eodem arbusto triplex piper in anno.

Piper quomodo crescat.

Primum est quod vocatur longum piper, & venit priusquam nascuntur folia in arbustis, quemadmodum nos in arbore videmus corylo in hyeme ante folia præcedere quasdam caudulas longas, quo circa initium vindemiato, nascuntur cum foliis botri piperis viridis ad similitudinem paruarum vuarum. Quod quidem circa tempus Iulii in eadem viriditate vindemiatum in æstu feruido siccatur ad Solem, vt accipiat nigredinem, & rugarum contractionem.

Piper longum

Postea exurgit piper album in granis minoribus, & in abundantia satis minori, quo tanquam pretiosiori vtuntur in partibus illis, & rarò vendunt ad partes istas.

Piper album.

Primum piper appellatur Sorbotyn, secundum Fulful, tertium verò Bauos.

Sunt autem per nemus istud fera animalia, & venenosa, sicut parui serpentes, colubri, & huiusmodi, de quibus nescio quis famam diffundit per nostras partes, quòd vindemiatores piperis tales vermes fugant per ignem: sed non est ita, imò vngunt brachia, manus, tibias, & pedes cum quodam succo herbæ dictæ Limonse, à quo citò diffugit omne venenum.

In huius foresti capite sub monte Polembo, est ciuitas dicta Polemba, & sub eodem monte fons qui dicitur Iuuentutis. Aqua huius fontis reddit odorem, & saporem quasi de omni genere aromatum, nam singulis penè horis immutat odorem, & saporem. Et quisquis per aliquos dies potat ieiuno stomacho sanatur in breui tempore, à quacunque interiori infirmitate, languore duntaxat mortis excepto: & sanè illorum qui propè sunt, & frequenter bibunt apparet per totum vitæ tempus mira iuuentus. Ego autem ter vel quater bibi, quamobrem & vsque hodiè arbitror potiùs me corporaliter valere. Putatur enim fons ille immediatè per poros subterraneos eliquari de fonte paradisi terrestris, ita quòd nulla via decurrentium super terram fluentium vitietur. In ista etiam regione, & in insulis circumquaque crescit gingiber valdè bonum, vnde & mercatores sæpè ibi tendunt de Venetia pro emendo pipere & gingibere. Gentes verò huius insulæ peruersę & stolidissimæ sunt superstitionis adorantes bouem tanquam animal beatissimum, propter eius simplicitatem mansuetudinem, patientiam, & vtilitatem.

Mons Polembus.

Ciuitas Polemba.

Fons Iuuentutis.

Nota.

Gingiber.

Multitudo cuiuslibet ciuitatis vel villæ vnum specialem nutrit bouem, quem post quam laborauit in aratro per sex annos immolant manducantes pariter cum maxima solemnitate. Et quicunque inde minimam minutiam comedit, reputat se sanctificatum totum.

Porrò apud Regem tenetur bos singularis, cuius custos diligentissimè vrinam in vase aureo accipit simpliciter, & de fimo in vase consimili: & quotidiè venit summus eorum prælatus, quem dicunt Archiprotoplaustum, offert personaliter in prædictis pretiosis vasis, Domino Regi de bouis vrina & fimo, atque in vrina, quam appellant Gaul, tingens manus, defricat, & perungit Regis pectus & frontem, deinde similiter de fimo in multa cordis attentione, ad finem vt

Archiprotoplaustus. Gaul.

possint

poſſint aſſequi quatuor virtutes bouis præfati.

Poſt regem cùm reuerentia accedunt, & vnguntur Barones, principes, & poſt ipſos cæteri ordinati quicunque attingere poſſint, putantes ſe ſanctificari per rem penitus non valentem, imò nimis fœtidam, & inhoneſtam.

Præterea populi iſti colunt Idola facta ad medium in forma humana, & ad medium in forma bouis. In quibus permiſſione Dei per eorum perfidiam maligni ſpiritus habitant dantes de interrogatis reſponſa. Et hijs Idolis offerunt infinita donaria quandoq;, & ſacrificant interdum proprios infantes, ipſorum ſanguine Idola reſpergentes.

Dum hic maritus moritur, vxor comburitur cum marito, niſi de illo habeat ſobolem cum quo viuere ſolet, & velit. Quæ ſibi eligit cum prole ſuperuiuere, non habebitur de cætero fide digna. Vxor cum marito combuſta.

Attamen in ſimili cauſa, ſi vir non vult cremari cum vxore mortua, non minuit ei honorem.

Et forte vinum naſcitur ibi: quòd mulieres bibunt, & non viri, vt ſic mulieribus creſcant barbæ, ſed mulieribus raduntur, & viris minimè.

Caput. 28.

De Eccleſia & corpore Sancti Thomæ Apoſtoli.

HInc in Meridiem pluribus exactis Inſulis per viam decem dietarum venitur in Regnum Mabron. Illic in ciuitate Calamiæ, ſeruatur in magno templo corpus beatiſſimi Thomæ Apoſtoli Domini noſter Ieſu Chriſti in capſa honorificata. In quo loco & martirizatus fuit, licet dicunt quidam, quod in Ediſſa ciuitate. Iſte populus non eſt multum tempus tranſactum, quin fuit totus in fidei relligione, ſed nunc eſt ad peſſimos Gentilium ritus peruerſus, nec attendit, nec veneratur relliquias ſancti corporis Apoſtoli ibidem contentas, quamuis ijs euidens, ac vtile, & mirificum præſtare ſolebat beneficium, quod infra narrabo. Regio Mabrō, vel malaber. Calamia, vel Calumè. Thomæ Apoſtoli ſepultura.

Per certas hiſtorias habetur Ducem Danorum Ogerum conquiſiuiſſe has terras, & in exaltatione ſanctarum Apoſtoli relliquiarum feciſſe fieri præfatam ſpectactilem Eccleſiam, ac intra eum reponi in nobiliſſimo loculo, gemmis, auro, argentoque decenter ornato Sanctum corpus, ac deinde poſt annorum tempus trecentorum Aſſyrios abſtuliſſe feretrum cum ipſo corpore ſancto in Ediſſam ciuitatem Meſopotamiæ, in qua & fuit martyrizatus ſecundum quoſdam, rurſumq; poſt ſexaginta & tres annos recuperatū corpus in ſuam fuiſſe Eccleſiam reſtitutum, videlicet in Calamia, atque in eiuſdem recuperationis ſignum certum dimiſerunt iſti, & dimittunt extra ferretri loculum dependere brachium dextrum, cum manu quæ tetigiſſe creditur pia reſurgentis vulnera Chriſti. Quærendum eſt quæ ſint iſtæ hiſtoriæ.

Eadem quoque manus ſolet vſque hodie ſuæ veræ pœnitentiæ tale manifeſtare miraculum vt dum partes quælibet litigantes velint vtræque ſuas cauſas iuramento confirmare, conſcriptis hinc indè cauſis ponantur ambæ cartulæ in Apoſtoli manu. Quæ cunctis ‖ exeuntibus Eccleſiam, protinus ſub vnius horæ tempore reiecta longius falſitate, veritatem ſibi reſeruat: ſed nunc ſicut dicere cœpi iſti populi huic beneficio Dei ingrati, & diabolica illuſione excæcati mirabilitèr paganizant. ‖Interea dum exirēt, Monachi ſuos dolos potuerunt exercere.

Nam & in hac ipſa beati Thomæ Eccleſia ſtatuerunt multa miræ magnitudinis ſimulachra, ex quibus vnum quòd maius eſt multò alijs apparet ſedens homo in alto ſolio adoperto aureis ſericis, & lapidibus præcioſis, habenſque ad collum ſuſpenſa pro ornatu multa cinctoria præcioſè gemmis, & auro contexta. Ad hoc autem Idolum adorandum confluunt peregrini à remotis partibus, & propinguis, in ſatis maiori copia, & valdè feruentiori deuotione quàm Chriſtiani, ad ſanctuum Iacobum in Galizia, quia multi eorum per totum peregrinationis iter, non audent erigere palpebras oculorum, ne fortè propter hoc deuotio intermittatur. Idolum in templo ſancti Apoſtoli erectum.

Alij de propè venientes ſuperaddunt labori itinerandi, vt ad tertium vel ad quartùm paſſum ſemper cadant in genibus. Nonnulli quoque demoniaca inſpiratione ſemetipſos per viam peregrinationis lanceolis, & cultellis nunc minoribus, nunc maioribus ſauciant vulneribus per ſingula corporis loca, & dum ante Idolum perueniunt, exciſum fruſtum de carne propria proijciunt ad Idolum pro offerenda, ac plagis durioribus ſe caſtigant, & quandoque ſpontaneè penitus ſe occidunt: in ſolemnitatibus verò, ſicut in dedicatione, & ſicut in thronizatione ſimulachrorum, fit conuentus populi, quaſi totius Regni. Et ducitur cum proceſſione maius Idolum per circuitum ciuitatis, in curru precioſiſſimo, modis omnibus perornato, & præcedunt in numero magno puellæ cantantes binæ, & binæ ordinatiſſimè, ſucceditque pluralitas Muſicorum cum inſtrumentis varijs ſimphonizantes, quos continuè ſubſequitur currus, cuius lateribus coniungit ſe peregrinorum exercitus, qui & venerunt de remotis.

Ibique cernitur miserabilis actus vltra modum. Nam aliqui victi vltrà modum diabolica deuotione proijciunt se sub rotis currus præcedentis, vt frangantur sibi crura, brachia, latera, dorsa, nec non & colla in reuerentiam Dei sui (vt dicunt) à quo remunerationem sperant, venire ad Paradisum terrestrem.

Occidunt se in honorem Idoli.

Et post processionem postquàm statuerunt Idolum in templo suo loco, multiplicatur coram simulachris numerus sæpè plangentium, & occidentium vltrà quam credi sit facile. Ita quod quandoque in illa vnica solemnitate inueniuntur ducenta corpora, vel plura occisorum. Et assistantes propinqui amici talium diaboli martyrum, cum magna musicorum melodia decantantes in sua lingua offerunt Idolis corpora, ac demum accenso rogo omnia corpora comburunt in honorem Idolorum, assumentes sibi singuli aliquid de ossibus aut cineribus pro reliquijs, quas putant sibi valituras contra quælibet infortunia, & tempestates. Et habetur ante templum aquæ lacus, velut seruatorium piscium, in quo proijcit populus largissimè suas oblationes, argentũ, aurũ, gemmas, cyphos, & similia, quibus ministri certis temporibus exhibentes prouident Ecclesię, ac simulachro, ac sibi ipsis abundantèr. Quoddam fabulosum scriptum exiuit per partes nostras, quod in prędicta processione circumferatur cum pheretro corpus beati Thomæ, qui & in fine processionis populo communicaret proprijs manibus de Eucharistiæ sacramento, sed non est ita, & nunquam fuit.

Reprehendit fabulas vulgi.

Caput. 29.

De Iaua, *& quibusdam alijs meridionalibus Insulis, & de farina, melle & piscibus Ogeri Ducis Danorum.*

Processio 52. diætarum in Austrum.

INde vlterius procedendo in Austrum per multas & mirabiles terras quinquaginta duarum diętarum spacio, habetur magna Insula Lamori. Illic omnes nudi incedũt, & ferè omnia sunt singulis communia, nec vtuntur priuatis clauibus siue seris, imo & omnes mulieres sunt communes omnibus & singulis viris, dummodo violentia non inferatur: sed & peior est ijs consuetudo, quod libentèr comedunt teneras carnes humanas; vnde & negotiatores adferunt eis crassos infantes venales: quod si non satis pingues afferuntur, eos saginant sicut nos vitulum, siue porcum.

Humanis carnibus vescentes, seu ἀνθρωποφάγοι.

Mandeuillus vsus astrolabio.

Hic apparet in bona altitudine polus Antarcticus, & incipit modò apparere in alta Lybia, ita quod in alta Æthiopia eleuatur octodecim gradibus, prout ipse probaui Astrolabio.

Ad meridiem terræ Lamori est Insula bona, ‖Sumebor, cuius gentes reputant se nobiliores alijs, signantes se in facie certo caûterio. Isti semper guerras gerunt contra præfatas gentes nudas de Lamory.

Insula Rotonigo.

Ad modicam indè destantiam habetur Insula Rotonigo abundans in bonis pluribus: sed & in Austrum sequuntur aliæ plures regiones & Insulæ, de quibus prolixum narrare fuisset.

Iaua Insula, grandis. Multa aromata in Iaua.

Et est valde grandis regio Iaua, habens in circuitu ambitum leucarum duarum millium. Huius rex est valde potens, & imperans septem insularum vicinarum regibus. Terra ista est populosa valdè, & crescunt in ea species, & abundantia gingiberis, canella, gariofoli, nuces muscatæ, & mastix, cum aromatibus multis. Sed & quod ibi nascatur vinum, non habent: aurum & argentum est ibi in copia immensa, quòd patet in regis Iauæ palatio, cuius palatij nobilitas non est facilè scribenda.

Victoriæ Ogeri Ducis Dani.

Cuncti gradus ascendentes ad palatij aulas, & aularum cameras, & ad thalamos Camerarum sunt solidi de argento vel auro, sed & omnis statura pauimentorum in alijs habetur ad similitudinem scacarij, vnam quadratam argenti, alteram auri, laminis valdè crassis, & in ipsis pauimentis, sunt exsculpta gesta, & historiæ diuersæ. In principali verò aula, est plenariè expressa Dani Ducis Ogeri historia, à natiuitate ipsius, quousque in Franciam fantasticè dicatur reuersus, cum tempore Caroli magni regis Franciæ, ipse Ogerus armata manu conquisiuit Christianitati ferè omnes partes transmarinas à Ierosolymis vsque ad arbores solis & Lunæ, ac propè paradisum terrestrem.

Hinc patet quod Imperium Grand Can ad Austrũ valdè olim protẽdebatur. ‖Vel Tholomassi.

Pro hac Regione Iaua, (quæ tangit fines Imperij Tartarię) sibi subiuganda, Imperator Grand Can multoties pugnauit, sed nunquam valuit expugnare. Hinc per mare venitur ad regnum ‖Thalamassæ, quód & ‖Panchon dicitur, in quo habetur magnus numerus bonarum ciuitatum. Intra hanc Insulam, quatuor sunt genera arborum, de quarum vna accipitur farina ad panem, de secunda mel, de tertia vinum, & de quarta pessimum venenum. Extrahitur autem farina de suis arboribus isto modò.

‖Vel Paren.

Certo tempore anni percutitur stipes arboris vndique propè terram cum securi, & cortex in locis pluribus vulneratur, de quibus recipitur liquor spissus, qui deficcatus ad solis æstum & contritus

contritus reddit farinam albam,ac ſi de frumento eſſet cõfectus, attamen hic panis non eſt triticei ſaporis,ſed alterius valdè boni. Farina ex arbore.

Simili modo de ſuis arboribus mel elicitur, & vinum liquitur : excepto quod illa non ſicut gramina pruna deſiccantur. Fertur quoque ibidem, extractionem huius farinæ, mellis, & vini, per Angelum primitus fuiſſe oſtenſam prædicto Danorum Duci, illic fame cum ſuo exercitu laboranti. Contra venenum quod de quarto arboris genere ſtillat, ſolum eſt intoxicato remedium,vt de proprio ſimo per puram aquam diſtemperato bibat.

Et eſt in hac Inſula quoddam mare mortuum, velut lacus fętidus, cuius in pleriſq; locis fundus humano ingenio non valet attingi: miræ magnitudinis arundines creſcunt ſuper hunc lacum,in altitudine cedrorum aut abietum pedum ducentorum,ita vt viginti ſocij mecum nequiuimus vnius caput iacentis arundinis ſubleuare de terra. Minores etiam arundines naſcuntur ad fluuii ripam,habentes in terra radices longitudinis trecentorum cubitorum aut plurium, Ad quarum nodos radicum,inueniuntur gemmę precioſę,de quibus expertum eſt, ſiquis vnam habuerit in pugno ſuo,ferrum corpori ſuo non nocebit: vnde ſi quis ibi pugnans, putat aduerſarium,ac inimicum hac gemma munitum aggreditur eum cum fuſtibus non ferratis. Immenſæ molis arundines. Sunt quidam lapides qui ſanguinem ſiſtunt: de quibus etiam Oſorius.

De hac intratur in Inſulam ‖Calanoch,magnam & refertam bonorum omnium,Rex eius potens eſt multum, & licitum eſt ei, quandocunque, & quibuslibet in regno vti mulieribus, de quibus interdum magnum numerum tenet puerorum. Mille quadringẽtos habere ſolet ad prędiandum eliphantes, quos ſibi nutriunt villani per regnum.Elephantes vocant verkes. ‖ Vel Alenak. Elephantes.

In littore maris miraculoſè veniunt ibi ſemel in anno,per tres continuos dies,quaſi de omni genere piſcium marinorum, in maxima abundantia : & præbent ſe omnibus liberè capiendos ad manum. Nam & ego ipſe cepi quamplures. Vnde notandum, quod eodem tempore anni quo ſuper dicta extrahitur farina,mel,& vinum,conueniunt in hoc iſti piſces : quæ ambo mirabilia fecit vno tempore Deus olim producere ſuo Ogero,quæ & in memoria illius,vſque nunc, ſingulis annis innouantur. Experientia Mandeuilli.

Et ſunt in hoc territorio teſtudines terribilis quantitatis, ſitque de maioribus Regi ac nobilibus delicatus ac precioſus cibus : mentior, ſi non quaſdam ibidem viderim teſtudinum conchas,in quarum vna ſe tres homines occultarent, ſuntque omnes multum albi coloris. Teſtudines grandiſſimæ.

Si hic vir vxoratus moritur,ſepelitur & vxor vna cum eo,quatenus,ſicut ibi credunt,habeant eam ſtatim ſociam in ſeculo altero.

Caput. 30.

De Regnis Cynocephalorum,& alijs Inſulis.

PEr mare oceanum poteſt hinc veniri in Inſulam ‖Kaffa: quicunque ibi infirmari videtur ad mortem,ſuſpenditur ad arborem,antequam moriatur,vt non ab immundis terræ vermibus, ſed a cœli auibus, quas reputant Dei Angelos, comedatur. ‖ Vel Caffeles.

In alia Inſula faciunt ſuos infirmos ante mortem ab eductis in hoc magnis canibus ſtrangulari,manducantes in conuiuio carnes pro optimo ferculo venationis.

Interpoſitis quoque multis Inſulis, de quibus ſubticeo gratia breuitatis, habetur Inſula ‖ Mylke, & hij videntur omnium hominum crudeliſſimi; Nam quilibet particulariter pro leui & modica ſtimulatione, vulnerat, ſauciat, & occidit, proximum, vicinum & amicum : Et ſi quando diſſidentes contigerit concordari, non habebitur pax rata,niſi quiſque de alterius ſanguine biberit bonum hauſtum. ‖Vel Mekke.

Hinc nauigando per multas & diuerſas Inſulas,qui in ſingulas intrare,& moram trahere voluerit, ſtupenda multa videbit,& poterit venire in Inſulam ‖ Tracoide. ‖Vel Traceda.

Illic ſunt homines abſque vllo ingenio penitus beſtiales, ſerpentibus, vermibuſque veſcentes,nec inuicem loquentes,ſed conceptus ſuos ſignis & indicijs oſtendentes. Diligunt precioſos lapides tantummodo pulchritudinis gratia, non cauſa virtutis : & ſuper omnes vnum diligunt lapidem habentem 60. colorum varietates, qui & Tracoides vocatur propter ipſos.

Intratur hinc per Oceanum in regionem Niconoram, vel Nacumeram,habentem in circuitu ſpacium mille leucarum : omnes ibi geniti homines habent capita ad formam canum, vnde & in Græco Cynocephali dicuntur. Iſti etiam incedunt nudis corporibus, excepto parui panniculi operimento, ſecretiora loca & poſteriora retro tegente. Rationabiles tamen multum ſunt hij, & plurimum virtuoſi, ac de omni forefacto rigidam iuſtitiam exercentes. Sunt ſtatura elegantes, robuſti corpore, in prælijs lanceam cum tergia lata gerentes, viriliterque, & prudenter pugnantes. Omnes pro deo adorant bouem, vnde & quilibet in fronte argenteam ſeu auream ſimilitudinem bouis defert, & ſi quem viuum in prælio ceperint, ſine vlla miſeratione manducant. Insula Niconora, vel Nacumera. Bouis adoratores.

Rex multum est diues & potens, ac deuotus in superstitione. Nam circa collum gestat trecẽtas orientales margaritas, quibus quotidiè antè cõmestionem orationes suas colligit, quemadmodum nos colligimus, Pater noster,&c. Ac præterea portat ad collum ‖ rubetum orientalem,nobilem,purum,pulchrum,resplendentem, & summe preciosum, ad longitudinem pedis humani,quem habet diligentèr seruare,quod dum eo caret non tenetur pro Rege.

‖Siue carbunculum.

Pro isto carbunculo Grand Can Imperator, per ingenium, per insidias, per precium, & per pręliũ sæpè laborauit, sed nihil profecit. Post istam apparet insula Syllan,habens leucas de circuitu 80.quæ paucos habet homines propter multitudinem draconum,serpentum, crocodilorum in ea. Sunt autem crocodili speciales serpentes,coloris virgulati de croceo & nigro, cum quatuor cruribus, & tibijs & latis pedum vngulis. Aliqui horum habent longitudinem quinq; tensarum,aut citrà, qui dum tendunt per arenosa relinquunt signum semitæ,acsi sit ibi tractus grandis arboris truncus.

Aliàs fortè Zeilan.

Crocodili.

Item in hac insula habetur mons altus, & in sui vertice satis altus & distentus & magnus aquæ lacus, de quo & stulti homines fabulantur,quòd primi parentes post eiectionem suam,illam aquam primò lacrymauerunt.In huius fundo lacus nascuntur margaritæ,& habentur semper lapides precioſi. Solentque pauperes terræ,accepta à Rege licentia,semel in anno ingredi, ac piscari gemmas,qui intrantes vngunt se succo Lymonsæ,contra hirũdines, colubros,& serpentes. Sed & de lacu effluit riuulus per montis descensum,in quo nonnunquam margaritę inueniunnur,& gemmæ: dicunt etiam ibi nullum venenatum animal nocere aduenis.

Ibi videntur leones albi in mira magnitudine boum nostrorum,& multæ diuersæ bestiæ, & aues,bestiolæ, & auiculæ aliarum specierum quàm in partibus istis. Nam ibi & in nonnullis alijs insulis vidi vnum mirum,de quo prius vix credidissem narranti, videlicet anates cum duobus capitibus.

Et sciatis quòd tam hic quam alibi mare apparet satis altius suo littore, imo qui a remotis aspicit videt suspensum quasi ad nubes. Et de hoc admiratus fuissem, nisi quod scriptum sciui mirabiles elationes maris.

Caput. 31.

De multis alijs Insulis Meridionalibus, de quibus & Plinius, & Munsterus.

‖ Vel Doudeia.

VErsus meridiem hinc legendo per mare,inuenitur regio speciosa nomine ‖ Doudin: cuius rex imperat seu principatur 54.regibus in circuitu insularum.

Dum quis hic infirmatur tendit proximus ad Idolum sciscitans an morietur, & si respondit non, addit & dicere medicinam qua curabitur: si autem responderit moriturum,statim conuocatis amicis occiditur, & cum symphonia, & solemnitate comedunt eius carnes, ossa tantummodò sepelientes. In Insulis verò circumiacentibus, habentur incredibilitèr diuersæ gentes. Nam vna habet homines enormis magnitudinis, cum solo in medio frontis oculo,qui absque vllo condimento manducant carnes & pisces.

Monophthol-moi.

Ἀκέφαλοι.

Alia Insula habet homines aspectu deformes,nihil autem colli aut capitis ostendentes,vnde & Acephali nuncupantur: oculos autem habent ante ad scapulas, & in loco pectoris os apertum ad formam ferri,quo nostri caballi frænantur.

In alia Insula sunt gentes planis faciebus absque eleuatione nasorum, & palpebrarum cum paruis foraminibus oculorum,& scissura modica oris.Et in alia gentes cum superiore oris labio ita lato & amplo,vt,dum velint,totam faciem de illo tegant.

Alia generat homines paruæ staturę cum oris foramine sic paruo,vt per fistulas alimentum, & potum sumant,& quoniam carent lingua & dentibus,monstrant per naturalia signa conceptus. Et aliqui sunt homines debitæ quidem staturæ, & formæ, nisi quòd habent pedes equinos, quibus ita sunt præpetes, vt syluestres bestias capiant, quas comedunt, & manducant.

In alia homines sunt toti pilosi & hispidi,vsu simiarum manibus & pedibus ambulantes, & ad arbores reptantes, qui quamuis non loquuntur, apparent rationabiles, quia regem habent, & rectores.

Hermaphroditæ.

Et in alia omnes sunt claudi,qui quamuis pedes habeant,tamen ambulant super genua multum ridiculosè,imò miserabiliter, vt de passu in passum videantur casuri in terram. Et in quadam,sexum tam masculinum, quàm fœmininum habentes,qui dum masculino vtuntur generant,dum fœminino,impregnantur & pariunt, Atq;,vt in compendio multa concludam,in singulis 54.insularum inueniuntur homines,forma,statura,actibus & moribus singulis ab inuicem differentes,de quibus potest fieri descriptio, quam pertranseo gratia breuitatis, & causa incredulitatis fortè quorundam audientium.

Nota.

In

In iſtis autem meridionalibus partibus apparebat mihi eleuatio poli Antarctici 33. graduũ, eũ 16. minutis. Et ſciendũ quod in Bohemia, ſimilitèr & in Anglia eleuatur polus Arcticus 52. gradibus vel citra: Et in partibus magis ſeptentrionalibus, vbi ſunt Scoti 62. gradibus cum quatuor minutis. Exquo patet reſpiciendo ad latitudinem cœli, quæ eſt de polo ad polum, quod itineratio mea fuit per quartum Horizontis ſpheræ terræ & vltra, per quinque gradus, cum 20. minutis. Cum ergò ſecundum Aſtrologos, totus terræ circuitus ſit 31500. milliarium, octo ſtadijs pro milliario computatis, & ſeptinginta ſtadia reſpondeant ad vnum gradum, quod patet ad latitudinem terræ, perambulaui 66733. ſtadia cum vno tertio, quę faciunt 4170. leucas Geometricas cum dimidia vel propè.

Auſtralis latitudo 33. graduum 16. minutorum.

Hæc erat Eratoſthenis cõputatio.

Caput. 32.

De bona Regione ‖ Manchus.

‖Mangi.

CVm igitur tot & talia in iſtis Inſulis vidimus monſtra (quæ ſi explicarem ſcribendo vix à legentibus omnia crederentur) non curauimus vlterius procedere ſub polo auſtrali, ne in maiora pericula incideremus: ſed propter auditam & inuiſam nobis famoſitatem potentiæ, nobilitatis, & glorię Imperatoris Tartarorum, vertebam faciem cum ſocijs nauigare magis verſus Orientem. Cumque per multas diætas ſuſtinuiſſemus multa pericula maris, peruenimus in Regnum ‖ Manchus, quod eſt in confinibus ſuperioris Indiæ, & iungitur ab vna parte Tartarię. Hæc Regio Manchus, pro ſui quantitate reputatur melior, delectabilior, & omnium bonorum abundantior de cunctis ibi propè Regionibus. Nam & homines, beſtiæ, & volucres maiores & corpulentiores ſunt alijs, & præ vbertate vix inuenirentur in vna ciuitate decem mendici. Formoſi ſunt viri, ſed feminæ formoſiores. Sed viri loco barbę, habent perpaucos pilos, rigidos, & longos ab vtraque oris parte, quemadmodum noſtros videmus cattos habere.

Taxat incredulitatem hominum.

‖Vel Mangi. Deſcriptio Mangi uel Chinæ.

Pauci in China mendici.

Chinenſes rarò piloſi in barbis.

Prima quam ingrediebamur ciuitas eſt ‖ Lachori, diſtans vna dięta à mari, & mirabamur, & gauiſi ſumus nos inueniſſe integram ciuitatem Chriſtianæ fidei. Nam & maior pars Regni credit in Chriſtum.

‖Siue Lateryn.

Chinenſes olim Chriſtiani.

Ibi habetur in leui precio copia rerum omnium, & præcipuè victualium: vnum genus eſt ibi ſerpentum in abundantia quod manducant ad omne conuiuium, & niſi pro finali ferculo miniſtraretur de illis ſerpentibus, conuiuium quàm modicum diceretur.

Suntque per hoc regnum pleręq; ciuitates & Eccleſię, & relligiones, quas inſtituit dux Ogerus, quia hoc eſt vnum de quindecim regnis quæ quæſiuit, ſicut infrà dicetur.

Illic ſunt elegantes albæ gallinæ, quę non veſtiuntur plumis vt noſtræ, ſed optima lana. ‖ Canes aquatici, quos nos lutras nominamus, ſunt ibi multi edomiti, quòd quoties mittuntur in flumen, exportant domino piſcem.

Sunt huiuſmodi etiam canes in India occidentali, teſte Petro Martyre in Decadibus.

Ab hoc loco per aliquas diætas, venitur ad huius regionis maximam vrbem Canſay, hoc eſt dicere ciuitatem cœli, imo de vniuerſo orbe terrarum putatur hæc maxima Ciuitatum; nam eius circuitus 50. leucis eſt menſus, nec eſt facile dicere, quàm compreſſè a quamplurimus populis inhabitatur. Hæc ſedet in lacu maris, quemadmodum, & Venetiæ: & habentur in ea plures quàm mille ducenti pontes, & in quolibet turres miræ magnitudinis, ac fortitudinis, munitæ peruigili cuſtodia, & pro vrbe tuenda contra Imperatorem Grand Can.

Canſay, vel Quinſay, & eius deſcriptio.

Multi ſunt ibi Chriſtiani, & multę Relligiones Chriſtianorum, ſed & de ordinibus Minorum, & prædicatorum, qui tamen ibi non mendicant; eſt magna pluralitas ex diuerſis nationibus Mercatorum. Per Regionem naſcitur vinum valdè bonum, quod appellatur Bigon. Et ad leucã extra ciuitatem, Abbatia magna eſt, non de relligione Chriſtiana ſed Pagana: & in ea foreſtum, ſiue hortus magnus vndique circumcluſus, conſitus arboribus, & arbuſtis, in cuius etiam medio mons, altus ſimul & latus, habens hortum vbi ſolum inhabitant beſtiolę mirabiles, ſicut Simiæ, marmotæ, Lanbon, papiones, foreti & huiuſmodi ad varia & multa genera, & ad numerum infinitum.

Vinum Chinenſe appellatum Bigon.

Omni autem die poſt refectionem conuentus Abbatię, qui eſt valdè monachoſus, deferuntur reliquiæ ciborum cum magno additamento, in vaſis auro lucentibus ad hunc hortum: & ad ſonitum campanæ argenteæ, quam Eleemoſynarius manu geſtat deſcendentes, & occurrentes de beſtiolis duo millia aut plures ſeſe componunt reſidere ad circulum more pauperum mendicorum, & traditur ſingulis per ſeruos aliquid de his cibarijs, ac denuò audita campana ſegregando recurrunt: Cumque nos tanquam redarguentes, diceremus, cur hæc non darentur egenis, reſponderunt, illic pauperes non habentur, quod ſi inuenirentur, potius tamen dari deberent beſtiolis. Habet enim eorum perfidia, & Paganiſsimus, animas

Falſa opinio de animarum tranſmigratione.

nobilium hominum poſt mortem ingredi corpora nobilium beſtiarum, & animas ignobilium corpora beſtiarum ignobilium & vilium, ad luenda videlicet crimina, donec peracta pœnitentia trãſeant in Paradiſum: ideoque nutriunt, prout dicunt, has nobiliores beſtias, ſiue beſtiolas, quòd a quibuſdam nobilibus fundabatur in principio hæc Abbatia. Multa ſunt alia mira in hac ciuitate, de quibus ſciatis, quod non omnia vobis recitabo.

Caput. 33.

De Pygmais, & de itinere vsque in prouinciam Cathay.

‖Vel Chezolo. ‖Vel Miliariuum.

EVndo per Regionem eandem à dicta ciuitate Canſay, ad ſex dietas venitur ad nobilem vrbem ‖Tylenſo, cuius muri per circuitum tendunt ad ſpacium 20. ‖leucarum: & ſunt 60. petrini pontes, quibus nullos memini pulchriores.

In iſta fuit prima ſedes regni Mangi, nec immeritò, cum ſit munita, delectabilis, & abundans omnibus bonis, ac deinde in prędicta Canſay, nunc autem tenetur in quadam alia ciuitate.

Tributum Chinenſium.

Nota, quilibet ignis ſoluit quolibet anno vnum balis pro tributo, quod valet vnum florenum cum dimidio, ſed omnes famuli de domo vna pro vno igne computantur: ſumma ignium tributalium, octies centum millia. Reliqui verò Chriſtiani mercatores, in iſto vico non computantur. Copia eſt ibi victualium.

Copia victualium in China.

Hoſpitium Mandeuilli in China.

Quatuor fratres minores vnum potentem conuertebant apud quem hoſpitabar, & qui duxit me ad Abbatiam iſtam, ibi vidi ſcilicet quod hîc narratur.

‖Vel de Delay.

Ad fines itaque regni Mangi tranſitur grandis fluuius de ‖Dylay, maius flumen mundi, vbi ſtrictius eſt continet ſeptem miliaria. Odericus: cuius alueus in loco diſtrictiori continet quatuor leucas. Et ex hoc in breui temporis ſpacio intratur Imperium Tartarorum, ſequendo fluuium vſque in terram Pygmęorum, per cuius medium tranſit.

Pygmæi.

Hij Pygmęi ſunt homines ſtatura breues ad longitudinem noſtri brachij, ſeu trium manuum expanſarum. Tàm mares quam feminæ formoſæ, & gratioſæ, & viuunt cõmuniter ad annos ſex vel ſeptem: ſi qui pertingunt ad octo, mirę putantur ſenectutis. Ad dimidiam anni ętatem nubere poſſunt, in ſecundo anno parturiunt: rationales ſunt, & ſenſati iuxta ætatem puſillam, ac ſatis ingenioſi ad opera de ſerico, & de lana arboris. Frequentèr præliantur contra aues grandes patriæ, exercitibus congregatis hinc inde, & fit ſtrages vtrimque. Hæc gens tam parua optimè operatur ſericum & bombycem. Iſti Pygmęi venerunt mihi obuiam chorizãdo. Non laborant terram, prędia, ſeu vineas, ſed morantur inter eos noſtrę quantitatis homines, qui eos incolunt, ſicut ſerui, quos & Pygmæi ſæpè derident, quia ſunt ipſis maiores: & quod ipſe non ceſſo mirari dum dicti homines in illa terra generant vel pariunt, non creſcit proles ſupra Pygmæi ſtaturam: Inſula non eſt protenſa, ſed fortè 12. ciuitatum. Quarum vna eſt grandis, & bene munita, & quam Grand Can facit cum fortibus armaturis curioſè ſeruari, contra regem Mangi.

Miraculum.

Imperium Tartarorum duodecim prouincijs diſtinctum.

Hinc proceditur per Imperium Grand Can, ad multas ciuitates, & villas morum mirabiliter diuerſorum, vſque in regnum Iamchan, quod eſt vnum de 12. prouincijs maximis, quibus diſtinguitur totum Imperium Tartarorum.

Iamchan Ciuitas nobilis.

Nobilior ciuitas huius Regni ſeu Prouinciæ dicitur Iamchan, abundans mercimonijs, & diuitijs infinitis, & multa præſtans proprio Regi tributa, quoniam ſicut illi de ciuitate fatentur, valet annuè regi quinquaginta milia cuman florenorum auri.

Summa tributi vnius Ciuitatis.

Nota. In Iamchan ciuitate eſt conuentus fratrum minorum: in hac ſunt tres Eccleſiæ Monaſteriorum: reditus ſimul aſcendit ad 12. cuman. Odericus, Vnus cuman eſt decem millium. Summa tributi annui, quinquaginta millia millium Florenorum. In illis namque partibus magnas numerorum ſummas eſtimant per cuman, numerum 10. millium qui & in Flamingo dicitur laſte.

Ciuitas Meke. Maximæ naues.

Ad quinque leucas ab hac ciuitate eſt alia dicta Meke, in qua fiunt de quodam albiſſimi genere ligni naues maximæ cum aulis & thalamis, ac multis ædificijs, tanquam Palatium tellure fundatum.

‖Siue Lanterin. ‖Vel Caremoron.

Inde per idem regnum ad viam octo dietarum per aquam dulcem, multas per ciuitates, & bonas villas, venimus ‖ Laucherim, (Odericus appellat Leuyim,) vrbem formoſam opumque magnarum, ſitam ſuper flumen magnum ‖ Cacameran. Hoc flumen tranſit per medium Cathay, cui aqua infert damnum, quando nimis inundat, ſicut palus in Ferraria, Mogus in Herbipoli: & illud ſequentes intrauimus principalem prouinciam Imperij Tartariæ, dictam Cathay Calay: & iſta prouincia eſt multum diſtenta, ac plena ciuitatibus, & oppidis bonis, & magnis omnibuſque referta mercimonijs, maximè ſericoſis operibus, & aromaticis ſpeciebus.

Cathay Calay principalis prouincia.

Nauigando

Nauigando per dictum flumen verſus Orientem, & itinerando per hanc Cathay prouinciam ad multas dietas per plurimas vrbes & villas, venitur in ciuitatem "Sugarmago, abundantiorem omnibus in mercemoniis antedictis, quando ſericum eſt hîc viliſsimum: quadragintæ librę habentur ibi pro decem florenis. "Engarmago. Vilitas ſerici.

Ab hac ciuitate, multis ciuitatibus peragratis verſus Orientem, veni ad ciuitatem Cambalu, quæ eſt antiqua in prouincia Cathay: Hanc poſtquam Tartari ceperunt, ad dimidium miliare fecerunt vnam ciuitatem nomine Caydo, & habet duodecim portas, & à porta in portam duo ſunt groſſa miliaria Lombardica, ſpacium inter medium iſtarum ciuitatum habitatoribus plenum eſt, & circuitus cuiuſlibet iſtarum ambit 60. miliaria Lombardica, quæ faciunt octo Teutonica. Vel Cambaleck.

In hac ciuitate Cambalu reſidet Imperator Magnus Can, Rex Regum terreſtrium, & Dominus Dominorum terreſtrium. Atque indè vlteriùs in Orientem intratur vetus vrbs Caydo, vbi communiter tenet ſuam ſedem Imperialem Grand Can in ſuo palatio. Ambitus autem vrbis Caydo, eſt viginti ferè leucarum, duodecim habens portas à ſe diſtantes ampliùs quàm ſtadia 24. Caydo ciuitas.

CAPVT 34.

De pallatio Imperatoris Grand Can.

PAlatium Imperatoris Grand Can, quod eſt in Caydo ciuitate, continet in circuitu proprij muralis vltrà duas leucas, & ſunt in eo aulæ quàm plures, in forma nobiles, & in materia nobiliores. Aula autem ſedis, quæ eſt maxima cæterarum, habet intrinſecus pro ſui ſuſtentatione 24. æreas columnas factas opere fuſorio, de auro puro, & omnes parietes ab intus opertas pellibus quorundam animalium, quæ vocantur Pantheres: hæ ſanguinei ſunt coloris, & ita remicantes, vt Sole deſuper relucente, vix oculus valeat humanus ſufferre ſplendorem, tantæque fragrantiæ, vt illi approximare non poſſet aer infectus, vnde & iſta opertura parietum appreciatur ſuper tegmen aurearum laminarum. Palatij Imperatoris Grand Can deſcriptio.

Namque ſtultorum aliqui Paganorum huiuſmodi adorant animalia propter colorum, odorúmque virtutem. Propoſui retrahere calamum à deſcribenda nobilitate, gubernatione, & miniſtrantiũ frequentia, atque Imperatoris magnificentia: attamen quia cœpi ego, propter incredulos, & neſcios, ac inerudibiles, non dimittam in toto. Quicunque enim nihil credunt, nihil ſciunt, neque erudiri poſſunt, Scriptura teſtante, ſi non credideritis non intelligetis. Dico ergo, & verè dico, quòd in huius aulæ capite ſit thronus, vel ſedes Imperialis, excelſus, & eminens in aſcenſu graduum quamplurium, in quo reſidere ſolet in plenaria maieſtate, in cuius throni toto corpore nihil apparet minùs nobile, auro, margaritis, gemmis, & lapidibus precioſis. Singuli gradus ſunt de ſingulis, ac inter ſe diuerſis magnis lapidibus, vtpote primus de Hæmatiſto, alius de Sardio, & alius de Chryſolito, & ſic vſque ad ſupremum gradum, qui ſinguli ad formam cuiuſque gradus ſunt circumfuſi, & cluſorio opere firmati, auro ſolido, & nihilominús per ſuperficiem auri, diſtinctè ſeminati, firmitérque incluſi lapilli cari, cum orientalibus Margaritis, ſummitas autem cum ferculo reſidentiæ in nobilitate exciſionis, & fabrifactura operis tam diuerſa eſt, & mira, vt paruitatem mei ingenij excedat, quamobrem & ei cedo, vlteriúſque procedo. Inuehitur in incredulos.

Ad Imperatoris ſiniſtram gradu vno baſsior, eſt ſedes ſuæ primæ coniugis, tota de iaſpidibus auro circumfuſis, & in ſuperficie aulæ diſtinctæ gemmulę cum granellis eodẽ ſchemate, & ſimiliter de iaſpide. Sed adhuc ſubmiſſior vno gradu eſt ſedes coniugis ſecundæ, nec non & ſub illa vxoris tertiæ. Nam tres proprias ſecum habet vxores, Odericus dicit, iſtas duas concubinas. Itèmque reſident ſub tertia coniuge nobiles mulieres de Imperatoris progenie, iuxta illuſtriam vniuſcuiuſque. Sedes primæ coniugis Imperatoris. Sedes coniugis ſecundæ.

Et notandum, quòd per totam patriam ſingulæ mulieres maritatæ, vt intelligantur maritis ſubiectæ, & vt diſcernantur à ſolutis, geſtant in capitis ſummitate ſimilitudinem pedis viri, longitudinis brachij & dimidij, quadam leui materia operatam: videlicet nobiles de ſericoſis operibus pannorum, ſeu alijs raris & pulchris pannis, & precioſis lapillis, & ignobiles iuxta ſtatum ſuum de materia communiori. Signum ſubiectionis vxorum ſuis maritis.

Ad dextram verò ſedentis Imperatoris vno gradu ſubmiſſus reſidet primogenitus eius filius, & ſub ipſo ordinatè in conſimilibus ſedibus nobiles proximi de cognitione Imperiali. Primogeniti Imperatoris filij ſedes.

Item ſuper thronum & deſuper ante ipſius throni locum, tanquam pro celato ſeu operimento in throno reſidentium, & eorum miniſtrantium, eſt extenſa ſimilitudo vitis operata in palmitibus, & pampinis, de auro puro ad extenſionem cubitorum quadraginta, per quadrum, atque per eam dependentes botri vuarum de gemmis, & granellis quinque colorum, quorum albi

bi sunt de christallo & beryllo,& irisrocei de topazio & fuluo christallo, rubei de rubetorum granis,corallo,& alibandinis,virides de Smaragdis,pyropis,& chrysolytis, nigri, de onichinis, gagetis,& gerateris.

Tempore prandij in hac aula,Imperator & Imperatrices,& quisq; de prædictis, habet mensam sibi solam,quarum vilior prævalet thesauro grandi.

In solennitatibus ponitur mensa Imperatori de exquisito electro,seu de auro examinato,distincta diamantibus,& nobis ignotis incomparabilibus gemmis, quandóque de christallo perspicuo,seu croceo, circumclusa auro cum gemmis: quandóque de Hæmatisto, quandóque de ebore candido,vel rubicundo: interdum de ligno artificiosè combinato, quod descendit per flumina de Paradiso.Idem dicit Odericus.

His mensis astant Barones, & Principes pro vasallis attentè in suis officijs ministrantes,quorum nec vnus emittere verbum aliqua præsumit audacia,nisi Imperatore annuente,vel ad illum loquente,illis dūtaxat exceptis,qui certis interspatijs canunt, aut recitant de principum gestis.

Et notandum,quando in hoc solio Maiestatis diebus solennibus residet Imperator,subsidere ad pedes eius notarios quatuor, qui omne quod Dominus loquitur,singuli ponunt in scriptis: nam quodcunque tunc ex ore illius egreditur, necesse est esse, vel effici,nec valet item ipse verbum suum mutare,nec reuocare,nisi magno consilio conuocato.

Vniuersa vtensilia quibus in solennitate ad has seruitur mensas, sunt de nobilibus petris auro reclusis,Cyphi de Smaragdis,vel Saphyris,topasijs, pyropis, siue gryophis: & priuatioribus diebus,de auro probato etiam in cameris,& cubiculis, nec reputatur ibi claritas argenti, nisi pro pilarijs,columnis,gradibus, & pauimentis.

Istius autem ostia aulæ, dum in ea residet, aut deambulat Imperator, multi Barones ingressum seruant intentè,& ne limen tangatur,quod hoc haberent pro augurio, & benè verberaretur,quia Imperatore præsente, nemo nisi adductus in quacunque camera, vel habitatione intromittitur,donec interrogatus iusserit Imperator.

Mandeuillus suis pedibus mensurauit aulam Imperatoris.

Latitudinem huius Basilicę æstimo ad spatium de meis pedibus centum, & longitudinem vltrà quatuor centum.In cubiculo autem Regis dormitorio,constat vnus pillarius,seu columna de auro solido & carbunculus concluſus in illo longitudinis pedis vnius, totum habitaculum de nocte perfundens lumine claro.Hic prout ego notaui, non est plenè rubeus,sed subrufus,quasi coloris Hæmatistini.Porrò in vna aularum, circà medium palatii, est alius excelsus

Carbunculus resplendens.

ascensus,Odericus dicit pigma,super quem dum placet,stat,vel residet Imperator, ditissimè etiam operatus,ex auro,gemmis,baccis,margaritis,& lapidibus raris,& in quatuor angulis,imagines quatuor serpentum de auro puro.

Huius per tria latera dependent retia seu cortinæ de cordulis sericis, in quibus ad singulos nodos,grossa margarita habetur innexa,quibus cortinis tegitur officina:in eius concauitate tenetur tumba quadrata,in qua conueniunt conductus omnium potuum, qui bibuntur in Curia, & innumera vasorum genera,quibus potus omnibus ministratur.

Prætereà,iuxta palatii ambitum,habetur grandis parci spaciamentum,diuersi generis arboribus repletum,fructus ferentibus varios,& nobis inuisos, & in parte media, aula super excelsum collem de tam mira & pulchra structura, vt eius nobilitas de facili ad præsens, non possit describi.Et vndique,per collis gyrum aquæ fossatum profundum, & latum vltrà quod pons vnicus ducit ad collem.Atque ex duobus montis lateribus, stagnum cum diuersorum copia piscium, & volucrum indomitarum, vt aucarum, annatum, cignorum, ciconiarum, ardearum, & collectorum in magna pluralitate, nec non & per parcum, multæ syluestres bestiæ,& bestiolæ quatenùs per aulæ fenestras possit Dominus pro solatio respicere volucrum aucupationes, bestiarum venationes,& piscium captiones.

Palatium instar magni oppidi.

Et hoc proculdubio sciendum,quòd in nostris partibus rara sint oppida cum pluribus mansionibus,quàm in isto palatio continentur.

Pro India intelligit Septentrionalem Asiæ partem.

Tota æstate moratur in India terra frigidissima,in hyeme in Cambalu.Odericus.

Sadus.

Præter palatium hoc in Caydo,habet Imperator similitèr tria: vnum in ciuitate Sadus, versus Septentrionem,vbi competens est frigus, ibi moratur in æstate. Cambalu,vbi competens calor,ibi moratur hyeme.Tertium in ciuitate Iongh, in quo & in isto Caydo, vt sæpiùs seruat sedem, eò quòd in istis est aer magis temperatus,quamuis semper calidus videtur Nostratibus.

Caput 35.

De quatuor solennitatibus,quas Magnus Can celebrat in anno.

Sciatis quòd ego, meíque sodales, pro fama magnificentiæ huius Imperatoris, tradidimus nos stipendiarios esse in guerris, contra Regem Mangi prænominatum. Et fuimus

apud

apud ipſum 15. menſibus, & certè inuenimus multò maiorem partem hominum, in mediam partem nobis non fuiſſe relatam: hominum (exceptis cuſtodibus beſtiarum & volucrum,)qui intra palatium certa gerunt miniſteria eſt numerus decem cuman.

Mandeuillus per ſpacium 15. menſium militauit Grand Can.

Nota. Traxi moram in Cambalu tribus annis: fratres noſtri locum habent in Curia ſua ſpecialiter, & feſtis diebus ſtatutis dant benedictionem, Odericus. Et quoniam Imperator habet ſatis plures quàm decem mille Elephantes edomitos, & velut vltrà numerum alias beſtias, (quarũ quædam tenentur in caueis, ſtabulis mirabilibus, vel catenis,) nec nõ & aues rapaces, & accipitres, falcones, oſtrones, gryfandos gentiles, Laueroys, & Satyros, ſed & auiculas loquentes, & papingos, & ſimiles, aliaſque cantantes: reputatur numerus hominum de iſtis curam & laborem gerentium, vltrà ſex cuman, & præterea iugiter ad Curiam equites cum plenarijs armaturis, quinque cuman, & de peditibus cum prœliandi armaturis, cuman decem. Sed & omnes de natione quacunque mundi venientes, qui petunt deſcribi pro Curia recipiuntur. Sic enim iuſſit Imperator.

Vixit in Cambalu tribus annis.

Sex cuman famulorum.

Quinque Cuman equitum.

Decem Cuman peditum.

Habet & medicos Paganos viginti, & totidem Phyſicos, atque ſine his Medicos Chriſtianos ducentos, & totidem Phyſicos, quoniam iſte Grand Can maiorem gerit confidentiam in Medicis Chriſtianis, quàm in ſuæ propriæ nationis medicis.

Medici Chriſtiani 200. in aula Grand Can.

Hoc ergò firmiter ſcias, quod de Curia Regis accipiunt neceſſaria ſua iugitèr vltrà triginta cuman hominum, præter expenſas animalium & volucrum, cùm tamen in feſtis maioribus ſint homines propè in duplo tanti. Nec valet hic Dominus defectum vllum pati pecuniæ, eò quòd in terra ſua non currit moneta de argento, vel auro, alióue metallo, ſed tantùm de corio vel papyro: horum enim forma denariorum ſigno Imperatoris impreſſorum preciatur minoris aut maioris valoris, ſecundùm diuerſitatem impreſſionis, qui per viſitationem, detriti vel rupti, cùm ad Regis theſaurarios deferuntur, protinùs dantur pro illis noui.

Vnus Cuman continet decem millia, vt in cap 33.

Moneta de corio vel papyro.

Quatèr in anno celebrat Imperator feſtiuitates ſolennes.

Quatuor feſta.

Primam de die propriæ Natiuitatis.

Secundam de die ſuæ primæ præſentationis in eorum Templo, quod appellant Moſeath, vbi & fit ijs, neſcio quod genus circumciſionis.

Circumciſio quædam.

Tertiam in thronizatione ſui Idoli in Templo.

Quartam de die quo Idolum cœpit dare reſponſum, ſeu facere diabolica mira. Plures enim in anno non tenet ſolennitates, niſi ſi quando nuptias filij aut filiæ celebrat.

Itaque in iſtis ſolennitatibus eſt populi multitudo abſque numero, omnes tamen in ordine debito, & ſinguli intendentes proprio miniſterio: nam ad hoc ordinandum, & diſponendum, electa ſunt quatuor Bàronum nobilium genera, ex quibus nonnulli ſunt Reges, & alij Equites potentes, Duces, & Marchiones, omnes induti holoſericis, quibus inſerti cũ certa diſſeminatione ſunt vbique precioſi lapides, miræ virtutis, & aurifigia ſpecioſa, vt ſi quis in his partibus vnum de talibus haberet mutatorijs, dici non poſſet pauper imò prædiues. Et habet quodlibet millenariorum in his veſtibus colorem ſibi proprium: primum viridem, ſecundum vermiculum, tertium croceum, quartum purpureum, ſeu indicum. Ergo in die ſolenni, dum de mane Maieſtatis thronum conſcenderit, veniunt ſe præſentare hoc modo Regi.

Deſcriptio pomparum ſolennium.

Ante primum millenarium procedit copioſa ſymphonia dulcis chordarum, ſicut de violis, cytharis, lyris, & pſalterijs, non autem de tubis aut tympanis: & præcedunt Barones per tranſuerſum Aulæ coram reſidente Domino ordinatè bini, & bini ſub ſilentio, ferentes ambabus manibus ante pectus tabulam de Iaſpide, ebore, chriſtallo, pyropo, vel Hæmatiſto, & ante faciem throni inclinant ſe Imperatori profundè.

Illíſque pertranſeuntibus, ſuccedit ſimili modo millenarius ſecundus, & tertius, atque quartus, nec auditur à quoquam vnicum verbum. Hac præſentatione cum debita maturitate perfecta, reſident in baſſo à latere throni ad proprias menſas, multi Philoſophi, ſeu Artiſtæ, ſicut de Aſtronomia, Geomantia, Pyromantia, Hydromantia, Chiromantia, Necromantia, auguriis, ac aruſpiciis, & huiuſmodi, tenentes coram inſtrumenta ſuæ artis, alii Aſtrolabium, & Sphæras de auro, alii in aureis vaſis arenam, prunas ardentes, aquam, vinum, oleum, & caluarias mortuorum, loquentes & reſpondentes, nec non de auro horologia ad minùs duo: & ad cunctas horas ſecundum curſum horrologiorum innuunt Philoſophi ſeruis ſibi ad hoc deputatis, vt faciant præſtari auditum per aulam, quorum vnus aut duo conſcendentes ſcallum, alta voce proclamant, audite, auſcultate, & omnibus intendentibus dicit Philoſophorum vnus: Quilibet nunc faciat reuerentiam Imperatori, qui eſt filius Dei excelſi, Dominus & ſuperior omnium Dominorum mundi, quia ecce hæc eſt hora. Et mox ſinguli in aula inclinato corpore & capite ſe inclinant maieſtati manẽtes accliui, donec idem Philoſophus dicat, leuate. Atque protinùs ſuper hoc factum, Muſici ſuis inſtrumentis, ſuauem perſonant melodiam.

Poſteà

Posteà ad aliquantam moram simili modo dicit alius Philosophorum, minimus digitus in aure: & ecce hoc omnes faciunt, donec dicat, sufficit: sic in aliam horam, seu moram dicit, manus vestra super os, & posteà manus super caput. Atque in hunc modum iuxta temporis cursum imponunt facienda signa diuersa. Innuunt in eis latêre magna mysteria, & quodlibet horum factorum melodia terminat Musicorum. Et sciatis me quandoque in tempore opportuno ab eis interrogasse de his signis, qui responderunt quòd inclinare caput Domino ad illius horæ momentum, foret confirmatio omnibus diebus vitæ suæ, ad obediendum ipsi & fidelitatem obseruandam imperio, nec posse corrumpi promissionibus siue donis, quódque digitum in auricula imponere, obturatio est auditus contra omnia Imperatori, & Imperio contraria. Et sic de singulis factis singula mysteria confingentes decipiunt audientes: horum itaque fraudulento ingenio, iste Grand Can festiuatus, non nisi ad talium iudicium parari permittit cibaria, aut fieri indumenta pro suo corpore.

Mandeuilli interrogatio.

Dum autem est visum Curiæ gubernatoribus satis de prædictis auditum, faciunt proclamatores silentium imperari, & incipit fieri offerenda Imperatori hoc modo. Intrant omnes qui sunt de cognatione Imperatoris Barones adornati nobilissimè pro cuiusque decentia balteis, & indumentis, quorum primus cum resonante symphonia præmittit ad oblationem quotquot valet de dextrarijs albis, & inclinans ante thronum pertransit, atque per eundem modum singuli Baronum offerentes aliquid dignum iocale inclinant transeuntes, silentio firmè seruato.

Offerẽda Imperatori facta.

Post hos intrantes simili modo prælati & Abbates, de iurisdictionibus & religionibus Paganorum offerunt singuli pro suo statu se reuerentèr inclinantes maiestati, & maior prælatorum benedicit Regi, & suis ac Curiæ quadam suæ legis oratione.

Benedictio prælati.

Deinde introducuntur elephantes, leones, pardi, simiæ, marmotæ, & diuersę bestiæ, quarum ductores singuli transeuntes inclinant reuerentèr, & intentè. Postremò afferuntur aquilæ, struthiones, gryphandi, accipitres, & papingi, cum diuersis auibus & auiculis, nec non serpentes ac pisces, quorum portitores inclinant profundè, quoniam dicunt omnes terrenas creaturas debere adorationem Imperatori Grand Can filio Dei excelsi: & his perfectis,

Musicæ Camenæ persoluunt debita plenè.

Deplorat Paganorum tenebras.

Nos igitur intendamus hoc loco quæso quomodo veraciter Pagani in tenebris ambulant: diabolica inuolutione mens eorum obtenebrata non videt quomodò, cùm Imperator sit homo mortalis nuper natus, & similiter sicut illi infirmitate circundatus, atque in breui cum ipsis moriturus, quem etiam non dubitant sub Deo, clamant eum non Deum, sed Dei filium, vbi vtique prorsus ignorant illũ non esse laudandũ, nec adorandũ, sed eum non intẽdunt alium filium, filium increatum & connaturalem, qui & ipsos & eum creauit, solum superlaudabilem in secula.

Infignis Mandeuilli pietas, & desiderium conuersionis Paganorum.

Et hoc alto corde considerantes, laudemus, adoremus, glorificemus & superexaltemus totis viribus Deum, qui nos filios lucis esse voluit, & salutis, nasci, baptizari, educari, eruditi sub sinceritate fidei Christianæ, excluso schismate & errore, atque sub instituto sacrosanctæ matris Ecclesiæ, in qua sola penè ab omni circumferentia orbis terræ fides, quæ saluat, & per dilectionem operatur nunc remansit.

Et oremus instantèr pro ipsis Paganis, vt agnita veritatis luce videre possint quò ambulant, vt perueniant ad Iesum Christum coæqualem Dei filium, atque in ipso, & per ipsum laudare & adorare solum vnum verum Deum.

Caput 36.

De ludis & præstigijs in suo festo, & de suo comitatu.

Semel in die comedunt.

CElebrato post hoc prandio satis morosè, quia nunquam est vltrà semel edendum in die, de quo & eius administratione nunc longum est scribere, adsunt gesticulatores, mira visu, suauiáq; auditu pedibus, manibus, brachijs, humeris, capitibus, & toto corpore, ac ad singulos gestus, correspõdẽtes debito vocis sono. Et semper finẽ horũ mirabiliũ cantilena subsequitur musicorũ. Ex hoc ioculatores præstò sunt, & Magi, qui suis incantationibus prẽstãt prẽstigia multa.

Magi insignes

Inprimis faciunt videri Solem & Lunam, oriendo, descendendo consuetum diei intra Basilicam peragere cursum, cum tanta nimietate splendoris, vt vix se inuicem homines valeant recognoscere præfulgore, dicentes & mentientes, Solem & Lunam cæli hanc mittere reuerentiam Imperatori.

Hinc pari ludo comparent speciosæ puellæ ducere semitas & choreas, nobili gestu nobilissimum ferre poculum lactis equarum in aureis vasis, de quo, ponentes se in genibus, tradunt potum dominis & dominabus.

Tunc portantur & milites in equis, & armis quoq; pleni atque parati, qui feruentibus sonipedibus se inuicem cuspidibus ad fragorem magnum configentes lanceas comminuunt, & fragmenta per mensas, & pauimenta discurrunt. Ac deindè fantasticè venantur per aulam, cum canibus

canibus & papionibus,ad ceruos,lupos,vrſos,& apros, ad lepores, & marmotas. Quæ ſingula cùm ad horam paſcant vana delectatione ſenſus corporeos,miſeriam tamen inſerunt piæ menti,quòd tot & tanti homines,neglecta prorſus animi ſalute, his diabolicis operationibus ſe dederunt in toto.Nam certò non ita ſine dæmonum conſolatione & familiaritate præmiſſa confingi dicerem.

Nota: à Cambalu ad viginti dietas, eſt pulchrum nemus girans octo dietas in circuitu, in quo ſunt omnia genera animalium: cuſtodes habet circa eum. Triennio vel quadriennio viſitat illud Imperator,& cum multa gente nemus circumdat,canes emittuntur & aues, cum multo clamore, & feras congregant in medio nemoris,ad planiciem ſibi ſitam. Tunc Imperator priùs iacit quinque ſagittas,poſteà alij: tunc Imperator dicit,Eya,hoc eſt,mina beſtijs, & ſicut quilibet capit ſagittam ſuam ſignatam,percuſſam, aliis recedentibus ad ſua loca.Odericus. Pulchrum nemus octo dietarum in circuitu.

Præterea ante Imperatoris menſam eriguntur latæ tabulæ aureæ cum ſculptis,ac ſi viuerent, imaginibus gallorum, pauonum ac diuerſarum volucrum artificioſè, quas præſtigiator facit pro libitu ſine apprehenſione manus ire, tripudiare, chorizare, tremere, compugnare, bibere, manducare,ſed & cantare: quod quidem inter cætera mihi videbatur mirabilius & aſpectu delectabilius.Nullus iſtud plenè intueri potuit,niſi qui erat in throno vel circà: & me oportet hoc loco fateri ſtultitiam propriam, quòd hac delectatione tractus, magnam adhibui apud Artiſtam diligentiam,verbis blandis,& quibuſcunque munuſculis, ac melioribus promiſsis, quod de tali mihi traderet artem,qui ſagax ſimul & fallax inprimis, ſpem meam trahebat ſponſionum finibus: ſed ad vltimum penitùs abſcindebat, dicens ſe vouiſſe Deo immortali, ne cuiquam doceret niſi proprio filio ſeniori,ac per hoc me Deus ab illo malo conſeruauit inuitum, & gratias nunc reddentem. Mandeuilli curioſitas.

Certum eſt illic homines eſſe ſubtiles ad quaſdam humanas artes, & ingenioſos ad fraudes ſuper omnes,quas noui mundi partes,vnde & inter ſe dicunt prouerbium, ſe ſolos videre duobus oculis,& Chriſtianos vno,cæteros autem homines cæcos:ſed mentitur iniquitas ſibi, quoniam ipſi vident ſolo oculo terrena & tranſitoria,& nos Chriſtiani duobus, quia cum terrenis videmus ſpiritualia,& manſura: percuſſit enim "Naas,id eſt, humani generis hoſtis cum illis fœdus,vt erueret omnibus oculos dextros,ſcilicet ſpirituales. Hoc eorum dictum in nouis Chinæ hiſtoriis refertur. Inſignis ſententia. "1.Sam.11.2.

Cùm itaque narrata de præmiſsis debeant ſufficere, quando Imperator Grand Can de vno quatuor palatiorum ad aliud tranſire velit,vel fortè gratia viſitationis aut ardui negotii per Imperium de Regno ad Regnum tendit per comitatus, quatuor exercitibus antè & retrò, & ex ambobus lateribus.

Primus exercitus præcedit perſonam Regis per vnam de ſuis dietis, vt ſemper in hoſpitium, de quo receſsit exercitus Rex intret nocte ſequenti, & eſt hic primus comitatus deſcriptus, & ſtatutus de numero quinquaginta cuman virorum,hoc eſt,quingentorum millium,ſempérque præuiſum,& prouiſum eſt,vt inueniant neceſſaria in locis, vbi habent quieſcere, vel tardare ſiue in hoſpitiis,ſiue in tentoriis.

Secundus & tertius comitatus ſunt eiuſdem numeri virorum cum primo, quorum vnus ad dextram tendit Imperatoris, alius ad ſiniſtram in diſtantia ab ipſo ad trium vel duarum leucarum.

Quartus autem qui maior eſt omnibus, ſubſequitur Imperatorem quaſi ad ſpatium iactus baliſtæ.Et adhuc ſciendum eſt,quòd perſonę horum comitatuum ſunt ſigillatim,& ſummatim omnes deſcriptæ,vt dum vna moritur vel recedit,protinùs alia inſcribatur,& numerus non minuatur.Ipſe verò Imperator tendit reſidens in cella ſeu camera ædificata ſuper currum grandem forma,fortem robore,nobilem in ſtructura,eſt cella de ligno Aloes optimi odoris,& parietes cellæ operti in quibuſdam locis laminis aureis,quæ & ipſæ diſtinguuntur gemmis variis,& margaritis. Cella ſeu camera ædificata ſuper currum.

Eſt autem currus quatuor rotarum duntaxat,quem trahunt quatuor Elephantes ad hoc curioſè inſtructi,cum quatuor hippis albis equæ doctis & ipſi cooperti ditiſsimis tegumentis, ac præter aurigas nobiliter indutos, qui currum cautiſsimè ducunt, adſunt & quatuor de maioribus palatii Dominis,indè ad vehiculum habentes iugem curam, de minatione eius, & ne vltimo exercitu appropriet infra iactum (vt dixi) ſagittæ. Ipſe autem interdum pro ſodalitate iubet ſecum aſcendere quam vult perſonam, ſed minimè vltrà duos. In cellæ quoque culmine, quod aperiri valet & claudi,aſtant in pertica quatuor grifandi,vel oſtiones. Odericus: duodecim Girfalcones,vt ſi fortè Imperator in aere aquilam,vulturum,ardeam,vel collectorem cerneret,citò dimitteret iſtorum duas aut plures ad aucupandum. Quatuor Elephantes & quatuor equæ albæ trahentes currum Imperatoris.

Nota,per Dromedarios, & curſores,& veloces, qui de hoſpitio ad hoſpitium permutantur, ſcit de remotis noua.Curſor enim appropinquans cornu ſonat,& tunc alius præparat,& vlteriùs Hæc hodiè vſque narrantur in hiſtorijs Chinarum.

ùs currit. Odericus. Sciendúmque tam primogenitum Regis, quàm singulas de tribus vxoribus ducere similem apparatum in itinerando post ipsum, scilicet cum quatuor comitatibus, antè, & retrò, & à lateribus, sed in valdè minori numero personarum pro placito, & in singulis curribus sequentibus se inuicem per vnam dietam.

Præmissa omnia sic fiunt, dum Imperatori tendendum est remotè, aliàs autem minuuntur, & distinguuntur comitatus, iuxta quod decet, vt nonnunquam omnes Imperatores etiam cum filio simul tendant, cum vna comitatuum distinctione. Transeunte autem sic Imperatore per ciuitates & villas quilibet ante fores proprias præparato igne iactat puluerem aromata redolentem, stans genibus flexis ad reuerentiam illi. Et sciatis vbi propè transitum illius habentur Christianæ Abbatiæ, quas olim constituit Dux Ogerus, exeunt obuiam illi in processione cum vexillis, & sancta cruce, & aqua benedicta, & thuribulo, hymnum, Veni Creator spiritus, decantantes.

Nota: Ego semel cum Episcopo nostro, & alijs fratribus, iuimus obuiam per duas dietas, & portaui thuribulum. Odericus. quos ipse à remotis videns, consueuit ad se appellare, & ad crucem suum galeatum deponere, ac reuerenter nudo capite inclinare: & prælatus dicens super eum aliquam orationem signat cruce, & aqua benedicta aspergit. Et quoniam necesse est, vt quisque extraneus ante Regem apparens, offerat ei aliquid, prælatus in disco præsentat ei fructus, & poma, vel pyra, & hoc in numero nouenario, (ratio ponitur primo capitulo proximo, quod iste numerus est plus cęteris acceptus,) de quibus Imperator vnum sibi sumens, reliqua tradit Dominis præsentibus: quo facto habent religiosi recedere citò, ne opprimantur multitudine populi subsequentis.

Præfatum Domini galeatum, est ita intextum auro, diamantibus, gemmunculis, & orientalibus margaritis, granellis, & dubletis, & prædiues in materia & artificio, vt ei non sit æquandus magni in partibus istis Regis thesaurus. Item sicut hæc fiunt transeunti Imperatori, fiunt & Imperatricibus, & filio seniori.

Caput. 37.

Qua de causa dicitur Grand Can.

SI placet audire, dicam cur hic Imperator sit appellatus Grand Can. Audieram ego in partibus Ierosolymorum hunc esse sic dictum, à filio Noe, Cham: sed in terra Cathay accepi & aliam, & meram huius rei veritatem. Nam & scribendo hæc duo nomina habent differentiam, quòd filius Noe Cham scribitur quatuor elementis, quorum vltimum est M. & iste Can tribus tantùm, quorum vltimum est N.

Vera ratio huius nominis Can.

Guis Can.

Post annos Christi 1100. illa prima Tartaria (de qua suprà scripsi in prima parte, capitulo quinto) fuit nimis oppressa seruitute sub Regibus circumiacentium sibi nationum. Quandò autem Deo placuit, maiores illius Tartariæ eleuauerunt de seipsis sibi Regem dictum Guis Can, cui & promiserunt subiectissimam obedientiam.

Idem cùm esset prudens & strenuus 12. viriles habens filios, debellauit cum ijs & populo suo, & vicit, ac subiecit cunctos in circuitu Reges, quibus terra indebitè diù subiacuerat. Quin etiam apparente sibi in visione Angelo Dei velut milite in albo equo, & candidis armis, & hortante se, vt transiret Alpes, per montem "Beliam, & per brachium maris, ad terram Cathay, & ad alias illic plurimas regiones transiuit, & cœpit cum filijs suis aliquas ex illis debellare, & subijcere, Deo in omnibus adiuuante patentèr. Et quoniam in equo albo ei Angelus apparuit, qui etiam antè passum prædicti maris nouem orationes Deo facere iussit, ideò successores vsq; hodiè diligunt equos albos, & nouenarium numerum habent præ cæteris in gratia. Dúmque Guis Can morti præ senio appropinquaret, conuocatos ante se filios hortabatur, & mouebat exemplo 12. telorum in simul colligatorum, quæ à nullo filiorum paritèr frangi potuerant, sed dissoluta vnumquodque per se facilè frangebatur, sic filij (inquit) dilectissimi, si per concordiam vos inuicèm dilexeritis, & vixeritis seniori fratri obedientes, confido in Deo iuxtà promissionem mihi ab Angelo factam, quòd omnem latissimam istam terram, & optimam illius imperio subijcietis, quod & pòst patris discessum strenuissimè, ac fidelissimè (Deo sibi prosperante) perfecerunt. Et quia cum propriis nominibus habebant cognomen Can, primogenitus pro differentia obtinuit nomen Grand Can, id est, Magnus Can, videlicet suprà cæteros fratres, qui sibi in omnibus obediebant.

"Vel Belgiam

Cur albi equi, & nouenarius numerus Tartaris sint in pretio.

Grand Can.

Ochoto Can.

Itaque iste secundus Imperator vocabatur Ochoto Can.

Gui Can.

Post quem filius eius regnauit dictus Guican.

Mango Can.

Quartus autem, qui Mango Can baptizabatur, permansítque fidelis Christianus, qui etiam misso magno exercitu cum fratre suo Hallaon in partes Arabiæ & Aegypti mandauit destrui in toto Mahometi superstitionem, & terram poni in manibus Christianorum. Et fratre

cum

procedente, accepit rumores de fratris ſui Imperatoris morte inopinata, quapropter & redijt negotio imperfecto.

Quintus Cobilacan, qui etiam fuit Chriſtianus,& regnauit 42. annis, & ædificauit magnam ciuitatem Iong, maiorem ſatis vrbe Roma, in qua & continetur valdè nobile palatium Imperiale. Hinc vſque hodie omnes ſucceſſores paganiſmo fœdantur. Cobilacan.

Tempore autem meò erat nomẽ Imperatoris Echiant Can, & primogenitus eius Coſuecan pręter quem & alios filios habuit 12.de quorũ nominibus conſcribendis non eſt curę pręſentis. Echiant Can, Imperator Tartarorum tempore Mandeuilli.

Prima vxorum ſuorum vocabatur Serochan, quæ & eſt filia Præsbyteri Ioannis ſcilicet Imperatoris Indiæ. Serochan vxor Grãd Can.

Secunda Verouchan.

Tertia Caranthcan.

Iſtis duobus Imperatoribus non creditur inueniri maior Dominus ſub firmamento Cœli.

In literis quę huius Imperatoris Tartarię ſcribuntur nomine ponitur ſemper iſte Titulus.Can filius Dei excelſi,omninm vniuerſam terram colentium ſummus Imperator, & Dominus Dominantium omnium.

Circumferentia magni ſui ſigilli, continet hoc ſcriptum.

Deus in Cœlo,Can ſuper terram,eius fortitudo. Omnium hominum Imperatoris ſigillum.

Sciendum quoque quod quamuis populi ibi dicuntur,& ſunt Pagani,tamen & rex & omnes credunt in Deum immortalem, & omnipotentem, & iurant per ipſum appellantes, Yroga, id eſt,Deum Naturæ. Sed nihilominus colunt & adorant idola, & ſimulachra aurea, & argentea, lapidea,lignea,filtria,lanea,& linea. Yroga,Deus Naturæ.

Caput. 38.

De territorio Cathay,& moribus Tartarorum.

TOtum Imperium Imperatoris Grand Can diſtinctum eſt in 12. magnas prouincias,iuxta numerum duodecim filiorum primi Genitoris Can, quarum quęlibet in ſe continet circiter 6.millia ciuitatum,præter villas non numeratas quæ ſunt velut abſque numero. Habent & ſingulæ prouinciæ regem principalem,hoc eſt 12.reges prouinciales, & horum quiſque ſub ſe reges Inſularum plurimos,alij 50.alij cẽtum,alij plures,qui omnes & ſinguli ſubiectiſſimè obediunt Grand Can Imperatori.Harũ prouinciarũ maior,& nobilior dicitur Cathay,quę conſiſtit in Aſia profunda. Tres enim ſunt Aſię, ſcilicet quæ profunda dicitur, & Aſia dicta maior quæ nobis eſt ſatis propinquior &tertia minor intra quam eſt Epheſus beati Ioannis Euangeliſtę ſepultura, de qua habes in præcedentibus. Audiſtis ſtatum magnatum & nobilium eſſe permagnificũ, & glorioſum,ſed ſciatis longè ſecus eſſe apud communes & priuatos homines tam in ciuitatibus quam in forenſibus totius Tartariæ. In prouincijs autem Cathay habetur tantum de mercimonijs ſpecierum,& de operibus ſericoſis,quòd multis facilius acquirere eſſet prætioſum indumentum,quàm camiſium de lino. Vnde & quicunq; ſunt alicuius honeſtatis non carent deſuper precioſo veſtimento. 12. Prouinciæ Chinæ. Numerus ciuitatum. Cathay. Abundantia ſerici in Cathay.

Omnes tam viri quam feminæ ſimilibus in forma veſtibus inducuntur, videlicet valdè latis, & breuibus vſque ad genua cum apertura in lateribus quamfirmant (dum volunt)anſis quibuſdam,nam vterque ſexus eſt brachijs ſeu femoralibus plenè tectus. Nunquam vtuntur toga aut collobio,ſed nec caputio,vndè nec per aſpectum indumentorum poteſt haberi differentia inter virum & mulierem innuptam. Sed nupta (vt ſupra dictum eſt)geſtat per aliquod tegumentum in capite formam pedis viri. Veſtitus Tartarorum.

Nubit illic vir quotquot placet mulieribus,vt nonnulli habeant decem vel duodecim vxores aut plures,Nam quiſque maritus iungitur licentèr cuilibet mulieri, exceptis matre,& amita,ſorore,& filia.Sicut viri equitant,tendunt,& currunt per patriã pro negotijs ſic & mulieres,quoniam & ipſę operantur omnia ferè artificia mechanica ſicut pannos & quicquid efficitur de pãno,corio,ſericoq;, minantq; carrucas,& vehicula,ſed viri fabricant de ferro et de omni metallo lapidibus atq; ligno, nec vir nec mulier nobilis aut degener comedit vltra ſemel in die communiter.Multa nutriunt pecora ſed nullos porcos,parum comeditur ibi de pane exceptis magnatibus & diuitibus,ſed carnes edunt pecorum,beſtiarum,& beſtiolarum vtpote boum,ouium, caprarum, equorum,aſinorum, canum, cattorum, murium, & rattorum,ius carnium ſorbentes, & omnis generis lac bibentes. Tartari lac equarum bibunt.

Nobiles autẽ bibunt lac equarũ,ſeu iumentorũ,pro nobiliſſimo potu & pauperes aquã bullitã cũ modico mellis,quia nec vinũ ibi habetur,nec ceruiſia cõficitur:&multi ac plurimi fontes cõſulunt in ſua ſiti,per villas,& rura.Domus,& habitacula rotundę ſunt formę,compoſitæ & cõtextę paruis lignis,&flexilibus virgulis,ad modũ cauearũ quas nos facimus pro auiculis,habẽtes rotundam Appellatur Medo. Formæ domorum.

rotundam in culmine aperturã præstantem duo beneficia habitationi, quoniam & ignis quem in medio domus cõstituunt fumum emittit,& pro aspiciendo lumen immittit. Intrinsecus sunt parietes vndiq; de filtro,sed & tectum filtreũ est : has domus, dum locum habitandi mutare volunt,vel dum in diutina expeditione procedunt,ducunt secum in plaustris quasi tentoria.

Formæ domorum. Tartari Hamaxouij,i. in plaustris viuentes.

Multas superuacuas obseruant ceremonias, quia respiciunt in vanitates & insanias falsas : solem & lunam præcipuè adorant, eisque frequentèr genua curuant,& ad nouilunium, quicquid est magni estimant inchoandum.

Nouilunium in precio. Ceremoniæ Tartarorum.

Nullus omnino vtitur calcaribus in equitãdo,sed cogunt equum flagello scorpione,reputantes peccatum non leue, si quis ad hoc flagellum appodiat, aut iumentum percuteret suo frẽno, pleraq; similia,quę parũ aut nihil nocent,póderant vt grauia, sicut imponere cultellnm in igne, os osse confringere,lac seu aliud potabile in terram effundere, nec non & huiusmodi multa.

Sed super hęc,tenẽt pro grauiori admisso mingere intra domũ quę inhabitatur,& qui de tanto crimine proclamaretur assuetus,mitteretur ad mortem. Et de singulis necesse est vt confiteatur peccator Flamini suę legis,& soluat summã pecuniarũ delicti. Et si peccatũ deturpationis habitaculi venerit in publicum,oportebit reconciliari domũ per sacerdotem,priusquã vllus audebit intrare. Insuper & peccatorem necesse erit pertransire ignem, semel, bis,aut ter iuxta iudicium Flaminis,quatenus per ignis acrimoniam purgetur à tanti inquinatione peccati.

Mingere intra domum peccatũ capitale.

Neminem hominum probibent inter se habitare, sed indifferentèr receptant,Iudæos, Christianos,Saracenos,& homines cuiuscunque nationis, vel legis, dicentes se satis putare suum ritum non ita securũ ad salutem,nisi quandoq; traherentur ad ritũ magis salutarem,quem tamen determinate nunc ignorant,imò multi de nobilibus sunt iam in Christianitate baptizati.

Attamen qui illorum sunt curiales Imperatoris non vellent in palatio publicari.

Pœnè oblitus eram,quod nunc hic dico notandum, quia dum ab extra Imperium, quis veniens nuntius aut legatus cupit tradere proprijs manibus literas Imperatori, vel deponere coram illo mandata,non permittur,donec prius in puris transeat lineis ad vnũ ad minus ‖ regum pro sui purgatione, ne quid forsitan afferat cuius visu, vel odoratu seu tactu rex possit grauari.

¶Seu Gubernatorum. Arma Tartarorum.

Porrò Tartari in præcincto expeditionis habent singuli duos arcus, cum magna pluralitate telorum: Nam omnes sunt sagittarij ad manum & cum rigida & longa lancea. Nobiles autem in equis preciosè phaleratis ferunt gladios,vel spatas breues & latas,scindentes pro vno latere, & in capitibus galeas de corio cocto,non altas,sed ad capitis formam depressas.

Quicunq; de suis fugerit de prelio,ipso facto conscriptus est, vt siquãdo inuentus fuerit occidatur. Si castrũ vel ciuitas obsessa se illis reddere voluerit, nullam acceptant cõditionẽ nisi cum morte omnium inimicorum, vel si quis homo singularis se dederit victum nihilominus absque vlla miseratione occidunt, detruncantes illi protinus aures, quas postea coquentes, & in aceto (dum habuerint) ponentes mittunt inuicem ad conuiuia pro extremo ferculo : dumque ipsi in bellis arte fugam simulant , periculosum est eos insequi,quoniam iaciunt sagittas à tergo,quibus equos & homines occidere norunt. Et quando in prima acie comparant ad bellandum, mirabilitèr sese constringunt, vt media pars numeri eorum vix credatur.

Tartari retro sagittantes.

Generalitèr noueritis,omnes Tartaros habere paruos oculos,& modicam vel raram barbam: In proprijs locis rarò intèr se litigant, contendunt,aut pugnant,timentes legũ pergraues emendas.Et inuenitur ibi rarius vispilio,latro,fur,homicida,iniurijs,adulter, aut fornicarius,quia tales criminatores inuestigatione sollicita requiruntur, & sine redemptione aliqua perimuntur.

Tartari habent paruos oculos & raram barbam.

Dũ quis decumbit infirmus figitur lancea iuxta illum in terra,& cũ appropinquauerit morti, nullus remanet iuxta ipsum,cũ verò mortuus esse scitur,confestim in campis,& cum lancea sepelitur.

Mos sepulturæ.

CAPVT. 39.

De sepultura Imperatoris Grand Can,& creatione successoris.

IMperator Grand Can postquam eius cognita fuerit defunctio, defertur mox à paucis viris in parco palatij,ad præuisum locũ vbi debeat sepeliri. Et nudato prius toto illo loco à graminibus cum cespite figitur ibi tentorimu, in quo velut in solio regali de ligno corpus defuncti residens collocatur, paraturq; mensa plena coram eo cibarijs præciosis, & potu de lacte iumentorum. Instabulatur ibi & equa cum suo pullo,sed & ipse albus, nobilitèr phaleratus,& onustatus certo pondere auri & argenti. Et est totum Tentorij pauimentum de mundo stramine stratum.

Tuncque effodiunt in circuitu fossam latam valdè, & profundam vt totum tentorium cum omnibus contentis descendat in illam. Eoq; facto ita equalitèr terram planificantes adoperiunt graminibus, vt in omni tempore locus sepulturę non valeat rpparere. Et quoniam ignorantiæ nubilo turpiter excęcati putant in alio seculo homines delectationibus frui,dicunt quòd tentoriũ erit ei pro hospitio,cibi ad edendũ,lac ad potandum, equus ad equitandum, aurum & argentũ ad respiciendũ,sed & equa lac sempèr prestabit,& pullos equinos successiue generabit.

Post

Poſt has itaq; Imperatoris defuncti miſeras exequias, nullus omnino audebit de ipſo loqui coram vxoribus & filijs,& propinquis, ſed nec nominare, quia per hoc purarent derogari paci,& quieti illius,qua non dubitant cum dominari, in maiori ſatis gloria Paradiſi quã hic ſtetit.

Igitur Imperatore Grand Can ſepulto obliuioni tradito, conueniunt quàm citò nobiles de ſeptem tribubus prouinciæ Cathay,& cui Imperium ex propinquitate competit,dicunt ſic.

Ecce volumus,ordinamus, atque precamur,vt ſis noſter Dominus & Imperator.

Qui reſpondet.

Si vultis me ſuper vos,ſicut & iuris mei eſt, imperare,oportebit vos fore mihi obediẽtes tam ad mortem quàm ad vitam.

Et reſpondentes dicunt.

Nos faciemus quicquid præceperitis.

Tuncque Imperator addit hæc verba: Ergo ſcitote, quod ex nunc verbum meum acutum & ſcindens erit vt meus enſis: Pergit quoq; ſeſſum in ſuo ‖Philtro nigro ſuper pauimentũ in conſpectu throni expanſo, & cum ipſo Philtro eleuatur ab omnibus, & infertur Imperij ſolio, ac coronatur diademate præcedentis Imperatoris. 1. cathedra.

Deinde ſinguli principes,& ſingulæ ciuitates, oppida, & villæ per vniuerſum imperium mittunt ei munera iocalia,vaſa,pannos,equos,elephantes, aurum, argentum, & lapides precioſos, quorum,qualium,& quantorum vix vel in numero haberi poteſt æſtimatio.

CAPVT. 40.

De multis regionibus Imperio Tartariæ ſubiectis.

BReuitèr & nunc intendo curſum deſcribere aliquarum magnarum regionum & Inſularum Imperij Tartariæ. Et primò illas quæ deſcendunt à prouincia Cathay per ſeptentrionalem plagám,vſque ad fines Chriſtianitatis Pruſſiæ,& Ruſſiæ.

Ergò prouincia Cathay deſcendens in ſui oriente à regno Tharſis iungitur ab occidente regno ‖Turqueſcen,in quo & ſunt plurimæ ciuitates, quarũ formoſior dicitur Octopar. Ipſum autem Turqueſcen regnũ iungitur ad occidentem ſui regno ſeu Imperio Perſiæ, & ad ſeptentrionem regno Coraſinę,quod ſpacioſ·m eſt valde,habens verſus orientem ſui vltra centum dietas deſerti: hoc regnũ eſt multis bonis abundans,& appellatur eius melior ciuitas etiam Coraſine. Turqueſtan. Octopar. Coraſine. Regnum Cõmanorum.

Iſti quoq; regno iungitur in occidente verſus partes noſtras regnum Commanorum, quod & ſimiliter longum eſt,& latum,ſed in paucis ſui locis inhabitatum: Nam in quibuſdam eſt frigus nimium,in alijs nimius calor, & in nonnullis nimia muſcarum multitudo.

De iſtis Commanis venit olim fugata quædam pluralitas populi vſque in terram Ægypti quæ ibidem ſuccreta nunc ita inualuit, vt ſuppreſſis indigenis videatur regnare: Nam & de ſeipſis conſtituerunt hunc,qui modo eſt Soldanus, Melech Mandibron. Per Commanorum regnum decurrit Grandis fluuius ‖Echil, qui omni hyemali tempore in magna ſpiſſitudine gelatur: in ſuperiori quoq; parte huius regni inter duo freta Caſpię, & Oceani, mons ſublimis eſt valde ‖Chocas. Nota quod à noſtris partibus non poſſit vſque in Indiam ſuperiorem duci magnus exercitus per terras, niſi per tres tantummodo tranſitus, quorum iſte eſt vnus, qui tamen non valet tranſiri niſi tempore glaciei,& hic appellatus eſt Lodekonc. Id eſt Volga. ‖Vel Caucaſus. Iter faciendũ tempore glaciei.

Alter per Turqueſcen,& per Perſiam,tamen ibi ſunt deſerta plurium dietarum,in quibus niſi eſſet exercitus bene prouiſus, poſſet perire.

Tertius ad primos fines regni Commanorum,tranſfretando tamen mare vſque in regnum Abchaz: principalis ciuitas Commanorum dicitur Sarach. Sarach.

Ab hoc regno verſus partes noſtras inuenitur regio Laiton quæ eſt vltima paganiſmi,iungitur iſte finis terræ Chriſtianitatis regno Pruſſiæ,& Ruſſiæ. Laiton,vel Lituania.

Poſt poteſtatem Imperij Tartariæ deſcendendo à prouincia Cathay in Auſtralem plagam venitur verſus Perſiam,Syriam,& Greciam. Verſus terram Chriſtianorum poſſum aliqualiter in ſumma(quantum conuenit huic ſcripto)cõnotare. Dixi ſupra iam prouinciam Cathay iungi regno Turqueſcen ad occidentem, & illud quoq; iungi regno ſeu Imperio Perſiæ. Adquod ſciendum,quamuis rex Perſiæ habet etiam ab olim nomen Imperatoris; quia(cũ tenet aliquas terras ſui Imperij ab Imperatore Tartarorum)neceſſe eſt vt in tanto ſubiectus ſit illi.

Sunt autem in Perſia duæ regiones: vna altæ Perſiæ,quę à regno Turqueſcen deſcẽdens,iungitur ad occidentem ſui fluuio ‖Pyſon.In iſta habẽtur renominatę ciuitates,quarũ meliores duę dicuntur Bocura & Seonargant, quam aliqui appellant Samarkand: Et altera Regio baſſæ Perſiæ, deſcendens à flumine Pyſon, qui ad ſui occidentem iungitur regno Mediæ, & terræ minoris Armeniæ,& ad Aquilonem mari Caſpio,& ad Auſtrum terræ minoris Indiæ. Id eſt,Euſtrate. Bocura,vel Bohare. Samarkand. ‖Seu Neſſabõ. ‖Seu Sarmaſane.

In hac baſſa Perſia tres principaliores ciuitates ſunt ‖Aeſſabor, Saphaon, ‖Sarmaſaule.In terra autẽ maioris Armeniæ quondã habebantur quatuor regna, quę nunc dicuntur ſubeſſe Imperio Perſarum Maior Armenia.

Maior Armenia. Persarum, habetque famam terræ nobilis, & ad occidentem sui iungitur Regno Turciæ.

Tauris. Hęc Armenia multas valdè bonas continet ciuitates, quarũ famosior est Tauris. Regnũ Regnum Mediæ. Mediæ quod subest Regi Persarum quamuis non latum est, tamen longũ est, & ad occidentem sui regno Chaldeę coniunctum. In Media meliores duæ ciuitates sunt, Seras, & Keremen.

Georgia. Hinc ad occidentẽ sui, iuncta est regio Georgiæ, quę modo constat diuisa in duo regna: Nam
Abchas, aliàs Alchaz. pars superior, quę iungitur Medię, reseruauit sibi nomen Georgię, sed inferior pars dicitur regnũ Abchaz. Ambo hęc regna, & reges eorũ, sunt de fide Christiana, & homines ita deuoti vt ad minus semel in hebdomada cõmunicent sacramentis, iuxta ritũ Gręcorum confectis. Et quidem regnum Georgię subiacet imperio Grand Can: sed Abchaz nunquam ab ipso Imperatore Tartariæ, neque Persarum, neq; Medorum domino subdi potuit, eo quòd munitum est aquis & rupibus & aljs prouisionibus contra impugnationes hostiles.

In parte regni Georgiæ sunt tenebræ. Iuxta hoc regnũ Abchaz habetur vnũ mirum & mirabile, nam magnus est territorij locus dictus Hamson, & continens in circuitu spacium vię quatuor diętarũ: videtur semper opertus tenebris densis vt nemo audeat illic intrare profundè, quoniam si qui pręsumpserint, non sunt visi reuerti. Attamen fatentur vicini sub illis se tenebris audisse nonnunquã clamores hominũ, hinnitus, mugitus, rugitus, & boatus pecudum, & bestiarum, sed & cantus gallorum, vt per hęc & alia signa constet ibi habitare gentes: nam & fluuius decurrens monstrat signa sępè certissima in suo exitu: ignoratur tamen si tenebræ per totum territorium sint eiusdem densitatis, an forte sint in circuitu per aliquod spacium, & intrinsecus plus luminosum.

Dicuntur autem tenebrę istę olim per diuinum miraculum aduenisse. Saboere enim Imperatore Persarum, circa annum Gratię ducentessimum quinquagessimũ in persecutione Christianorũ tendente cum pleno exercitu per hunc locum, & Christianis tyrannidem eius fugientibus, contigit ex improuiso eos ità arctari, vt se effugere desperarent, quapropter statim ad orationis refugium omnes se sternentes clamauerunt ad Christum auxiliatorem suum: Et deus, qui pro puro corde Christianos ad se orantes semper exaudit, expleuit illic literam vaticinij Isaiæ: quia ecce tenebræ operient terrã & caligo populos, monstrans per tenebram terrenam, quam eis superduxit, quas passuri essent inimici nominis Christi tenebras infernales, indicansque per temporalem vitam, quam sibi fidelibus conseruauit, eam quam possessuri sunt viri Christiani vitam perpetuam, & cœlestem.

Itaq; hoc regnum Abchaz ad occidentem sui iungitur regno Turciæ, quod in longo & lato valdè extẽsum multas cõtinet prouincias scilicet Iconię, Cappadocię, Saure. Brike, Besicon, Patan, & Gennoch; hij omnes Turci, cum tota Syria & Arabia vsq; ad Galliziam Hispanię, subsunt Imperatori Babyloniæ Soldano, & sunt in singulis prouinciis & regionibus ciuitates magnę, ac
‖ Vel Sathata. multę nimis. Consequẽtèr huic regno Turciæ ad Occidentem sui in ciuitate ‖Cathasa iungitur per mare Grecię superior pars potestatis Imperatoris Constantinopolitani, & quasi ad Aquilonem contiguatur regno Syrię: cuius vna prouincia est terra promissionis, prout hoc satis dictum est suprà. Sunt & aliæ terrę, & Insulę, & patriæ latę, & spatiosę, continentes in se multa regna, & reges, & gentes diuersas, de quibus nunc per singula pertractare non est consilij.

Extensio Imperij Grand. Can. Ad supradictã Chaldęã iungitur Mesopotamia, & minor Armenia, & velut ad Austrum eius Æthiopia, Mauritania, Lybia alta & bassa, & Nubia. Excepto ergò duntaxat districtu Imperij Persię & potestate Soldani, omnes sępè pertractatę terræ, regiones, regna & Insulę descendendo tam per Aquilonem, quã ad Austrum à prouincia Cathay, vsq; ad Christianitatem sunt de Imperio Tartariæ Grand Can.

Distantia à Roma ad Cathayam per Institores. Et notandum de spacio distantiæ, quod institores de Roma, vel Venetia festinantes tam per terras, quàm per mare, expendunt de tempore 11 menses, & quandoque duodecim, priusquam in Cathay valeant peruenire.

Cadilla Regio orientalior Cathaya. Hijs ità q; visis describam saltem aliquas à prouincia Cathay in oriẽtem terras Imperij Tartarorum. Illic habetur regio Cadilla spaciosa multũ, simul & speciosa: crescunt namq; in ea fructus ad quantitatẽ magnorũ Cawardorũ, in quibus inuenitur vna bestiola, in carne & sanguine
Angli nostri hanc bestiolam nuper viderunt in Persia. ad formam agnelli absq; lana, & manducatur totus fructus cũ bestiola. Sunt & alij plures diuersi fructus, quorũ penes nos non est respectus nec vsus. Nam & sunt ibi nonnullæ speciales vites ferentes botros incredibiliter magnos, quorum vnum vix virilis vir valet in hasta portare.

Et deinde in meridiem per aliquas diætas, potest peruenire ad primas Caspiæ alpes, quę descendendo descendunt vsque ad Amazoniam, insulam mulierũ, de qua tractatum est. Inter has Alpes retinetur maxima multitudo Iudæorum decem tribuũ Israel, per Dei voluntatem ita inclusa, vt in copiosa numerositate non possint à nostra parte exire, quamuis aliqui pauci nonnunquam sunt visi transisse. Haberent autem competentem exitum circa insulam Amazoniæ,
Bacchariæ Regnum vel Boghariæ. sed illum diligenter regina obseruat.

Porrò de regione Cadilla in orientem venitur ad regnum Backariæ, in qua mali & multum

crudeles

crudeles habitant homines, nec eſt ſecurum itinerare per illam, quòd ad modicam occaſionem (ſi Deus non conſeruaret) occiderent viatorem & manducarent. Illic ſunt arbores ferentes lanam velut ouium, ex qua texunt pannos ad veſtimenta. Hyppocentauri ſunt ibi pro media ſuperiori parte in forma humana, & pro inferiori figura equorum, ſeu taurorum, venantes in terris, & piſcantes in aquis quod comedunt, & ſuper omnia carnes hominũ, quos capere poſſunt. Arbor Lanifera.

Nec non & gryphi illic apparent pro media poſteriori parte in forma leonis, pro anteriori in forma aquilę. Sed ſciatis, corpus magni gryphi maius eſſe octo leonibus de partibus iſtis. Nam poſtquã equum, bouem vel hominem, etiam aſinum occiderit, leuat & aſportat pleno volatu: tanquã cornua bouis aut vaccę ſunt illi vngulæ, de quibus etiam fieri ſolent ciphi ad bibendum, qui plurimùm reputantur precioſi. Fiunt quoq; de pennis alarum eius arcus rigidi, & fortes, ad iaciendum miſſilia & ſagittas. Gryphones, de quibus Paulus Venetus.

Ad iſtius regni Baccarię extremitates in Orientem finitur terra poteſtatis Grand Can: Et iungitur ei terra poteſtatis magni Imperatoris Indiæ, qui ſemper vocatur Prębyter Ioannes. Notandum, quoties per prouincias totius Imperij Grand Can, quicquam accidit, quod Imperatorẽ non oportet latere, confeſtim mittuntur per reges aut barones nuncij in dromedarijs aut equis, qui celerrimè feſtinant ad certa hoſpitia, ad hoc ipſum, velut abſque numero per imperium inſtituta: Iſque nuncius hoſpitio appropinquans, & cornu reſonans, dum auditur paratur nuncius alter, qui de manu ſuſcipiens literas, per recentem dromedarium feſtinat ad aliud hoſpitium, & ſic in breui tempore perferuntur rumores ad curiæ aures. Similiąque modo nuncij pedites permutantur de hoſpitio in hoſpitium, vt citiùs percipiatur negocium huius nuncij: appellantur ſua lingua Chidibo. Curſores, Chidibo Tartaricè dicti.

Ergò per prędmiſſa ſatis elucet magnam eſſe nobilitatem, poteſtatem, reuerentiam, & dominationẽ Imperatoris Tartarię Grand Can de Cathay, & quòd nullus ab iſta parte Imperator, nec Perſię, nec Babylonię, nec Grecię, ſed nec Romę eſt illi comparandus. Vndè & multũ miſerandũ eſt, quia ipſe cùm toto Imperio nec eſt fide Catholica illuſtratus, nec ſalutari lauachro regeneratus: & hoc oremus vt in breui eueniat, per Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum. Charitas Mandeuilli.

Explicit pars ſecunda huius operis.

¶ *Tertia pars.*

Caput. 41. *De magnificentia Imperatoris Indiæ & precioſitate Palatij.*

QVm in præcedentibus Imperator Indiæ dictus ſit magnus, reſtat de illius magnificentia aliquid poni hoc loco: cuius vtiq; gloria, nobilitas, & poteſtas, dici non habetur minor, quàm dicti Imperatoris de Cathay: nam etſi in aliquibus videatur forſitan minor, eſt tamen in aliquibus ſatis maior, quia omne ęquale nõ eſt idem cum illo cui ęquatur: itaq; à finibus regni Bachariæ ſupradicti vbi contiguatur Imperio Indię, eundo per multas dietas intratur in regnum ‖ Pentoxyrię quod eſt magnę latitudinis, & abundantię in multis bonis: huius nominatior ciuitas, dicitur Nyſe, & in ea habet Imperator palatiũ Imperiale, in quo reſidet dum ſibi placet. Imperator iſte ſemper vocitatus eſt Prębyter Ioannes, cuius nominis cauſam audieram quandoq; non veram: ſed in illis partibus accepi rationem indubitatã, quam breuiter hîc enarro. Circa annũ ab incarnatione Domini octingenteſſimũ, dux Ogerus de Danemarchia, cum quindecim cognationis ſuę baronibus, & armatis viginti milibus tranſiuit mare Grecię, & fauente ſibi Deo conquiſiuit Chriſtianitati per multa prędia penè omnes terras, regiones, & inſulas, quas eſſe de poteſtate Grãd Can prędixi, nec non & omnes, quę ſunt de poteſtate Imperij huius Imperatoris Indię. Eratq; inter Barones vnus denominatus Ioannes filius Goudebucf, regis Friſonũtqui dictus Ioãnes Deo deuotus fuit, & dũ licuit Eccleſiarũ limina iniuit, vnde & barones ei dabant quaſi per iocum Prębyter Ioannes vocabulum. Dum ergo Ogerus dictas regiones expugnatas diuideret in hijs quindecim ſuis cognatis, & quemlibet eorũ in ſuo loco cõſtitueret regem, quatenus Chriſtiana religio in illa orbis ſuperficie ſemper ſtabilis permaneret, tradidit iſti Prębytero Ioanni ſuperiorẽ Indiam, cũ 4000. inſulis, regionibus, & ipſũ prębfecit Imperatorẽ ſuper reliquos cognatos, vt ei certa tributa impenderent, & in omnibus obedirent, atq; ex tunc omnes ſucceſſores Indiæ ſunt vocati Prębyter Ioannes, & vſq; in hodiernũ tempus boni mãſerunt Chriſtiani, & religionis æmulatores. Interim cum cauſa matrimoniorum aut procurationis filiorum diſperſa eſt primi Imperij integritas, & multę de inſulis conuerſę vel potius peruerſę retroceſſerunt ad vetuſtum ſqualorem paganiſmi primi. Nota. Recedens à Cambalu verſus orientem poſt 50. dietas ad terram Prębyteri Ioannis, principalis ciuitas terrę vocatur Coſan, ſatis parua ſicut Vincentia: habet etiam ſub ſe multas alias ciuitates. Ex pacto ſemper habet in vxorem vnam de filiabus Grand Can.

Narratio de rebus geſtis Ogeri Ducis Daniæ. Vndè Presbyter Ioannes ſit dictus. 4000. Inſulæ. Coſan ciuitas.

Per multas peruenitur ad prouinciam Caſan, quę eſt ſecunda melior de mundo, vbi ſubtilior eſt, habet dietas 50. longior, 60. & eſt vna de duodecim partibus Imperij Grand Can. Odericus. Caſan.

Thebeth.

cus. Vide infra capitulo 49. de Cassan, & de Epulone. Deinde venitur in Thebeth prouinciam, quæ Indiæ est confinis. Itaque Rex & Imperator iste tenet spatiosissimum Imperium plenum valdè multis Regionibus & Insulis amplis, diuisum inter quatuor flumina magna de Paradiso terrestri descendentia, Pyson, Gyon, Tygrim, & Euphratem. Nam vltra fines orientales eius Imperij, & terrestrem Paradisum, nullus hominum habitat vel dominatur.

Insulæ Orientales.

Pretereà imperat multis alijs regionibus & Insulis quæ distinguntur per brachia maris Oceani, & in quibus singulis continetur grandis numerositas ciuitatum ac villarum, & multitudo innumera populorum præ abundantia & præciositate omnium terrenorum bonorum.

Imperium Indiæ habetur famosum per vniuersum orbem. Sed & famosius haberetur si mercatores mundi communitèr possint & auderent adire sicut Cathay. Nostratibus enim perrarus est illic accessus, tam præ longinquitate, quàm præ marinis periculis. Nam exceptis alijs sunt ibi quamplures Adamantini colles, ad oram maris, & intra mare, qui sua virtute attrahunt sibi naues ferrum continentes. Quoniam & mihi nauiganti mõstrabatur per nautas à remotis quasi paruula Insula in mari, quam asserebant totalitèr ab antiquis temporibus paulatim ibi cumulatam de nauibus per Adamantes retentis.

Latitudo Imperij præsbyteri Ioannis est 4. mẽsium iter.

Estimatur autem latitudo huius Imperij per dietas quatuor mensium, sed longitudini non datur estimatio, eo quòd tenditur vsque Paradisum vbi nullus accedit.

Duodecim reges prouinciales.

Distinctum est Imperium per duodecim prouincias, quibus totidem præsunt reges principales seu prouinciales, & quorum singuli habent sub se Reges, Duces, Marchiones, & Barones, præstantes atque reddentes presbytero Ioanni promptam obedientiam, & certa tributa. Sæpius & cõmunitèr tenet sedem Imperator in palatio vrbis Imperialis Suse. Hoc autem Palatium tale & tantum est, vt per me non credatur debite estimandum. Istud tamen dico audentèr in

Suse sedes Imperialis.

summa, quòd grandius, nobilius, preciosius, & placidius est, in auro, gemmis, structuris, & schemate supra descripto palatio Grand Can in Caydo.

Et ex speciali sciatis, istius palatij principales portas esse de Sardonico, vndiq; in ebore circumcluso: sed & transuersæ lineæ sunt omnes Eburneæ, aularum & cubiculorum feneſtræ chri-

Magnificentia palatij presbiteri Ioannis.

stallinæ. Mensarum quædam Smaragdinę, aliquæ Hęmatistinæ, cæterorumq; lapidum preciosorum per aurum sibimet coniunctorum. Et nonnullæ in toto aureæ vel gemmunculis dissẽminatæ, & vnaquæque de mensis cum stabilimento proprij generis. De throni quoque preciositate, quia meæ demonstrationis excellit modũ, solummodo dico, singulos ascensionis gradus esse singulorum lapidum preciosorum: Primum onychis, secundum christalli, tertium iaspidis, quartum hęmatisti, quintum sardij, sextum cornelij. Et septimus qui est sub sedentis Imperatoris pedibus, ipse est, chrysolitus, omnes circumfusi, & incluſoria arte formati, auro splẽdido relucentes. Sed & ambo throni reclinatoria ex smaragdis auro combinatis, eoque distincto nobilissimis granis, & gemmis: cuncti pilarij in camera Regis dormitoria cõsistunt de auro suluo, disseminati baccis, & quampluribus carbunculorum rubetis, totum de nocte habitaculum illustrantibus.

Et nihilominus in ea christallina lampas plena balsamo pistico sed ardens & lucens, tam pro augendo lumine, quàm pro corrigendo aere, tamen etiam pro ministrando optimo odore.

Forma lecti Imperatoris compacta est de puris & nobilissimis Saphyris, concluſi vtiq; aureis vel eburneis ligaturis, vt virtute lapidũ capiat suauem somnũ, motusq; carnis inhonesti stimuli, in eo refrenentur. Nunquã enim iungitur mulieri nisi soli coniugi propriæ, sed nec illi nisi quatuor quindenis anni videlicet in capite hyemis, veris, ęstatis, & autumni causa sobolis generãdę.

Vtq; breuitèr transeam de multa huius palatij nobilitate, mirabile hoc solummodò præmissis super addo. Quia circa medium illius in summo apice turris maioris, duo sunt nodi seu pomella de decoctissimi auri metallo miræ magnitudinis, & serenę resplendentiæ, & in ipsis formati duo carbunculi grandes, & lati, sua virtute tenebras effugantes, & velut splendorem plenilunij nocturno tempore mentientes.

CAPVT. 42.

De frequentia palatij & comitatu Imperatoris.

SEruiunt & præstò sunt iugitèr Domino Imperatori septem reges, qui in capite singulorum mensiũ, alijs septem regibus pro illis palatiũ ingredientibus recedunt ad propria, donec reuoluatur eis tempus statutum. Hij curam habent de gubernatione administrationũ in aula maiori per subiectos eis 72. duces, & 300. & 63. comites seu barones, quorum vnusquisque optimè nouit & diligentèr intendit proprio ministerio.

Nam isti sunt Imperatoris Cubicularij, isti Camerarij, isti scindunt Regi morsellos: alij de apponendis curam gerunt ferculis & deponendis, deafferendis, de asportandis, alij pincernæ. Archimandritæ, ostiarij, & sic de singulis.

Nec

Nec non abſque iam dictis, manducant omni die in aula coràm Imperatore, duodecim Archiepiſcopi, 220. Epiſcopi, quibus etiam alij totidem certis temporibus ſuccedunt per vices. Verumtamen ad quotidianas expenſas vſque præmiſſas, veniunt de Curia 300. millia perſonarum, ſed non ampliùs: ſed ſicut prædixi de Curia præcedentis Imperatoris, ſic nullus hîc, cuiuſcũq; ſit ſtatus, aut ſexus, comedit vltrà ſemel in die, & hoc ipſum ſobriè ſatis: quoniam prout æſtimare poſſum, expenſæ duodecim hominum de noſtris communitèr compenſarent triginta hominum in partibus illis. Taxat guloſitatem Europæorum.

Dum Ioannem Presbyterum contingit procedere cum exercitu in plena exhibitione, non deferuntur vexilla, ſed tredecim cruces magnæ altitudinis, & groſſitudinis, de auro diſtincto pretioſiſsimis petris, in honorem Chriſti & ſuorum Apoſtolorum duodecim. Hæ vectantur in ſingulis curribus, & ſingularum ad hoc maximis curribus cum cuſtodia cuiuſcunque crucis, decem mille equitum, & centum mille peditum, nec tamen hic numerus auget vel minuit principalem exercitum Paganorum.

Tempore pacis per terras proprias de palatio ad palatium, aut de regno ad regnum, dum tendere ei placet, comitatur vtique magna multitudine hominum antè & retrò, & ex vtroque laterum.

Túncque portantur coràm eo tria valdè notabilia, quæ tam illi quàm omnibus ea dignè notantibus eſſe poſſunt ſalutaria. Præcedit enim eum in ſpatio circiter octodecim paſſuum diſcus onuſtus velut omni genere pretioſorum vaſorum auri & argenti, gemmarum, & inæſtimabilis artificij. Illúmque diſcum ſubſequitur propinquiùs Imperatori ad ſpatium centum paſſuum, alia crux lignea nullo penitùs auro, nullóue colore aut precioſitate artificialis operis adornata.

Dehinc ad ſex paſſuum ſuccedit ibidem propinquans Imperatori diſcus aureus terra nigerrima plenus. Sunt enim prædicti comitatus in cuſtodiam & honorem perſonę Imperatoris, diſcus vaſorum in oſtenſionem diuitiarum, & maieſtatis Imperialis. Crux in recordatione paſsionis & mortis, quam in cruce ligni ſimplice Chriſtus paſſus eſt pro nobis. Et terra nigra in memoriam diræ mortis, qua caro ipſius Imperatoris, quæ terra eſt, in terram ibit corruptionis.

Caput 43.

De quibuſdam miris per regiones India.

Licèt plurima mira habeantur in terra Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis, ne materia operis nimiùm proteletur, multa tego ſilentio: & ſolùm de quibuſdam in principalibus Inſulis narro.

Ergò inprimis dico vidiſſe me magnum mare arenoſum, quod de ſolùm minuta arena ſine vlla aqua cum lapillorum granellis currit, & fluit per altas eleuationes, & depreſsiones ad ſimilitudinem maris aquæ, nec vnquam quieſcit: & quòd ipſe non ceſſo ſtupere, inueniuntur piſces ad littus proiecti, qui cum ſint alterius formæ & ſpeciei, quàm de noſtro mari, videntur tamen guſtui in edendo delicatiores. Nullo tamen humano ingenio videtur hoc mare tranſuadari, aut nauigari, aut illo piſcari, ſed nec propter ſui longitudinem, & plura impedimenta de propè circuiri. Magnum mare arenoſum. In orientali India vſque hodie venti anniuerſarij, arenis oſtia fluminum ſuffocant.

Item ab hoc latere maris per tres dietas habentur magnæ montium alpes, inter quas venit quaſi oriens de Paradiſo fluuius decurrentibus petris, nihil penitùs habens aquę, in quibus æſtimandæ ſunt plurimum magnarum eſſe virtutum, quamuis de ſingulis humanę ſcientiæ conſtare non poteſt.

Hîc petrarum fluuius currit ad interciſum tempus, quaſi in tribus ſeptimanę diebus, per ſpatium deſerti Indiæ plurium dietarum, velut fluuius, quouſque tandem ſe perdat in mare arenoſum prædictum, atque ex tunc ipſi lapides penitùs non comparent. Tempore autem ſui curſus nullus appropinquare præſumit, præ ſtrepitu eius & motu: ſed tempore quietis aditur ſine periculo vitæ.

In Orientem verſus fluuij originem ad ingreſſum deſerti magni inter quoſdam de montibus, cernitur grandis terræ planicies tanquam ſpatioſi campi totalitèr arenoſi, in quo videntur ad Solis ortum exurgere de arena, & ſecundùm eleuationem Solis excreſcere quædam virgulta, atque in feruore meridiei producere fructum. Ac de illo in Solis decliuo fructus cum arbuſtulis paulatim minui, & in occaſu penitùs deperire, vnde & nullus hominum audet illorum vti fructibus, ne ſit quid fantaſticum & nociuum.

In huius deſerti interioribus, vidi homines in toto ſylueſtres, qui etſi in ſuperioribus formam prætendere videantur humanam, deſcendunt in ſubterioribus ad formam beſtiæ alicuius.

Horum quidam frontes gerunt cornibus aſperatas, grinientes vt feræ vel apri: alij nonnulla vti videntur loquela, quam nemo rationalium nouit, & quibuſdam ſignis concepta depromunt. Et eſt illic pluralitas ſylueſtrium canum, qui dicuntur papiones, quibus poſtquam edomiti,

Papagalli. miti,& ad venandum instructi fuerint,valent capi multæ bestiæ per desertum. Est & copiositas papingonum auium viridium in colore quas appellant phicake,&quarum diuersa sunt genera, nobiliores habent latas in rostro linguas, & in vtroque pede digitos duos. Et quædam ex istis naturaliter loquuntur verba aut prouerbia,seu salutationes,in patriæ idiomate, vt euidenter salutes concedant,& reddant viatoribus,& nonnunquam debitum iter errantibus per desertum ostendant.Minùs autem nobiles non loquuntur ex natura, sed si latas habent linguas, & non sunt vltrà duorum annorum ætatis,possunt per assiduitatem instrui ad loquelam.

Aliæ nec loquuntur,nec erudiuntur,sed solùm clamitant pro voce milui, & nisi tres digitos habent in pede.

Nota: in quarta orientali Deus dedit fratribus minoribus magnam gratiam,vnde in magna Tartaria ita expellunt ab obsessis dæmones,sicut de domo canes: vnde quandoque per decem dietas ad eos adducuntur dæmoniaci alligati,& statim fratribus præcipientibus in nomine Iesu Christi, exeunt,& liberati baptizantur,& comburunt idola, & plures credunt, & quandoque exeunt idola de igne, & fratres proijciunt aquam benedictam, & clamat dæmon, Vide,de meo habitaculo expellor propter fratres minores. Ita multi credunt, & baptizantur. Odericus.

Melescorde Regio. Item nota:dum recederem de terra Præsbyteri Ioannis versus occidentem,applicui ad contratam vnam, quæ dicitur Melescorde,quę pulchra est, & multùm fertilis: inter montes duos huius "Vel regionis. "contratę fecerat quidam murum circundantem mõtem,& in eo fontes nobilissimos,& omne delectabile.Et hunc locum dicebant paradisum,sicut hîc ferè continetur.Ideò Odericus, qui posteà narrat de valle infausta in hoc se terminat.

Ad supradictum Indiæ regnum Pentexoriæ satis propè, & lata est & longa Insula, Mischo- Mischorach. rach,bonis copiosè referta,de qua vnum scribo præteritum mirum.

Ante paucos hos annos, villanus ditissimus, sibi valdè pretiosum construxerat palatium, quasi pro Paradiso terrestri,circundatum, munitum fortalitijs, ac repletum omnibus corporalibus delicijs.

Illic areæ,turres,cameræ,cubicula,cum alijs ædificijs,in multo numero,& gloria permagnifica,ac historiarum picturis,inter quas,nonnunquam prodigioso artificio bestiæ & bestiolæ,aues & auiculæ discurrebant,volitabant,& per pugnas,garritus,colluſiones,mẽtiebantur viuere.

Illic prata, & pometa,& seruatoria circà delicioſi collis congestum, distincta velut omni Ditissimi villani paradisus fictitius. genere florum, arborum, & herbarum, cum multis fontibus & riuulis, quorum perspicuitas,& fluxus in glaris suauem & auditui præstabant refectionem, & super aliquos fuerunt exceptioris artificij, circumstructi auro,& argento,& gemmis, & tres principales fontes emittentes ad palatium Domini per occultas conductas,riuulos vini,lactis,& mellis.

Copiosus quoque numerus formosorum puerorum,& puellarum, ætatis inter decem & sex decem annos,indutorum torquibus,& cycladibus exauratis,exercentium inter iocos cantus & spectacula,ac seruientium suo Domino prope nutum.Audiebantur ex turrium costodibus, nec non videbantur dulcisonæ symphoniæ,generum diuersorum,vt certissimè putares, non hominum,sed Angelorum: & in istis,ac similibus,deliciebatur iste villanus.

Sed & aurum liuido nil iuuat,imò nocet:quia enim hic inuidiæ & otij facibus super ingenuitatem mentis omnium generaliter nobilium principum verebatur in corde: (ingenuitas enim, & rusticitas nunquam cohabitãt in cordis vno domicilio) Composuerat ista sibi in hunc finem, vt per se singulos aduocaret aliquos vasallos corpore robustos,mentéq; audaces,atq; ad omnẽ proteruiam benè procliues:& cuilibet pro placitis muneribus commisit vt illum seu illum principem seu Baronem,quem dicebat sibi aduersariũ,clàm per insidias vel impetũ occideret,promittens quenquam post factum ad se recepturum perpetuò in hunc locum: sed & velut vaticinans pseudopredicauit,si quem illorum pro his flagitijs contigeret corporaliter tradi morti,nihilominùs animam eius in hunc amœnum Paradisum recipi,& viuere in æternum.

Mandeuillus oculatus testis Per hunc igitur modum nonnullis nobilibus occisis, & interfectis,tandem nudabatur eius nequitia tanta,& congregati regionis Barones miserum occiderunt,eius opera destruentes.Ipse ego inibi ductus, vidi fontium loca,& multa rei vestigia.

Caput 44.

De loco & dispositione vallis infaustæ.

HVius ad insulæ extremitates non procul à fluuio Pyson, habetur locus mirabilis pariter & terribilis,vltrà omne mundanũ,penè & procul:de euentibus,ac laboribus infinitis,quæ mihi meisque in tempore itinerationis acciderunt hucusque subticui,cùm iam vnum de maioribus ecce narro.

Est

Eſt illic in alpibus vallis infauſta, quatuor fermè leucarum: longitudo vallis, quaſi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, appellata vallis incantationis, ſeu periculoſa, ſeu propriùs dæmonioſa: intrà quam diebus ac noctibus reſonant boatus & tumultus tonitruorum, tempeſtatum, clamorum, & ſtridorum, diuerſíque generis ſonituum terribilium, quos illic exercet multitudo ſpirituum malignorum.

Propè ad vallis medium ſub vna rupium, apparet omni tempore viſibiliter integrũ ac maximum caput dæmonis vſque ad humeros tantùm, cuius ſpeciem præ horrore nullus pleno intuitu humanus audet diu oculus ſuſtinere: nam reſpicientes contrà aſpicit truculentèr, agitans oculos minacitèr, tanquam ex palpebris eiecturus (quæ & ſcintillant) flammas in altum. Totúmque caput ſeſe rotat ad minas, & variat terribilitèr modum & continentiam ſub repentè diuerſis maneriebus. Exítque de illo per totum ignis obſcuratus fumo, & fœtor tantus, quòd per magnum ſpatium viæ peſſimam vallem infectat.

Ingredi autem volentibus, apparet ſemper ad introitum vallis, magna copia auri, argenti, vaſorum, veſtium, & rerum pretioſarum, quas proculdubio ibi dęmones confingunt, quibus & ab olim multi inſipientium hominum concupiſcentia tracti intrarunt, & vſque nunc intrant pro colligendo theſauro: ſed de Infidelibus pauciſſimi reuertuntur, imò nec de Chriſtianis, qui auaritiæ cauſa ingrediuntur: per vallis autem ſemitam, quæ inter montes & monticulos, tortuoſa & aſpera eſt, gradientes vident, & audiunt, dæmoniacos ſpiritus multos volutantes, & imaginibus corporum viſibilium, ſerpentum, volucrum, vlularum, lamiarum, & huiuſmodi ſpecierum horribilium dentibus minitantes, vngulas erigentes, incognitos ſibilos ſpirantes propè ſuper capita ad aures tranſgredientium. Sempérque minuitur lumen aeris, donec ventum fuerit ad terribiliſsimum locum capitis antedicti.

Si quis autem ſincerę fidei Chriſtianus per contritionẽ verã & confeſsionẽ, ſe poſuerit in ſtatu ſaluationis, munitus corporis Chriſti myſterijs, ac ſigno crucis, cum intentione ibidem agendi pœnitentiam de admiſsis, & cauendi de admittendis, putatur poſſe hanc tranſire vallem ſecurus quidem à morte, non tamen liber à laboribus, horroribus, & tormentis, & exire, de omnibus culpis præteritis corruptis, ac de futuris magis ſolito cautus, ſicut ſcriptum eſt, territi purgabuntur.

Nota aliud mirabile magnum. Vidi cùm irem per vnam vallem poſitam iuxta flumen quod egreditur de paradiſo, vidi in ea multa corpora mortuorum, in qua etiam audiui multa genera Muſicorum, qui ibi mirabilitèr pulſabant: tantus erat ibi tinnitus Muſicorum, quòd incuſsit mihi timorem horribilem.

Eſt autem longitudo illius vallis quaſi ad quatuor milliaria Lombardica, in qua ſi vnus Infidelis intrat, nunquam egreditur, ſed ſine mora moritur: Et licet ſciui, quòd intrantes moriuntur, tamen acceptaui intrare, vt viderem quid ibi eſſet. Dum intraſſem tot humana cadauera ibi vidi, quod niſi quis videret, credere non poſſet.

In hac valle, ab vno eius latere, vidi faciem hominis valdè horribilem, qui tantum horrorem mihi incuſsit, quòd putaui me ſpiritum exhalare, propter quod ſæpè repetij verbum vitæ, ſcilicet, verbum Caro factum eſt.

Ad illam faciem non audebam accedere, niſi ad diſtantiam octo paſſuum: poſteá iui ad caput vallis, & aſcendi ſuper montem arenoſum, in quo vndique circumſpiciens, nihil videbam, niſi inſtrumenta muſicalia, quæ audiebam fortitèr pulſare. Cùm fuiſſem in capite montis, reperi multum argentum congregatum ibi in ſimilitudinem ſquammarum piſcium, vnde poſui in gremio, ſed quod de ipſo non curabam; dimiſi illud, & ſic illæſus tranſiui Deo concedente.

Sarraceni cùm hoc ſcirent, reuerebantur me eſſe baptizatum, & ſanctum: mortuos nunc in valle dicebant, homines infernales.

Odericus ad literam hic terminat ſuum librum: non fuit tot perpeſſus in valle, ſicut ego. Anno Domini 1321. Ianuarij nono, migrauit ad Chriſtum, in conuentu Minorum: cuius vitam ſtatim in fine, & vſque nunc claris miraculis diuina prouidentia approbat, & commendat, prout continebatur in quaterno, à quo concordantias hic ſuperſeminaui.

Caput 45.

De periculo & tormentis in valle eadem.

ITaque dico vobis, cùm ego cum ſodalibus, qui ſimul eramus, quatuordecim diuerſarum nationum ante ingreſſum huius tanti periculi peruenimus, nos tractatu longo, & deliberatione acuta conſiliabamur, vtrùm nam ingredi deberemus, & quidam affirmabant, alii verò negabant. Erãt autem in numero duo deuoti fratres, de religione beati Franciſci, natione Lombardi, qui videbantur pro ſeipſis non multum curare ingreſſum, niſi quia noluerunt nos animare ad ingreſſum,

ingressum,dicentes,si qui nostrum per confessionem, & Eucharistiæ susceptionem se ibidem præmunirent, ingrederentur cum illis: quo, ab omnibus mediante debita prouisione,quam ipsi fratres penes se gerebant peracto,parauimus mentes nostras cum pedibus ad intrandum.

Sed ecce quinque de nobis,duo Græci & tres Hispani, semetipsos ab alijs segregantes, visi sunt alium requirere introitum nos præcedere cupientes,& certè nos illos exinde non vidimus; & quid eis acciderit an periculum subierint,vel ne ignoramus.

Nos autem nouem per vallem processimus in silentio, & cum cordis ea deuotione, quam quisque sibi potuerit obtinere: & ecce in breui transacto spatio apparuerunt cumuli massarum auri & argenti,& preciosorum copia vasorum. Sed dico vobis pro parte mea, quia nihil horum tetigi, reputans id fallaciam dæmonum confinxisse ad mittendum concupiscentiam in cor nostrum, imò sine intermissione conabar cor meum custodire ad deuotionem inceptam.

Procedentibus igitur nobis lux cæli minuebatur paulatim & augebatur horror, quoniam propè nos vndique etiam sub pedibus nostris apparebant iacere cadauera mortuorum hominum penitùs defuncta: alia adhuc spirantia,& nonnulla semiuiua,super quæ dum nos aliquando calcare contingeret,conquerebantur,ac dolorosè submurmurabant.

Et licèt non certum id habebam,æstimaui hoc fieri in parte vel in toto fictione dæmonum, reputans in breui tempore tantam multitudinem hominum spontaneè vallem intrasse, & si à longo tempore in ea perijssent putrefactos fuisse.

Ergò in initio nostri processus quasi propè leucam inuenitur iter sub pedibus satis promptum,sed lumine tanquam ad medium nobis sufficiente,via torquebatur nimis, & asperabatur: & ecce figuræ dæmonum,circum & suprá in aere se ferentium, ad imagines horribilium luporum,leonum,laruarum,megerarum,iuxtà cuiuscunque genus,vlulantium,rugentium,stridentium,gannientium,hiantes ore,intentantes dentibus,rostris,ac vnguibus, nos terrere, mordere, discerpere,deglutire.

Quapropter pro breui interdum soluto silentio nos inuicèm hortabamur, ne quis pro pusillanimitate terrori cederet,& tanto deficeret in agone.Hoc igitur modo per secundam leucam expirante nobis vsque ad tenebras lumine,quousque quis vix vmbram proximi agnoscere possit, præter prædicta in aere tormenta,incurrebant nobis ad tibias,& pedes pluralitas quasi porcorum,vrsorum,& caprarum grinnientium,& impellentium nos ad lapsum, quod vel ad tertium,vel quartum,aut sextum passum,solatenus cadebamus in palmas,seu genua, vel prosternebamur in faciem,aut supini.

Ac superuenere præter hoc ventorum turbines, fulgurum coruscationes, tonitruorum boatus, grandinum casus & exundatio pluuiarum, quantas & quales nunquam accepimus in hoc mundo, quibus iactabamur,ruebamus,quassabamur,& periclitati fuimus extrà narrandum.

Interdum quoque sensimus tanquam graues baculorum ictus,per humeros,dorsa,latera, & ad renes, alij quidem graviores, alij vt puta secundum demeritum vniuscuiusque. Et certè dum per tanta tormẽta, quasi exhaustis totis viribus, iam propè medium locum vallis erat ventum,accidit repentè, sub vnico instanti temporis, quibusdam nostrum expalmatio ita dura, vt omnes paritèr collisi,& prostrati iaceremus in extasi per vnam vel duas forsitan horas.

Et isto defectu vidit quilibet suo modo spiritualem visionem supermirabilem, & excedentem omne dictum,& scriptum.

Ego verò de visione mea nihil ausus sum scribere, vel loqui, quia & fratres singuli inhibuerunt,nisi de his,quæ corporalitèr intuebamur,& passi sumus.

Grauissimum singuli sustinuimus ictum per corporis loca diuersa,vnus in facie,alius in pectore, ad costas, in dorso,vel ad humerum,& mansit cuique signum percussuræ nigerrimum. ad formam virilis manus humanæ:

Mirabilis ictus

Ictum autem meum in colli ceruice tali ac tanta passione, vt putabam caput abscissum de corpore auolare:& hinc ad octodecimũ annum mansit mihi in prima magnitudine signum:sed & vsque nunc variato colore locus ille demonstrat plenissimè cicatricem, donec cum cadauere tota mutabitur in sepulchro: porrò vbi nos ab extasi in his tenebris separauimus singuli per diuinam gratiam respirando,loquendo, palpando, erigendo nos ipsos mutua humanitate, vt potuimus,recollegimus,& cohortabamur,cùm subitò nobis apparuit sub tenebroso lumine, vel potiùs fumosa caligine, locus ille spatiosus mediæ vallis, continens antedictum horribile caput dæmonis,plenus fœtore inæstimabili,& iugi occupatus exercitatione innumerorum spirituum malignorum.

Hunc ergò locum ineptũ cùm vitare vellemus, in toto nequiuimus extremitatem eius, quocunque girantes,nullus nostrorum perfecto aspectu audebat respicere quę gerebantur ibidem,

quia

quia inuadens tremor ſtatuebat horripilationem, extrahebat ſudorem, & pudorem omnes extinguere videbantur. Nec tamen potuit eſſe conſilium de reuertendo, ne propter immutatum propoſitum confeſtim à dæmonibus ſtrangularemur.

Tranſiuimus, Dei gratia nobis opitulante, ſed non ſine maximo horroris, fœtoriſque tormento: rurſúmque ex tunc procedentes nos apprehendebat tenebroſa, validáque tempeſtas, ventorum, coruſcationum, tonitruum, grandinum, & pluuiarum, cuius quaſſatione collabebabamur in facies, & in dorſo dextrorſum, & ſiniſtrorum, interuoluente ad tibias, ſicut priùs multitudine grinnienſium beſtiarum, nec dubito ſcribere quoque ampliùs, quàm 500. vicibus per hanc vallem quiſque noſtrum ſternebatur ad terram.

Pòſt verò exactam tertiam leucam, cœpit nobis augeri lux aeris, ex quo animoſiores effecti, in vno tranquilliori loco nos parùm pauſantes, gratias Deo palmis extenſis in cælum, reddidimus immenſas, & præcipuè quòd nullus deeſſet de nouenario numero ſociorum.

Nihilominùs tamen ſpiritus in aere nobis minari non ceſſabant, prętendentes in deriſionem ſua pudenda ſimul, & fœda virilia & poſteriora.

Pro certo ergò habeatis de his quæ vidi, & ſenſi, nullam poſſum vobis tradere æquipollentiam verborum, cùm quia grauiſſima erant, tum quia ſingulis ne mihi deuotionem minueret non attendebam, tum etiam, quod præ horrore, labore, & dolore multa memoriæ non commendabam.

Per quartam autem leucam (ductrice gratia) leuiùs tranſeuntes, ſuſtinuimus tamen ſub pedibus hominum cadauera mortuorum, propè vallis exitum rerum tentamina precioſarum.

Nunc itaque obſecro magno cordis affectu, hæc legentes & audientes ego, qui in illa hora quid erga me agebat miſericordiſsimi Dei pietas ignorabam, vt velitis pro me, ſimul & mecum ex mentis intimo collaudare ipſum Dominum, qui tunc de poteſtate tenebrarum illarum eripuit me indignum, & prout confido, à delictis iuuentutis me purgauit, quatenùs de poſteà commiſsis, & committendis, mihi propitiùs fore dignetur, cùm iam ſenior ſim effectus. Quoniam etſi ex tunc propoſui mores corrigere, ex nunc ſtatuo in melius emendare, per filium eius Ieſum Chriſtum Dominum noſtrum.

Ad hoc, addo breuitèr, quòd non auderem hortari quenquam, me conſulentem, vt ſponte neè ingrederetur hanc vallem infauſtam, quamuis ego curioſus intraui. Venientes poſthac ad proximas habitationes, neceſſe fuit nobis intendere ad recreandum corpora cibarijs, & balneis, & ad medendum vulneribus, & quaſſaturis, donec per aliquod tempus vnuſquiſque acciperet deliberationem ſuper ſuo futuro.

CAPVT. 46.

De quibuſdam alijs admirandis per Indorum inſulas.

VT modò procedam in tractatu. Sciatis ad paucas inde dietas grandem inſulam haberi gigantium, ad ſtaturam altitudinis viginti quinque pedum noſtrorum, de quibus ipſe vidi nonnullos, ſed extrà terram eorum, & audiuimus eſſe intrinſecùs quoſdam triginta pedum, & vltrà: hi operiuntur non veſtibus, ſed beſtiarum pellibus vtcunque ſibi appenſis, comedentes animalium carnes crudas, & lac pro potu ſorbentes, atque appetentes ſuper omnem eſum carnes humanas. Gigantes Anthropophagi.

Iſtorum non curaui intrare inſulam: nam & audiui quòd ad maris littus ſolent inſidiari nauigantibus, nauéſque ſubmergere, niſi interdum redimantur tribus aut quatuor per ſortem hominibus ſibi datis.

Verſus Auſtrum hinc in mari Oceano, habetur inter alias inſulas, vna, vbi crudelibus quibuſdam mulieribus naſcitur in oculis lapis rarus, & malus, qnę ſi per iram reſpexerint hominem, more Baſiliſci interficiunt ſolo viſu. Lætiferi aſpectus mulierum

Et vltrà hanc inſulam alia maior & populoſior, vbi cùm multi ſint vſus nobis inſueti, vnum deſcribo.

Dum deſponſauerit vir puellam, virginem, mandat hominem incompoſitum, velut ribaldum, qui ſua idonea claue per expertos ſuper hoc diligentèr conſiderata, ſi reputatur idonea reſeret & veſtiget ſub nocte vnica virginalem conclauem, pro mercede ſibi tradita competenti. Et ſi poſtera nocte accedens ſponſus ita non inuenerit, poterit, & conſueuit hominem impetere ad mortis iudicium indeclinabile. Cúmque huius moris diſcere voluiſſem cauſam, accepi reſponſum, pro certis temporibus apud eos, virgines habuiſſe in matricibus paruos ſerpentes, quibus nocebantur primi ad illas intrantes. Inſula vbi virgines viri-antur antequam nubant

Ideóq; & viri, qui pro mercede tantum ſubeunt periculum, vocant ſua loquela cadibrum, eſt, ſtultos deſperatos.

Ex

Ex hac,apparet Insula in qua inter alios vius, peruersæ sunt matres contra naturam & scripturã,cum pepererint contristantur, & dum proles moritur iocũdantur, iactantes in magno igne cum conuiuio & exultatione,dumque maritus ante vxorem decedit,patebit vxoris plena dilectio,si cum corpore mariti,quod rogo traditur se iactat cremandam,vt quia in isto seculo steterunt amoris vinculo colligati,non sint alio separati.

Nec tamen intelligunt illud seculum,nisi quod sibi confingunt terrestem Paradisum . Puerum aut minorẽ annis,trahet mater secum si placet,sed ætatis puer perfectæ,eliget pro proprio placito viuere superstes,aut mori iuxta parentes.

Hic etiam non succedunt Reges per generationem sed per electionem,vt assumatur non nobilior, aut fortior, sed morigeratior,& iustior, 50 ad minus annorum, nullam habens sobolem aut vxorem, seruatúrque illic iustitiæ rigor in plena censura, in omnibus & contra omnes, etiamsi forefecerit ipse Rex, qui nec eximitur a traditis legibus pro concupiscentia vel contemptione quarumlibet personarum.

Veruntamen Rex si peccauerit non occiditur ob reuerentiam, sed quòd sub pœna mortis, publicè inhibetur, ne quispiam in Regione ei verbo vel vllo facto communicet, & quoniam sui loco alter rex constituitur,necesse est illi breui vita degere vel perpetuò exulare.

Constat post ipsam, & alia Insula multis bonis locuples, & hominibus populosa, de qua recolo scribendum, quod nulla occasione comedunt tria genera carnium, gallinarum, leporum,& aucarum,quas etsi nutriant in copijs,vtuntur duntaxat pellibus aut plumis.

Cæterarum verò bestiarum & animalium licitè vescuntur carnibus pro victu, & lacte pro potu. Ibi quisq; vir licitè potest coniungi cuique mulieri, quantumcúnque propinquet, exceptis progenitoribus,patre & matre. Nam cohabitatio, & commixtio omnium virorum ad singulas mulieres apparet ibi communis,vnde mater natum paruulum suum,adicit pro sui placito cuicúnque viro, qui circa generationis tempus secum dormierit, nec valet vllus virorum esse certus de proprio generato,quem modum exlegem arbitror & turpem.

Sicut ergò præfatus sum,multa mira videntur per Regiones Indorum, mira quidẽ nobis,sed illis assueta, quibus si nostra recitarentur assueta, audirent pro miris. Nam & dum quibusdam dixi aucas viuas apud nos nasci in arboribus, admirati sunt satis. In multis locis seminatur singulis annis sementum de ‖ Cothon, quod nos dicimus lanam arboream, exurgunt ei modica arbusta,vel potius arbustula de quibus talis lana habetur:est arbor Iuniperus,de cuius ligno desiccato, si carbones viuos sub proprijs cineribus tenueris diligenter opertos, igniti seruabuntur ad annum.

‖Vel Cotton.

Descriptio arboris Bombasum ferentis.

Est & genus Nucum incredibilis magnitudinis ad quantitatem magni capitis : & bestia vocata, oraslans,vel serfans, corpore in nostrorum altitudine caballorum, & collo in 20 longitudine cubitorum ad prospiciendum vltra domos & muros, quorum posteriora apparent vt hinniculi siue lerni.

Nux Indica.

Oraslans bestia.

Genus est etiam Camelionum ad formam hynnulorum, qui semper patulo tendunt ore, vel nil manducantes. Viuunt de aere, quæ etiam ad suum libitum videntur sibi variare colorem, exceptis (vt dicitur) albo vel rubeo.

Camelions.

Maximi quoq; serpentes,inuicem qualitate,& genere differentes atq; colore.

Aliqui cristam in capite gerunt, quidam more hominum ad duos pedes erecti incedunt, & nonnulli qui dicuntur Reguli,venenum per ora distillare non cessant,nec non quam plures cocodrilli, de quibus aliquid in præcedentibus retuli : & apri in nostrorum magnitudine boum, spinosi ericij,in quantitate porcorum,leones albi in altitudine dextrariorum. Louheraus, seu Edouches per Indiam habentur, quod ferarum genus satis est maius nostris communibus equis, gerens in fronte tetri capitis tria longa cornua, ad formam pugionis, ex vtráque parte scindentia,vt eis nonnunquam interficiant Elephantes.

Apri ingentes

Leones albi.

Louheraus.

Aliæ quoq; bestiæ crudeles vt vrsi cum capitibus ferè aprorum & habentes pedes senos, qui finduntur latis vngulis bis acutis,& cum caudis leonum siue pardorum.

Et quod vix credetur,mures pro quantitate,10,aut 12. nostrorum & vespertiliones ad modum coruorum.

Sed & aucæ in triplo maiores nostris, plumis indutæ rubris,nisi quod in pectore & collo apparet nigredo.

Et breuiter tam ibi quàm alibi,habentur pisces,bestiæ,volucres,aut vermes diuersorum generum,aut specierum,de quibus hoc loco,vel inutilis,vel prolixa posset fieri narratio,quod nec illis qui nunquam propria exierunt,credibilis videretur.

CAPVT

Caput. 47.

De Bracmannorum & aliorum Inſulis.

BRacmannorum Inſula quaſi ad medium Imperij cõſiſtit Prẽsbyteri Ioannis. Hij licet Chriſtiani non ſunt, viuunt tamen naturali optimo more. Rudes enim & incomparati, ſimplices, & inſcij omnis artis apparent. Non cupidi, ſuperbi, inuidi, iracundi, guloſi, aut luxurioſi nec iurant, fraudant, aut mentiuntur. Laborant corpore, ſed intendunt animo implere quoad valent naturale mandatum, hoc facias alijs quod tibi vis fieri: credentes & adorantes omnium creatorem Deum, & ſperantes ab ipſo ſimpliciter Paradiſum.

Sobrij quoque ſunt, quapropter & longo tempore viuunt: & ſi quis ab eorum moribus degenerat, proſcribitur perpetuò ſine mora, omnibus nulla poſita differentia perſonarum, vnde & in iuſto Dei iudicio, quòd naturalem exercere iuſtitiam contendunt, Elementa eis naturaliter obſequuntur, & rarò eos tangit tempeſtas, aut fames, peſtilentia aut gladius.

Magna riparia dicta Chene currit per Inſulam, miniſtrans piſcium & aquarum copiam: Iſtos olim Alexander rex Grecorum debellare cupiens, miſit eis literas comminationis, cui inter cætera notabilia remandauerunt, nihil ſe habere curioſi, quod Rex tantus deberet concupiſcere, nihilque ita ſe timere perdituros ſicut pacem bonam, quam hactenus habuerunt inconcuſſam: ſicque diuino nutu eſt actum vt Rex truculentus ad alia ſe verteret, atque in breui poſtmòdum caderet, quia diſſipat Dominus eos, qui bella volunt, & iſtis manet pax multa diligentibus eam. Flumen Chene.

Pytan Inſula breuis continet paucos & breues habitatores, Pygmæis modico longiores, qui decoris vultibus nullo vnquam cibo veſcentes, ſpecialis pomi quod ſecum portant ſuſtẽtantur odore, quo ſi carerent ad parum, color in vultu marceſceret, & die tertia vita periret. Pytan.

Diſcretio & rationabilitas ijs adeſt modica, nec enim habent laborare niſi pro veſtitu, quem ſibi circa arbuſta colligunt: Et conficit vnuſquiſq; pro 12. annis vitę ſuæ.

Vltra hanc Inſulam ſilueſtres, & fortes habentur homines, ſed beſtiales, veſtiti per totum corpus proprijs capillis & pilis, exceptis palmis, & faciebus, qui videntur penitus gubernatione & politia carere: venantur carnes per ſiluas, & diſcurrunt piſcantes in aquis, omnia cruda vorantes.

Huius ad terræ metas manat fluuius Briemer latitudinis duarum leucarum, & ſemis, quem nos tranſire nequiuimus, nec auſi fuimus. Quoniam illo tranſmiſſo inſtant deſerta 15. aut plurium diætarum inhabitata nũc temporis (prout audieramus) diuerſis & nobis ignotis generibus beſtiarum, ſerpentum, draconum, gryphiũ, aſpidum, dypſarum, & colubrorũ in multitudine tanta, vt centum millia armatorum ſimul pertingere vſquè ad arbores, quæ ibi dicuntur ſolis & lunæ, vix poſſent. Attamen ſuo tempore Alexander magnus ſcribitur pertigiſſe, & quædam ab arboribus fictitia ſuccepiſſe reſponſa. Fluuius Briemer.

Circa has arbores excolitur Balſamum, cuius liquoris comparatio nuſquam ſcitur contineri ſub cœlo. Nam ibidem homines, de iſtarum arborum fructibus & Balſamo vtentes dicuntur illorum virtute quadringentis aut pluribus annis viuere. Balſamum indicum.

Peruenit autem & Dux Danus Ogerus, ac manducauit de illis, vnde & nonnulli præ ſenſus ſtolliditate vel fidei leuitate putant ipſum adhuc alibi viuere in terris. Ego autem quia tantum pro dilatanda Chriſtianitate laborauit arbitror magis, eum regnare cum Chriſto in cœlis.

Verſus orientales partes Indorum conſiſtit magna regio Taprobane exuberans optimis terrenorum bonorum, in quam nauigio intrauimus in octo vel circa diętis per aquam ſatis tenuem, haud profundam. Ibi, ſicut & in alijs multis Inſulis, rex non naſcitur ſed eligitur per partes terrę: & eſt hæc vna de quindecim nominatis Regionibus conquiſitionis Ogeri. Iſta, cum modicum declinet à circulo terræ ſub Æquatore, patitur in anno duas æſtates, & duas hyemes, ſi tamen hyems aliqua dici debeat, & non magis æſtas, quia nullus hîc dies anni caret fructu, flore, germine. Taprobana Inſula, & eius deſcriptio.

Habitatores ſunt diſcreti, & honeſti, vnde & mercatores, de remotis partibus libenter cum ijs communicant: & ſparſim per regionem habitant plurimi diuites Chriſtiani.

Hijs iunguntur duę inſulę (quas nos vocamus, Orilla, & Argita,) quanquam illa lingua aliter nominentur. In quarum prima ſunt multę mineriæ auri, in ſecunda argenti, & propter quandam craſſitudinem aeris continuam, perpauca apparent ſydera, præter vnum quod dicunt Canopũ, quod æſtimo planetam Veneris. Et quod mirum eſt valdè, de omni lunatione ijs apparet niſi 2. quarta. Cuius rei probabilis ratio effugit etiam Aſtronomos valdè peritos. Atque per has Inſulas quoddam rubrum mare à mari Oceano ſegregatur. Orilla. Argita. Hunc locum notat Gerardus Mercator in ſua charta generali.

Itaq; in Orilla in locis multis effoditur, colligitur, & conflatur optimum auri metallum, per viros, mulieres, & paruulos in hoc inſtructos, ſed & in nonnullis ibi montibus monſtrantur

congregationes bestiolarum in quantitate nostrorum catulorum, in formicarum forma ac natura totali: qui pro suis viribus effodiunt, purificant,& colligunt cum intenta occupatione auri minutias,eas reponentes,& repositas retrahentes de cauernis & specubus in cauernas & specus. Et in conseruando sunt diligentes & acres, vt nemo audeat de facili propinquare,nisi quod interdum ab illis pausantibus, seu ab æstu se occultantibus, aliqui non sine periculo in dromedarijs & veredarijs rapiunt,vel furantur.

Solet etiam ab eis obtineri,quòd excogitato ingenio super equam quæ nuper fœtum ædiderit,imponentes homines duas de ligno ciſtulas seu cophinos nouos, vacuos, & apertos à lateribus dependentes propè terram: hanc famelicam dimittunt vt se pascat ad herbas in montem: Quam formicæ videntes solam, salientes & iocantes, colludunt ad eam & ad eius confines pro nouitate: & quoniam eis est naturale, vt circa se omne vacuum implere conentur comportant certatim aurum suum in vasculis suis mundis. Cumque homines a remotis tempus obseruauerint, emittunt pullum equæ vt videat matrem, cuius aspectu iam diu stetit priuatus, ad cuius hinnitum protinus equa reuertitur onusta de auro. Hijs ergò & similibus modis homines aurum diripiunt à formicis.

Caput. 48.

Aliquid de loco Paradisi terrestris per auditum.

A Finibus Imperij Indiæ recta linea in orientem nihil est habitatum vel habitabile,propter rupium,& montium altitudinem,& asperitatem,& propter aeris inter Alpes diuersitatem: nam in multis locis, licet quandoque aer sit serenus, nunc fit spissus nunc fumosus, vel venenosus,& frequenter die medio tenebrosus. Durantque aut potius aggraueſcunt huiusmodi difficultates,vsque ad illum amænissimum Paradisi locum, quem protoplausti per inobedientiam sibi & posteris perdidisse noscuntur, quod spacium si metiri posset, est multarum vtique diætatarum. Quia iam non vlterius processi, nec procedere quiui,pauca duntaxat de illo loco referam verisimilia, quæ didici per auditum.

Descriptio Paradisi.

Paradisus terrestris dicitur locus spacioſus ad amplitudinem quasi quinq; Insularum nostrarum,Angliæ,Normanniæ, Hiberniæ, Scotiæ,& Noruegiæ, aut forsan satis plurium. Cuius situs est pertingens in altitudine ad aeris supremam superficiem, eò quod illic terra vel terrę orbis sit multum spissior quàm alibi per modum excentricum à vero centro mundi, nec valet hoc deinde ab aliquo experto refelli, scriptura veritatis clamante, quòd ibi sit fons irrigans vniuersam superficiem terræ: aquæ enim est natura semper fluere ad ima.

Exeunt autem ab illo fonte versus nostri partes hemispherij,hoc est nobis de illo loco in occidentem quatuor flumina, Pyson,Gyon,Tygris, & Euphrates, ab ista dimidia parte terræ circa Æquatoris circulum terræ influentes, quapropter & merito credendum videtur, exire de eodem fonte & alia quatuor flumina irrigantia terram oppositam, quæ est circa alteram dimidiam partem circuli Æquatoris,quamuis nos eorum fluminum loca,virtutes,& nomina ignoramus,quòd homines habitant ab alia parte Æquinoctij.

Gentes ad austrum Aequatoris.

Hoc tamen volo sciri pro verò & audiui, illic terrę faciem inhabitatam in maxima multitudine ciuitatum,vrbium,& regionum,quoniam & eorum institores Indiam frequentant,& nunciant sibi inuicem gentes & principes per literas, ac alijs modis destinare sunt visi.

Ganges fluuius.

Vnus nostrorum fluuiorum Pyson currit per Indiam, & per eius deserta quandoque sub terra,sed sæpiùs supra, qui & Ganges illic appellatus est, ab illo vltimo Paganitatis rege,quem Dux Ogerus deiectum cùm baptizari renueret in ipso flumine proiectum submersit.

Ad littus huius reperiuntur multi lapides præciositatis immensæ & metalli grana cariſſimi, nec non & auri mineriæ, multumque descendit in eo natans lignum Aloes ex Paradiso, quod rebus miræ virtutis inserit Salomon in Canticis.

Hinc secundus fluuius Gyon,currit per Aethiopiam,vnde dum venit in Ægyptũ,accipit nomen Nilus. Tertius Tygris veniens per Assyriam influit maiorem Armeniam & Persiam:tandemq; fiuuij singuli per loca singula se iactant in mare per quod defluunt vsq; ad Nador,id est, ad oppositum diametrum paradisi: Ideoq; merito ęstimantur omnes vniuerso orbe aquę dulces originẽ capere, à supradicto paradisi fonte,quamuis secundũ distãtiam maiorem vel minorem, & secundum naturas rerum per quas meant diuersos habere inueniuntur sapores, atq; virtutes.

Porrò ipsum Paradisi locum audiui à tribus plagis, orientali, meridionali, & septentrionali, inaccessibilem tam hominibus quàm bestijs, eo quòd apparet ripis perpendiculariter abscissa, tanquam inestimabilis altitudinis. Et ab occidente idest nostra parte tanquam super omnium humanorum intuitum rogus ardẽs,qui in scripturis rumphea flammea appellatur,vt nulli creaturę terrenę ascẽsus in eũ credatur nisi quibusdam volatilibus,prout decreuit iusti iudicij Deus.

Ambu-

Ambulantibus enim illuc ſiue repentibus hominibus obſtarent tenebræ imo rupes,aër infeſtus,beſtiæ,ſerpentes,frigus, & cauma. Nauigare autem contra ictum fluminis nitentes impediret intrinſecus recurſus, ac impetuoſus & quandoque ſubterraneus aquæ curſus deſcendentis cum vehementia ab euectiſſimo, vt dictum eſt,loco,qui ſuo quoque ſtrepitu, per petras atq; ſtrictos alioſque diuerſos cadens gurgites,efficeret ſurdos,& aeris mutatio cæcos,vnde & multi tam nobiles quàm ignobiles,fatua ſeſe audacia in iſto ponẽtes periculo perierunt,alijs excæcatis,alijs abſurdatis,& nonnullis in ipſo acceſſu ſubitanea morte peremptis. Ex quo nimirum credi habetur iſtum Deo diſplicere conatum.

Quapropter &ego ex illo loco ſtatui animum ad repatriandum,quatenus Deo propitio,Anglia quæ me produxit ſeculo viuentem,ſuſciperet morientem.

Caput. 49.

In reuertendo de Caſſan,& Riboth,& de diuite Epulone.

EXhinc de illis quæ in reuertendo vidi ſcribo curſim pauca, ne modum excedere videatur materia, Reuertebar itaque quaſi per Aquilonare latus Imperij Presbyteri Ioannis,& nunc terræ, non mari nos commendantes, tranſiuimus Deo Ductore, multas Inſulas in multis diætis, & peruenimus ad regionem magnam Caſſan : hæc cum ſit vna de quindecim habens longitudinem diætarum 60.& latitudinem propè 30.poſſet eſſe nominatior omnibus ibi circa prouincijs,ſi a noſtris frequentaretur.

Via per quam Mandeuillus redijt in Angliam.

Caſſan.

Notandum. Caſſan (ſecundum Odericum) eſt melior prouincia de mundo,vbi ſtrictior eſt, habet diætas 50. vbi longior 60.& eſt vna de 12.prouincijs Imperij Grand Can. eſt iſta populoſa, diſtincta ciuitatibus, vt quiſque à quacunque plaga de vna exeat ciuitate nouerit aliam in media diæta propinquam. Tenetque iſtam regionem Caſſan rex diues & potens, pro parte de Imperio Præsbyteri Ioannis,& pro parte de Imperio Grand Can.

Riboth.

De iſta in reuerſione noſtra venimus ad regnum Riboth,quod ſimiliter eſt vnum de quindecim,latum, & ſpecioſum, in quo de multis bonis, habetur plena copia. Hoc tenetur in toto de Imperio Tartarorum.

Labaſſi, ſummus idolorum pontifex.

Vna eſt ibi inter & ſuper omnes ciuitas Sacerdotalis,& Regia,in qua Rex habet ſuum magnificum palatium, & ſummus idolorum Pontifex quem Labaſſi appellant, cui omnes Regni obediunt,& populi ſicut Domino Papæ nos Chriſtiani,quoniam & iubet,& benedicit,ac confert ſacerdotibus beneficia idolorum.

Ciuitatis vndique muri ſunt compacti albis & nigris lapidibus conquadratis ad modum ſcakarij, omnesque contractæ ſimili pauimento ſunt ſtratæ, Tanta eſt illic reuerentia ſacrificiorum vt ſi quis vel in modica quantitate, ſanguinem hominis, ſeu immolaticię pecudis fudiſſe deprehenſus fuerit,nequaquam iudicium mortis euadet.Et inter innumeras ſuperſtitiones eſt illic vna talis.

Hæres cuius pater defungitur, ſi alicuius vult eſſe reputationis, mandat cognatos,amicos, Relligioſos, & ſacerdotes pro poſſe, qui certo Die conuenientes ſub magno Symphoniæ feſto, comportant defuncti cadauer, in montis ſublime cacumen. Ibi accedens dignior Prælatorum,funeris caput abſcindit, tradens hæredi in aureo diſco decãtanti ſub deuotione ſuas orationes cum ſuis in propria lingua. Atque interim aues regionis rapaces, & immundæ, vt corui, vultures,& aquilæ, quæ pro conſuetudine optimè morem norunt,aduolant magno numero in aëre : Tuncque Relligioſi cum ſacerdotibus detruncant corpus in fruſta velut in macello, proijcientes pecias in altum auibus,ac decãtantes certam ad hoc compoſitam orationem,tanquam ſi noſtri ſacerdotes cantarent. Subuenite ſancti Dei.&c.

Et habet eorum oratio, hunc ſenſum in ſua lingua. Reſpice quàm iuſtus & ſanctus extitit homo iſte, quem Angeli Dei coueniunt accipere & in Paradiſum deferre. Talique diabolico errore deluſi, putant filius,& amici,quod defunctus ſit in Paradiſum tranſlatus,viuat illic ſempiterne beatus, quoniam, vbi plures conuenere volucrum, ibi maiorem lætantur & iactant fuiſſe numerum Angelorum.

Hinc deinde reuertentes,cum choris, & reſonantia Muſicorum,filius paratum præſtat omnibus conuiuium, in cuius fine pro extremo ferculo, tradit ſingulis particulam, de patris capite ſumma cum deuotione. Hanc etiam capitis caluariam filius facit poſtmodum debitè formari & poliri ſibi pro cypho, in quo bibit in conuiuijs,ob recordationem amantiſſimi patris.

Ab hoc Regno decem dietis per poteſtatem Imperatoris Grand Can, inuenitur Inſula delectabilis,& ſpecioſa ſatis : cuius Rex eſt præpotens in gloria,& in diuitijs ſuperabundans,& de multis quæ illic geruntur admirandis vnum recito ſolum.

Diues Epulo. Quòd est ibi homo quidam ditissimus nullius dignitatis nomine honoratus, sed byssо, ac serico adornatus,& splendide omni tempore epulatus : non ergo vult dici princeps, Dux,comes, miles,aut huiusmodi,licet superioritatem habeat super marchiones aliquos & barones.

Eius possessionis valor æstimatur in anno 30. cuman de assinarijs bladi,& risi, nec quærit nisi delitiosè viuere in isto seculo, vt cum diuite Epulone sepeliatur in inferno. Cum etiam sibi derelictus sit, iste viuendi modus a retrogenitoribus, eum & ipse posteris derelinquet. Hic tanquam Imperiali residet palatio, cuius muri ambitus ad tractum leucæ tenditur, continens arbusta,vineta,riuulos,fontes & stagna, aulas, & cubicula auro strata depictaque mirè, & sculpta artificiosè, vltra quam vales explicare, & inter omnia ad medium palatium in celso vertice atrium amænum,valdè tamen modico, sed cunctis præciosius, ædificio, quasi ad scema nostrarum Ecclesiarum, cum turribus, pilarijs, & columnis, in quibus nihil prominet indignius auro. Nunquam vel rarò hîc exit de suo palatio cum solis pulchris quos sibi conuocat & conuariat paruis pueris & puellis, non excedentibus 16. annos ætatis. Tendit dum libet pedibus, quandoque vectatur equo, interdum ducitur vehiculo, nonnunquam vult ferri gestatorio, vel certè puellaribus brachijs, & visitat sæpissimè præfatum præciosius ædificium : atque hijs & modis alijs excogitat delectare visum pulchris, auditum suauibus, olfactum redolentibus, tactum lenibus, & gustum pascere delicatis. Electas semper habet præsto 50. puellas ei,& de proximo exquisitissimè ministrantes tam ad mensam quàm ad cubiculum,& ad omne libitum.

Hæ ad prandium recumbenti afferunt processionis more pro singulo ferculo semper 5. genera dapum nobilium cum dulcisonæ resonantia camtilenæ, quarum aliquæ ei singulos detruncant genu flexo morsellos, aliquæ ponunt in ore, mundis tergentes comedentis labia mappis.

Versus.

: Nam ipse quidem in mensa continet iacentes manus puras & quietas. Post deseruitionem ferculi primi, seruitur pro secundo in 5.alijs dapum generibus modo quo supra,& renouatur in apponendo cantus suauior melodia.

Ista absque vlla Domini cura per ministros quotidiè reparantur, etiam in maiori satis quàm effor nobilitate,nisi dum ipse pro placito iusserit,quandoque temperari.

Delicioſius igitur quo vult deducit carnem, non curans animam,sed nec probitatem curans terrenam,pascit sterilem, & viduæ non benefacit.Et

Quia vixit sicut porcus,
Morientem suscipit orcus.

Longitudo vngium. Vtuntur etiam in Florida principes longis vnguibus. Noua historia Chinensis hoc testatur.

Porrò quod eum dixi manus tenere quietas,noueritis nimirum nil posse manibus capere vel tenere,propter longitudinem,& recuruitatem vnguium in digitis,qui sibi nullo tempore præscinduntur. Seruatur enim hoc pro nobili more patrię, & viri diuites delicati, qui proprios possunt habere ministros nũquàm sibi dimittunt vngues resecare, vnde & nonnullis circumdantur vndique manus,acsi uiderentur armatæ.

Fœminarum autem mos est nobilis si habeant paruos pedes, vnde & generosarum in cunis strictissimè obuoluntur,vt vix ad medium debitæ quantitatis excrescere possint.

Caput. 50.

De compositione huius tractatus in nobili ciuitate Leodiensi.

IN reuertẽdo igitur venitur ab hac insula per prouincias magnas Imperij Tartarorum, in quibus semper noua, semper mira, imo nonnunquam incredibilia viator potest videre,percipere,& audire.

Et Noueritis, vt prædixi,me pauca eorum vidisse, quæ in terris sunt mirabilium, sed nec hîc scripsisse centesimam partem eorum quæ vidi,quod nec omnia memoriæ commendare potui, & de commendatis multa subticui,propter modestiam, quam decet omnibus actibus addi.

Idcirco vt & alijs, qui vel antè me in partibus illis steterunt, vel ituri sunt, maneat locus narrandi siue scribendi,modum huius pono tractatus, potius decurtans, quàm complens, quoniam aliàs loquendi non esset finis,nec aures implerentur auditu.

Concludit opus suum.

Itaque anno à natiuitate Domini nostri Iesu Christi 1355.in patriando, cum ad nobilem Legiæ, seu Leodij ciuitatem peruenissem,& præ grandeuitate ac artericis guttis illic decumberem in vico qui dicitur, Bassessanemi, consului causa conualescendi aliquos medicos ciuitatis : Et accidit, Dei nutu, vnum intrare physicum super alios ætate simul & canicie venerandum, ac in sua arte euidenter expertum, qui ibidem dicebatur communiter, Magister Ioannes ad barbam.

Is, dum paritèr colloqueremur, interseruit aliquid dictis, per quod tandem nostra inuicem

renouabatur

renouabatur antiqua notitia, quam quondam habueramus in Cayr Aegypti apud Melech Mãdibron Soldanum,prout ſuprà tetigi in 7.capitulo libri.

Quj cum in me experientiam artis ſuæ excellenter monſtraſſet,adhortabatur ac præcabatur inſtanter, vt de hijs quæ videram tempore peregrinationis,& itinerationis meæ per mundum, aliquid digererem in ſcriptis ad legendum,& audiendum pro vtilitate.

Sicque tandem illius monitu & adiutorio, compoſitus eſt iſte tractatus, de quo certè nil ſcribere propoſueram,donec ſaltem ad partes proprias in Anglia perueniſſem. Et credo præmiſſa circa me, per prouidentiam & gratiam Dei contigiſſe, quoniam à tempore quo receſſi,duo reges noſtri ‖ Angliæ,& Franciæ, non ceſſauerunt inuicem exercere deſtructiones,depræda- Edwardus
tiones,inſidias, & interfectiones, inter quas, niſi à Domino cuſtoditus, non tranſiſſem ſine morte, tertius.
vel mortis periculo, & ſine criminum grandi cumulo. Et ecce nunc egreſſionis meæ anno 33. conſtitutus in Leodij ciuitate,quæ à mari Anglię diſtat ſolum per duas diætas,audio dictas Dominorum inimicitias,per gratiam Dei conſopitas: quapropter & ſpero,ac propono de reliquo ſecundum maturiorem ætatem me poſſe in proprijs, intendere corporis quieti,animęq; ſaluti.

Hic itaque finis ſit ſcripti,in nomine Patris,& Filij,& ſpiritus ſancti, AMEN.

Explicit itinerarium à terra Angliæ,in partes Hieroſolimitanas, & in vlteriores tranſmarinas, editum primò in lingua Gallicana, à Domino Ioanne Mandeuille milite, ſuo authore, Anno incarnationis Domini 1355.in Ciuitate Leodienſi: Et Paulò poſt in eadem ciuitate, tranſlatum in dictam formam Latinam.

Richardi Hakluyti breuis admonitio ad Lectorem.

IOannem Mandeuillum noſtratem, eruditum & inſignem Authorem (Balæo,Mercatore, Ortelio,& alijs,teſtibus) ab innumeris Scribarum & Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum,eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid præſtiterim, virorum doctorum, & eorum præcipuè, qui Geographiæ, & Antiquitatis periti ſunt, eſto iudicium. Quæ autem habet de monſtriferis hominum formis itinerarij ſui præcedentis capitibus trigeſſimo,trigeſſimo primo,trigeſſimo tertio,& ſparſim in ſequentibus,quanquam non negem ab illo fortaſſe quædam eorum alicubi viſa fuiſſe,maiori tamen ex parte,ex Caio Plinio ſecundo hauſta videntur,vt facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo à me appoſitis,collaturo, quæ idem Plinius, ſingulis ſuis authoribus ſingula refert, in eorum plærisque fidem ſuam minimè obſtringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his vtere mecum.

Ex libro ſexto Naturalis hiſtoriæ C. Plinij ſecundi, *Cap.* 30.

VNiuerſa verò gens Ætheria appellata eſt, deinde Atlantia, mox à Vulcani filio Æthiope Æthiopia. Animalium hominumque effigies monſtriferas circa extremitates eius gigni minimè mirum,artifici ad formanda corpora effigiéſque cælandas mobilitate ignea. Ferunt certè ab Orientis parte intima gentes eſſe ſine naribus, æquali totius oris planitie. Alias ſuperiore labro orbas, alias ſine linguis. Pars etiam ore concreto & naribus carens,vno tantùm foramine ſpirat, potúmque calamis auenæ trahit, & grana eiuſdem auenæ,ſponte prouenientis ad veſcendum. Quibuſdam pro ſermone nutus motúſque membrorum eſt.&c.

Ex libro eiuſdem Plinij ſeptimo, CAP.2. cui titulus eſt, *De Scythis,& aliarum diuerſitate gentium.*

ESſe Scytharum genera, & quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis veſcerentur, indicauimus. Idipſum incredibile fortaſſe, ni cogitemus in medio orbe terrarum, ac Sicilia & Italia fuiſſe gentes huius monſtri, Cyclopas & Læſtrigonas, & nuperrimè trans Alpes hominem immolari gentium earũ more ſolitum: quod paulum à mandendo abeſt. Sed & iuxta eos,qui ſunt ad Septentrionem verſi,haud procul ab ipſo Aquilonis exortu, ſpecúque eius dicto,quem locũ Geſclitron appellant, produntur Arimaſpi, duos diximus, vno oculo in fronte media inſignes: quibus aſſiduè bellum eſſe circa metalla cum gryphis, ferarum volucri genere, quale vulgò traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate & feris cuſtodientibus, & Arimaſpis rapientibus, multi, ſed maximè illuſtres Herodotus, & Ariſteas Proconneſius ſcribunt. Super

alios autem Anthropophagos Scythas, in quadam conualle magna Imai montis, regio eſt, quæ vocatur Abarimon, in qua ſylueſtres viuunt homines, auerſis poſt crura plantis, eximiæ velocitatis, paſſim cum feris vagantes. Hos in alio non ſpirare cœlo, ideóque ad finitimos reges non pertrahi, neque ad Alexandrum magnum pertractos, Beton itinerum eius menſor prodidit. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem eſſe diximus decem dierum itinere ſupra Boryſthenem amnem, oſſibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibúſque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora vti, Iſigonus Nicæenſis. Idem in Albania gigni quoſdam glauca oculorum acie, à pueritia ſtatim canos, qui noctu pluſquàm interdiu cernant. Idem itinere dierum x. ſupra Boryſthenem, Sauromatas tertio die cibum capere ſemper. Crates Pergamenus in Helleſponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuiſſe tradit, quos Ophiogenes vocat ſerpentum ictus contactu leuare ſolitos, & manu impoſita venena extrahere corpori. Varro etiam nunc eſſe paucos ibi, quorum ſaliuæ contra ictus ſerpentum medeantur. Similis & in Africa gens Pſyllorum fuit, vt Agatharchides ſcribit, à Pſyllo rege dicta, cuius ſepulchrum in parte Syrtium maiorum eſt. Horum corpori ingenitum fuit virus exitiale ſerpentibus, vt cuius odore ſopirent eas. Mos verò, liberos genitos protinus obijciendi ſæuiſſimis earum, eóque genere pudicitiam coniugum experiendi, non profugientibus adulterino ſanguine natos ſerpentibus. Hæc gens ipſa quidem prope internicione ſublata eſt à Naſamonibus, qui nunc eas tenent ſedes: genus tamen hominũ ex his qui profugerant, aut cùm pugnatum eſt, abfuerant, hodiéque remanent in paucis. Simile & in Italia Marſorum gentis durat, quos à Circes filio ortos ſeruant, & ideo ineſſe ijs vim naturalem eam. Et tamen omnibus hominibus contra ſerpentes ineſt venenum: ferúntque ictas ſaliua, vt feruentis aquæ contactũ fugere. Quòd ſi in fauces penetrauerit, etiam mori: idq; maximè humani ieiuni oris. Supra Naſamonas confinéſque illis Machlyas, Androginos eſſe vtriuſq; naturæ, inter ſe vicibus cõcuntes, Calliphanes tradit. Ariſtoteles adijcit, dextram mammam ijs virilem, læuam muliebrem eſſe. In eadem Africa familias quaſdam effaſcinantium, Iſigonus & Nymphodorus tradunt quarum laudatione intereant probata, areſcant arbores, emoriantur infantes. Eſſe eiuſdem generis in Triballis & Illyrijs, adijcit Iſigonus, qui viſu quoque effaſcinent, interimántque quos diutius intuẽatur. Iratis præcipuè oculis: quod eorum malum faciliùs ſentire puberes. Notabilius eſſe quòd pupillas binas in oculis ſingulis habeant. Huius generis & fœminas in Sythia, quæ vocantur Bithyæ, prodit Apollonides. Philarchus & in Ponto Thibiorum genus, multóſque alios eiuſdem naturæ: quorum notas tradit in altero oculo geminã pupillam, in altero equi effigiem. Eoſdem prętereà non poſſe mergi, ne veſte quidem degrauatos. Haud diſſimile ijs genus Pharnacum in Æthiopia prodidit Damon, quorum ſudor tabem cõtactis corporibus afferat. Fœminas quidem omnes vbique viſu nocere, quæ duplices pupillas habeant, Cicero quoque apud nos autor eſt. Adeò naturę, cùm ferarum morem veſcendi humanis viſcetibus in homine genuiſſet, gignere etiam in toto corpore & in quorundam oculis quoque venena placuit: ne quid vſquã mali eſſet, quod in homine non eſſet. Haud procul vrbe Roma in Faliſcorum agro familiæ ſunt pauçæ, quæ vocantur Hirpię: quæ ſacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, ſuper ambuſtam ligni ſtruem ambulantes non aduruntur. Et ob id perpetuo ſenatuſconſulto militiæ omniúmq; aliorũ numerum vacationem habent. Quorundam corpore partes naſcuntur ad aliqua mirabiles ſicut Pyrrho regi pollex in dextero pede: cuius tactu lienoſis medebatur. Hunc cremari cum reliquo corpore non potuiſſe tradunt, conconditúmque loculo in templo. Pręcipuè India Æthiopúmq; tractus, miraculis ſcatent. Maxima in India gignuntur animalia, Indicio ſunt canes grandiores cæteris. Arbores quidem tantæ proceritatis tradũtur, vt ſagittis ſuperari nequeant. Hæc facit vbertas ſoli, temperies cœli, aquarum abundantia (ſi libeat credere) vt ſub vna ficu turmæ condantur equitum. Arundines verò tantę proceritatis, vt ſingula internodia alueo nauigabili ternos interdũm homines ferant. Multos ibi quina cubita conſtat longitudine excedere: non expuere: non capitis, aut dentium, aut oculorum vllo dolore affici, raro aliarum corporis partium: tam moderato Solis vapore durari. Philoſophos eorum quos Gymnoſophyſtas vocant, ab exortu ad Occaſum præſtare, contuentes Solem immobilibus occulis: feruentibus harenis toto die alternis pedibus inſiſtere. In monte cui nomen eſt Milo, homines eſſe auerſis plantis, octonos digitos in ſingulis pedibus habentes, autor eſt Megaſthenes. In multis autem montibus genus hominum capitibus caninis, ferarum pellibus velari, pro voce latratum edere, vnguibus armatum venatu & aucupio veſci. Horum ſupra centum viginti millia fuiſſe prodente ſe, Cteſias ſcribit: & in quadam gente Indiæ, fœminas ſemel in vita parere, genitóſque confeſtim caneſcere. Item hominum genus, qui Monoſceli vocarentur, ſingulis cruribus, miræ pernicitatis ad ſaltum: eoſdemque Sciopodas vocari, quòd in maiori æſtu humi iacentes reſupini, vmbra ſe pedum protegant, non longè eos à Troglodytis abeſſe. Rurſúſque ab his Occidentem verſus

quoſ-

quoſdam ſine ceruice, oculos in humeris habentes. Sunt & Satyri ſubſolanis Indorum montibus (Cartadulorum dicitur Regio) perniciſſimum animal, tum quadrupedes, tum rectè currentes humana effigie propter velocitatem, niſi ſenes aut ægri, non capiuntur. Choromandarum gentem vocat Tauron ſilueſtrem ſine voce, ſtridoris horrendi, hirtis corporibus, oculis glaucis, dentibus caninis. Eudoxus in meridianis Indiæ viris plantas eſſe cubitales, fœminis adeò paruas, vt Struthopodes appellentur. Megaſtenes gentem inter Nomadas Indos narium loco foramina tantùm habentem, anguium modo loripedem, vocari Syrictas. Ad extremos fines Indiæ ab Oriente, circa fontem Gangis, Aſtomorum gentem ſine ore, corpore toto hirtam veſtiri frondium lanugine, halitu tantùm viuentem, & odore quem naribus trahant: nullum illis cibum, nullúmque potum: tantum radicum florúmque varios odores & ſylueſtrium malorum, quæ ſecum portant longiore itinere, ne deſit olfactus, grauiore paulò odore haud difficulter exanimari. Supra hos extrema in parte montium Spithamæi Pygmæi narrantur, ternas ſpithamas longitudine, hoc eſt, ternos dodrantes non excedentes, ſalubri cælo, ſempérque vernante, montibus ab Aquilone oppoſitis, quos à gruibus infeſtari Homerus quoq; prodidit: Fama eſt, inſidentes arietum, caprarúmque dorſis, armatos ſagittis, veris tempore, vniuerſo agmine ad mare deſcendere, & oua, pullóſque earum alitum conſumere, ternis expeditionem eam menſibus confici, aliter futuris gregibus non reſiſti. Caſas eorum luto, penníſque, & ouorum putaminibus conſtrui. Ariſtoteles in cauernis viuere Pygmæos tradit. Cætera de his, vt reliqui. Cyrnos Indorum genus Iſigonus annis centenis quadragenis viuere. Item Aethiopas Macrobios, & Seras exiſtimat, & qui Athon montem incolant: nos quidem quia viperinis carnibus alantur, itaque nec capiti, nec veſtibus eorum noxia corpori ineſſe animalia. Oneſicritus, quibus in locis Indiæ vmbræ non ſint, corpora hominum cubitorum quinum, & binorum palmorum exiſtere, & viuere annos centum triginta, nec ſeneſcere, ſed vt medio ævo mori. Crates Pergamenus Indos, qui centenos annos excedant Gymnætas appellat, non pauci Macrobios. Cteſias gentem ex his, quæ appellatur Pandore, in conuallibus ſitam, annos ducenos viuere, in iuuenta candido capillo, qui in ſenectute nigreſcat. Contra alios quadragenos non excedere annos, iunctos Macrobijs, quorum fœminæ ſemel pariant: ídque & Agatharchides tradit, prętereà locuſtis eos ali, & eſſe pernices. Mandrorum nomen ijs dedit Clitarchus & Megaſtenes, trecentóſque eorum vicos annumerat. Fœminas ſeptimo ætatis anno parere, ſenectam quadrageſimo anno accedere. Artemidorus, in Taprobana inſula longiſſimam vitam ſine vllo corporis languore traduci. Duris, Indorum quoſdam cum feris coire, miſtóſque & ſemiferos eſſe partus. In Calingis eiuſdem Indiæ gente quinquennes concipere fœminas, octauum vitæ annum non excedere, & alibi cauda villoſa homines naſci pernicitatis eximiæ, alios auribus totos contegi. Oritas ab Indis Arbis fluuius diſterminat. Ii nullum alium cibum nouere, quàm piſcium, quos vnguibus diſſectos ſole torreant, atque ita panem ex his faciunt, vt refert Clitarchus. Troglodytas ſuper Aethiopiam velociores eſſe equis, Pergamenus Crates. Item Aethiopas octona cubita longitudine excedere. Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Aethiopum, ſecundùm flumen Aſtapum ad Septentrionem ‖vregentium. Gens Meniſminorum appellata, abeſt ab oceano dierum itinere viginti, animalium, quę Cynocephalos vocamus, lacte viuit, quorum armenta paſcit maribus interemptis, præterquam ſobolis cauſa. In Africæ ſolitudinibus hominum ſpecies obuiæ ſubinde fiunt, momentóque euaneſcunt. Hæc atque talia, ex hominum genere ludibria ſibi, nobis miracula, ingenioſa fecit natura: & ſingula quidem, quæ facit indies, ac propè horas, quis enumerare valeat? Ad detegendam eius potentiam, ſatis ſit inter prodigia poſuiſſe gentes.

‖vel, vergentiũ

This note following, concerning the aide and aſsiſtance of the *Engliſh Marchants, giuen to King Iohn the firſt of Portugal, for the* winning of Ceut in Barbarie, which was the firſt occaſion of all the Portugall diſcoueries, *is taken out of Thomas Walſinghams Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.*

HOc anno, Ioannes primus Rex Portugallię, fretus auxilio Mercatorum Anglię quàm maximè, & Alemannorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Betinarinorum, multis eorum millibus ad generum Cereris deſtinatis: cepítque ciuitatem eorum quàm ampliſsimam ſupra mare ſitam, vocatam Ceut eorum lingua.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

THis yeere Iohn the firſt king of Portugal, being principally aſſiſted by the help of the Engliſh Marchants, and Almaines, ouercame the Moores in the dominion of the King of Barbarie, 1415.

barie, putting many thousands of them to the swoorde, and he tooke their Citie which was very mightie, seated vpon the sea, which is called Ceut in their language.

The voyage of Macham an Englishman, wherein he first of any man, *discouered the Iland of Madera, recorded* verbatim *in the* Portugall historie, written by Anthonio Galuano.

¶ Madera first discouered by one ¶ Macham an Englishman.

IN the yeere 1344. King Peter the fourth of that name, raigning in Arragon, the Chronicles of his age, write, that about this time the Iland of Madera, standing in 32. degrees, was discouered by an Englishman, which was named Macham, who saying out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolne, ariued by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that hauen or baye, which now is called Machico, after the name of Macham. And because his louer was sea sicke, he went on land with some of his companie, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought. Macham, which loued her deerely, built a chappell, or heremitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of Iesus, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen vpon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriuall there: And afterward he ordained a boate made of one tree, (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of Affricke, without saile or oare. And the Moores which sawe it, tooke it to be a marueilous thing, and presented him vnto the King of that Countrey for a wonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the King of Castile.

Macham made there a chappell, naming it Iesus Chappell.

In the yeere 1395. King Henry the third of that name, raigning in Castile, by the information which Macham gaue of this Iland, and also the shippe of his companie, mooued many of France and Castile to goe and to discouer it, and also the great Canaria, &c.

In the yeere 1417. King Iohn the second, raigning in Castile, and his mother Ladie Katherine being Regent, one Monsieur Ruben of Bracamont, which was Admirall of France, demaunding the conquest of the Ilands of the Canaries, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur Iohn Betancourt, after that the Queene had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from Siuyl with a good armie. And they affirme also, that the principal cause which moued him to this, was to discouer the Iland of Madera, which Macham had founde, &c. ibidem pag. 2. of Anthonio Galuano.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Anglię Eduardum quartum, *& Ioannem secundum Regem Portugalliæ, datarum in oppido montis* Maioris 8. Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 13. Septembris, 1482. anno regni 22. Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

LIBRO DAS OBRAS DE GARCIA DE RESENDE,

que tracta da vida è feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo.

Embaxada que el Rey mandou à el Rey D'Inglaterra. Cap. 33.

EDaqui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores à el rey dom Duarte de Inglarerra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal è de muyto bon saber é credito, de que el Rey muyto confiaua: é ho doutor Ioam d'Eluas, é fernam de Pinà por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del vey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condiçan dellas ho nouo Rey de hum reyno é do outro era obrigado à mandar confirmar: é tambien pera mostrarem ho titolo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey D'inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar à Guinee: é assi mandasse desfazer huna armada que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia, hum Ioam Tintam é hum Guilherme fabiam Ingreses. Com ha qual embaixada el rey D'Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento: é foy delle com muyta honra recebida, é em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido: de que elles trouxeran ‖ autenticas escrituras das diligencias que con pubricos pregones fizeram: e assi as prouisones das aprouaçones que eran necessarias: é com tudo muyto ben acabado, é ha vontade del rey se vieram.

‖ These writings are in the Tower.

The

The Ambaſſage which King Iohn the ſecond, King of Portugall ſent to Edward the fourth King of England, which in part was to ſtay one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian Engliſhmen, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Ginnee, 1481. Taken out of the Booke of the workes of Garcias de Reſende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the ſecond King of Portugal. Chap. 33.

AFter afterwards the king ſent as ambaſſadours from the towne of Montemaior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Souſa, a principall perſon, and a man of great wiſedome, and eſtimation, and in whome the King repoſed great truſt, with Doctor Iohn Deluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as Secretarie. And they made their voyage by ſea very honorably, being very well accompanied. Theſe men were ſent on the behalfe of their King, to confirme the auncient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned, that the new king of the one and of the other kingdome, ſhould be bound to ſend to confirme the olde leagues. And likewiſe they had order to ſhewe and make him acquainted with the title which the King held in the ſegneurie of Ginnee, to the intent that after the King of England had ſeene the ſame, he ſhould giue charge through all his kingdoms, that no man ſhould arme or ſet foorth ſhips to Ginnee: and alſo to requeſt him, that it would pleaſe him to giue commaundement to diſſolue a certaine fleete, which one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian, Engliſhmen, were making, by commaundement of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the aforeſaid partes of Ginnee. With which ambaſſage the King of England ſeemed to be very well pleaſed, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condeſcended vnto all that the Embaſſadours required of him, at whoſe hands they receaued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had perfourmed, with publication thereof by the Heralds: and alſo promiſes of thoſe confirmations which were neceſſarie. And hauing diſpatched all things well, and with the Kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The firſt cauſe of this ambaſſage.

The ſecond cauſe.

The third cauſe.

The manner of the entring of Solyman the Great Turke, with his armie into Aleppo in Syria, marching toward Perſia againſt the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon, preſent at that time.

THere marched before the Grand Signior, otherwiſe called the Great Turke, 6000. Eſperes, otherwiſe called light horſemen very braue, clothed all in ſcarlet.

After, marched 10000. men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to ꝑ Great Turk, clothed all in yellow velvet, and hats of the ſame, of the Tartarie faſhion, two foote long, with a great role of the ſame colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their bowes in their hands, of the Turkiſh faſhion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkiſh Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimſon velvet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thouſand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a ſhort weapon by their ſides, called in their language, Smiterro.

After came 16000. Ianizaries, called the ſlaues of the Grand Signior, all afoote, euery one hauing his harquebuſhe, who be his gard, al clothed in violet ſilke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a ſtrange forme, called Cuocullucia, faſhioned in this ſort: the entring in of the forehead is like a ſkull made of white velvet, & hath a traine hanging downe behinde, in manner of a French hoode, of the ſame colour, and vpon the forepart of the ſaide ſkull, iuſt in the middes of his forehead there is ſtanding bolt vpright like a trunke of a foote long of ſiluer, garniſhed moſt richely with Goldſmiths worke, and precious ſtones, and in the toppe of the ſaide trunke, a great buſh of feathers, which wauereth vp and downe moſt brauely when he marcheth.

After this, there came 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of golde, the halfe of them carying harquebuſhes, and the other halfe Turkiſh bowes, with their truſſes of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came three men of armes well armed, and vpon their harneſſe coates of the Turkes faſhion, of Liard ſkinnes, and murrions vpon their heads, their ſpeares charged, and at the ende of their ſtaffe hard by the head of ꝑ ſpeare, a horſe taile died in a bloody colour, which is their enſigne: they be the challengers for the Turkes owne perſon.

After them came ſeuen pages of honour in cloth of ſiluer, vpon ſeuen white horſes, which horſes

ſes were couered with cloth of ſiluer, all embꝛodered and garniſhed with pꝛetious ſtones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies moſt richly.

After them alſo came ſix moꝛe pages of honour, clothed in cloth of golde, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his fawchine of the Turks faſhion by his ſide.

Immediatly after them came the Great Turke himſelfe with great pompe, & magnificence, vſing in his countenance and geſture a wonderfull Maieſtie, hauing onely on each ſide of his perſon one page clothed with cloth of golde: he himſelfe was mounted vpon a goodly white hoꝛſe, adoꝛned with a robe of cloth of golde, embꝛodered moſte richly with the moſt pꝛetious ſtones, and vpon his head a goodly white tuck, containing in length by eſtimation fifteene yards, which was of ſilke and linnen wouen together, reſembling ſomething Callicut cloth, but is much moꝛe fine and rich, and in the toppe of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Oſtrich feathers, and his hoꝛſe moſt richly apparelled in all points coꝛreſpondent to the ſame.

After him followed ſix goodly young Ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of ſiluer, which were of the faſhion of mens garments, embꝛodered very richly with pearle, and pꝛetious ſtones, and had vpon their heades caps of Goldſmiths woꝛke, hauing great flackets of heare hanging out on each ſide, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the ſame colour, euery of them hauing two cunnches on each ſide, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike faſhion.

After marched the Great Baſha, cheefe conductoꝛ of the whole armie, clothed with a robe of Dollymant crimſon, and vpon the ſame another ſhoꝛt garment very rich, and about him fiftie Janizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimſon veluet, being armed as the Great Turks owne Janizaries.

Then after enſued three other Baſhas, with ſlaues about them, being afoote, to the number of three thouſand men.

After came a companie of hoꝛſemen very braue, and in all pointes well armed, to the number of foure thouſand.

All this afoꝛeſaid armie, moſt pompous to behold, which was in number foure ſcoꝛe and eight thouſand men, encamped about the citie of Aleppo, and the Graud Signior himſelfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly caſtle, ſituated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a bꝛanch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The reſt of his armie paſſed ouer the mountaines of Armenia, called nowe the mountaines of Camarye, which are foure daies iourney from Aleppo, appointed there to tarie the comming of the Grand Signior, with the reſt of his armie, intending to march into Perſia, to giue battell to the Great Soph.e. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well thoſe that went by the mountaines, as alſo thoſe that came to Aleppo, in companie with him, with hoꝛſemen and footemen, and the conductoꝛs of the camels and victuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which caried munition and victuals, foꝛ the ſaid armie, were in number 200000.

A note of the preſents that were giuen at the ſame time in Aleppo, to the Grand Signior, and the names of the preſentors.

FIrſt the Baſha of Aleppo, which is as a Uiceroy, preſented 100. garments of cloth of golde, and 25. hoꝛſes.

The Baſha of Damaſco, preſented 100. garments of cloth of golde, and twentie hoꝛſes, with diuers ſoꝛtes of comfits, in great quantitie.

The Baſha of Amante, preſented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. hoꝛſes, and a cup of gold, with two thouſand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis, preſented ſix camels, charged all with ſilkes, 20. hoꝛſes, and a litle clocke of golde, garniſhed with pꝛetious ſtones, eſteemed woꝛth two hundꝛed duckets.

The Conſul of the companie of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kiſſe the Grand Signiors hand, and preſented him a great baſen of golde, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The ſafe conduct or priuiledge, giuen by Sultan Solyman the *Great Turke, to Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon at Aleppo in Syria, in* the yeere, 1553.

SVltan Solyman, &c. to all Uiceroyes, Saniaques, Caditz, and other our Iuſticers, Officers, and Subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Conſtantinople, Alexandria in Egypt, and of all other Townes, and Cities, vnder our Dominion, and iuriſdic-

iuriſdiction: we will and commaund you, that when you ſhall ſee Anthony Ienkinſon, bearer of theſe preſent letters, marchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other, bearing the ſaid letters for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ſhippe or ſhippes, or other veſſels whatſoeuer, that you ſuffer him to lade or vnlade his marchandiſe whereſoeuer it ſhal ſeeme good vnto him, traffiking for him ſelfe in all our countries and dominions, without hindring or any way diſturbing of him, his ſhippe, his people, or marchandiſe, and without enforcing him to pay any other cuſtome or tole whatſoeuer, in any ſort, or to any perſons whoſoeuer they be, ſaue onely our ordinary duties, contayned in our cuſtome houſes, which when he hath paide, we will that he be franke, and free, as well for himſelfe, as for his people, marchandiſe, ſhippe, or ſhippes, and all other veſſels whatſoeuer, and in ſo doing that he may trafficke, bargaine, ſell, and buy, lade, and vnlade, in all our foreſaide Countries, landes, and dominions, in like ſorte, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Uenetians vſe, and inioy, and more if it be poſſible, without the hinderance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore we charge and commaunde all Uiceroyes, and Conſuls of the French nation, and of the Uenetians, and all other Conſuls reſident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince ſoeuer they be, not to conſtraine, or cauſe to conſtraine by them, or the ſayde Miniſters and Officers whatſoeuer they be, the ſayde Anthony Ienkinſon, or his factor, or his ſeruants, or deputies, or his marchandiſe, to pay any kinde of conſullage, or other right whatſoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to moleſt nor trouble him any maner of way, becauſe our will and pleaſure is, that he ſhall not pay in all our Countries, any other then our ordinarie cuſtome. And in caſe any man hinder, and impeach him aboue and beſides theſe our preſent letters, we charge you moſt expreſly to defende, and aſſiſt him againſt the ſayde Conſuls, and if they will not obey our preſent commaundement, that you aduertiſe vs thereof, that we may take ſuch order for the ſame, that others may take example thereby. Moreouer, wee commaunde all our Captaines of our Galleies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foyſtes, or other veſſels, that when they ſhall finde the ſayde Ienkinſon, or his factor, his ſhippe or ſhippes, with his ſeruants, and marchandiſe, that they hurt him not, neyther in bodie nor goods, but that rather they aſſiſt, and defend him againſt all ſuch as ſeeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with victuals, according to his want, and that whoſoeuer ſhall ſee theſe preſents, obey the ſame, as they will auoide the penaltie in doing the contrarie: Made in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy Prophet Mahomet, & in the yeere of Ieſus, 1553: ſigned with the ſcepter and ſignet of the Grand Signior, with his owne proper hande.

The very originall hereof was deliuered me Rich. Hakl. by Maſter Ienkinſon in the Turkiſh and French tongues.

A voyage made out of England into Guinea in Affricke, at the *charges of certaine Merchants aduenturers of the Citie of London, in the* yeere of our Lorde. 1553.

BEing deſired by certaine of my friends, to make ſome mention of this voyage, that ſome memorie thereof might remaine to out poſteritie, if either iniquitie of time, conſuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarouſnes and contempt of knowledge, ſhould hereafter bury in oblition ſo worthy attempts, ſo much the greatlier to be eſteemed, as before neuer enterpriſed by Engliſh men, or at the leaſt ſo frequented, as at this preſent they are, and may be, to the great commoditie of our Merchants, if the ſame be not hindred by the ambition of ſuch, as for the conquering of 40. or 50. miles here and there, and erecting of certaine fortreſſes, or rather to be lords of halfe the world, enuying that other ſhould enioy the commodities, which they themſelues can not wholy poſſeſſe. And although ſuch as haue bene at charges in the diſcouering & conquering of ſuch landes, ought by good reaſon to haue certaine priuiledges, preheminences, and tributes for the ſame, yet (to ſpeake vnder correction) it may ſeeme ſomewhat rigorous, and againſt good reaſon and conſcience, or rather againſt the charitie that ought to be among Chriſtian men, that ſuch as violently inuade the dominions of other, ſhould not permit other friendly to vſe the trade of merchandiſe in places neerer, or ſeldome frequented of them, wherby their trade is not hindred in ſuch places, where they themſelues haue at their owne election appointed the martes of their trafficke. But forasmuch as at this preſent, it is not my intent to accuſe or defend, approoue or improoue Ambition.

prooue, I will ceaſe to ſpeake any further hereof, and proceede to the deſcription of the firſt voyage, as briefly and faithfully as I was aduertiſed of the ſame, by the information of ſuch credible perſons, as made diligent inquiſition to knowe the trueth hereof, as much as ſhall be requiſite, omitting to ſpeake of many particular thinges, not greatly neceſſarie to be knowen: which neuertheleſſe, with alſo the exact courſe of the nauigation, ſhall be more fully declared in the ſecond voyage. And if herein fauour or friendſhip ſhall perhaps cauſe ſome to thinke that ſome haue bene ſharpely touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendſhip, and giue place to trueth, that honeſt men may receiue praiſe for well doing, and leude perſons reproch, as the iuſt ſtipend of their euil deſerts, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceede in honeſt attempts.

Affrica. The coaſt of Guinea.

But that theſe voyages may be more plainely vnderſtoode of all men, I haue thought good for this purpoſe, before I intreate hereof, to make a briefe deſcription of Affrica, being that great parte of the worlde, on whoſe Weſt ſide beginneth the coaſt of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this ſide the Equinoctiall line, and two degrees in longitude from the meaſuring line, ſo running from the North to the South, and by Eaſt in ſome places, within fiue, foure, and three degrees and a halfe vnto the Equinoctiall, and ſo foorth in manner directly Eaſt and by North, for the ſpace of thirtie ſix degrees, or there about, in longitude from the Weſt to the Eaſt, as ſhall more plainely appeare in the deſcription of the ſecond voyage.

A briefe deſcription of Affrike, gathered by Richard Eden.

Tunes. Bugia. Tripoli. Numidia.

IN Affrica the leſſe are theſe kingdomes: the kingdome of Tunes and Conſtantina, which is at this day vnder Tunes, and alſo the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Affrike is very barren by reaſon of the great deſerts, as the deſerts of Numidia and Barcha. The principall portes of the kingdome of Tunes, are theſe: Goletta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Boua, and Stora. The chiefe cities of Tunes, are Conſtantina, and Boua, with diuers other. Under this kingdome are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoſo, Beit, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this preſent is the great Maſter of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdome, are the great deſerts of Lybia. All the nations in this Affrica the leſſe, are of the ſecte of Mahomet, and a ruſticall people, liuing ſcattered in villages. The beſt of this part of Affrike, is Barbaria, lying on the coaſt of the ſea Mediterraneum.

Ilandes of Tunes. Malta. The deſerts of Libia. Barbarie.

Mauritania. The kingdoms of Fes and Marrocco

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two partes, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cęſarienſis. Mauritania Tingitana, is nowe called the kingdome of Fes, and the kingdome of Marrocco. The principall citie of Fes, is called Feſſa: and the chiefe citie of Marrocco, is named Marrocco.

Tremiſen. Oram. Maſſaquiber. Salla.

Mauritania Cęſarienſis, is at this day called the kingdome of Tremiſen, with alſo the citie called Tremiſen or Telenſin. This region is full of deſarts, and reacheth to the ſea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Maſſaquiber. The kingdome of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean ſea, from the Weſt to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the ſayde kingdome is called Salla.

Azamor.

The kingdome of Marrocco is alſo extended aboue the Ocean ſea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azafi, which are aboue the Ocean ſea, towarde the Weſt of the ſaide kingdome. In Mauritania Tingitana (that is to ſay, in the two kingdomes of Fes, and Marrocco) are in the ſea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in olde time, the fortunate Ilandes. Toward the South of this region, is the kingdome of Guinea, with Senega, Ialofo, Gambra, and many other regions of the blacke Moores, called Aethiopians, or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Negro, called in olde time Niger. In the ſaid regions are no cities, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plaſtered with chauke, and couered with ſtrawe. In theſe regions are alſo very great deſerts.

The Ilands of Canarie. Guinea. Aethiopians.

Marrocco. Fes. Tremiſen. Guinea.

The kingdome of Marrocco hath vnder it theſe ſeuen kingdomes: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marrocco, Duchala, Hazchora, and Telde. The kingdome of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temeſne, Azgar, Elabath, Errifi, Garet, and Elcauz. The kingdome of Tremiſen hath theſe regions: Tremiſen, Tenez, and Elgazaet, all which are Machometiſtes. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profeſſion of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the lawe of nature

Africa the great, is one of the three partes of the world, knowen in olde time, and ſeuered from Aſia, on the Eaſt by the riuer Nilus, on the Weſt, from Europe by the pillers of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Libya and Ethiopia. Afrike the leſſe, is in this wiſe bounded: On the Weſt it hath Numidia: On the Eaſt Cyrenaica: On the North, the ſea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble citie of Carthage. Africa the great. Affricke the leſſe. Carthage.

In the Eaſt ſide of Africke, beneath the red ſea, dwelleth the great and mightie Emperour and Chriſtian king Preſter John, well knowen to the Portingals in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery ſide: and hath vnder him many other kinges both Chriſtian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Ethiopia. Some write, that the king of Portingall ſendeth him yeerely eight ſhippes laden with marchandize. His kingdome confineth with the red ſea, and reacheth farre into Afrike toward Egypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the ſea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other ſide with the ſea of ſand, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous ſea, lying betweene the great citie of Alcayer, or Cairo in Egypt, and the countrey of Ethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable deſarts, continuing for the ſpace of fiue dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the ſaid Chriſtian Emperour were not hindered by thoſe deſarts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, and eſpecially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdome of Egypt, and the citie of Alcayer. The chiefe citie of Ethiopia, where this great Emperour is reſident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whoſe inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are alſo many other cities, as the citie of Saua vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accuſtomed to remaine in the Sommer ſeaſon. There is likewiſe a great citie named Barbaregaf, and Aſcon, from whence it is ſaid that the Queene of Saba came to Hieruſalem to heare the wiſedome of Salomon. This citie is but little, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Ethiope. In the ſaid kingdome is a prouince called Manicongo, whoſe king is a Moore, and tributarie to the Emperour of Ethiope. In this prouince are manie exceeding high mountaines, vpon the which is ſaid to be the earthly Paradiſe: and ſome ſay that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can paſſe thither, by reaſon of great deſarts of a hundred dayes iourney. Also beyond theſe mountaines, is the cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue ſaid thus much of Afrike it may ſuffice. Preſter John. Cape de Bona Speranza. The ſea of ſand. Alcair. Amacaiz. From whence the Queene of Saba came. Manicongo. The earthly Paradiſe. The trees of the Sunne and Moone.

The firſt voyage to Guinea, and Benin.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of Auguſt, ſailed from Poꝛchmouth two goodly ſhippes, the Primroſe and the Lion, with a pinneſſe called the Moone, being all well furniſhed aſwel with men of the luſtieſt ſoꝛt, to the number of ſeuen ſcoꝛe, as alſo with oꝛdinance and victuals, requiſite to ſuch a voyage: hauing alſo two captaines, the one a ſtranger, called Antony Anus Pinteado, a Portingall, borne in a towne named the Poꝛt of Poꝛtingall, a wiſe, diſcreet, and ſober man, who foꝛ his cunning in ſailing, being aſwell an expert pilot as a politike captaine, was ſometime in great fauour with the king of Portingall, and to whom the coaſtes of Baſſile and Guinea, were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terroꝛ on the ſea in thoſe parts, and was furthermoꝛe a gentleman of the king his maiſters houſe. But as foꝛtune in maner neuer fauoꝛeth but flattereth, neuer promiſeth but deceiueth, neuer raiſeth but caſteth downe againe: and as great wealth and fauoꝛ hath alwayes companions emulation and enuie, he was after many aduerſities and quarels made againſt him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euill matched with an vnequall companion, and vnlike match of moſt ſundrie qualities & conditions, with vertues few oꝛ none adorned. Thus departed theſe noble ſhippes vnder ſaile on their voyage: But firſt captaine Windam, putting foꝛth of his ſhip at Poꝛchmouth a kinſeman of one of the head merchants, and ſhewing herein a muſter of the tragicall partes he had conceiued in his braine, and with ſuch ſmall beginnings nouriſhed ſo monſtrous a byrth, that moꝛe happie, yea and bleſſed was that young man being left behinde, then if he had beene taken with them, as ſome doe wiſh he had done the like by theirs. Thus ſailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Ilands of Madera, where they tooke in certaine wines foꝛ the ſtoꝛe of their ſhippes, and paid foꝛ them as they agreed of the price. At theſe Ilands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portingall, full of men and oꝛdinance: yet ſuch as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withſtand oꝛ reſiſt our ſhippes, foꝛ the which cauſe it was ſet foꝛth, not onely to let and interrupt theſe our ſhippes of their purpoſed voyage, but all other that ſhould attempt the like: yet chiefly to fruſtrate our voyage. Foꝛ the king of Portingall was ſiniſterly informed, that our ſhippes were armed to his caſtell of Mina in theſe parties, whereas nothing leſſe was ment. The Primroſe. The Lion. The Moone. Pinteado. Baſſile. Guinea. The flattering of foꝛtune. The Ilands of Madera. A galeon of the king of Portingall. The caſtell of Mina.

After that our ships departed from the Island of Madera forward on their voyage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattered with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of loue. Then did he take vpon him to command all alone, setting nought both by captaine Pinteado, and the rest of the merchant factors: sometimes with opprobrious wordes, and sometimes with threatnings, most shamefully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the boies and certaine mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leauing him as a common mariner, which is the greatest despite and griefe that can be to a Portingale or Spaniard, to bee diminisht their honour, which they esteeme aboue all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Islands of Canarie, continuing their course frō thence vntill they arriued at the Island of S. Nicholas, where they victualed thēselues with fresh meate, of the flesh of wild goates, wherof is great plentie in that Island, and in maner of nothing els. From hence following on their course and tarying here and there at the desart Islands in the way, because they would not come to timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heate, and tarying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministred in a common wealth, where inequalitie with tyrannie will rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the countrey of Guinea, where they fell with the great riuer of Sesto, where they might for their merchandizes haue laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hote fruite, and much like vnto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seedes, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cod, hauing in the midst thereof a hole on euery side. This kind of spice is much vsed in cold countreis, & may there be sold for great aduantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this tragicall Captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparison of the fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, vntil they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come neere the Castell pertaining to the king of Portingall, which was within the riuer of Mina, made sale of their ware onely on this side and beyond it, for the gold of that countrey, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds waight, there being in case that they might haue dispatched all their ware for golde, if the vntame brayne of Wyndam had, or could haue giuen eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Wyndam not satisfied with the gold which he had (and more might haue had if he had tarried about the Mina) commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke vpon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctiall line, and an hundred and fiftie leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yeere, for that time to goe no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Wyndam not assenting hereunto, fell into a sudden rage, reuiling the said Pinteado, calling him Iew, with other opprobrious wordes, saying, This whoreson Iew hath promised to bring vs to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he doe not, I will cut off his eares, and naile them to the masse. Pinteado gaue the foresaid counsell to goe no further for the safegard of the men and their liues, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cloudie ayre, and stormie weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates off their backs: or els for comming too soone for the scorching heate of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will, brought he the shippes before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, sent their pinnesse vp into the riuer fiftie or threescore leagues, frō whence certaine of the merchants with Captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portingale, Nicholas Lambert gentleman, and other merchants, were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from ỹ riuer side: whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a black Moore (although not so black as ỹ rest) sate in a great huge hall, long & wide, ỹ wals made of earth, without windowes, ỹ roofe of thin boords, opē in sundry places, like vnto louers to let in ỹ aire.

The Islands of Canarie.
The Island of S. Nicolas.
Guinea.
The riuer of Sesto.
Graines.
The thirst of gold.
The Castle of Mina.
The quantitie of gold.
Benin.
Pepper.
Furie admitteth no counsaile.
The Rossia.
Rotting heate.
Scorching heate.
Benin.
Francisco.
Nicolas Lambert.
The king of Benin his court.

And here to speake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is such, that if wee would giue as much to our Sauiour Christ, we should remooue from our heads many plagues which we daily deserue for our contempt and impietie.

Reuerence toward the king.

So it is therefore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they neuer looke him in the face, but sit cowring, as we vpon our knees, so they vpon their buttockes, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking vp vntill the king commaund them. And when they are comming toward the king, as far as they doe see him, doe they shew such reuerence, sitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turne not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was betweene the King and our men,

you

you ſhall firſt vnderſtand that he himſelfe could ſpeake the Portugale tongue, which he had learned of a childe. Therefore after he had commaunded our men to ſtand vp, and demaunded of them the cauſe of their comming into that countrey, they anſwered by Pinteado, that they were merchants, traueiling into thoſe parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their countreys, being ſuch as ſhould be no leſſe commodious for him and his people. The King then hauing of olde lying in a certaine ſtore houſe thirtie or fourtie kintals of pepper (euery kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the ſame, and againe to bring him a light of ſuch merchandizes as they had brought with them. And thereupon ſent with the Captaine and the merchants, certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters ſide, with other to bring the ware from the pinneſſe to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares ſeene, the king grew to this ende with the merchants, to prouide in thirtie dayes the lading of all their ſhips with pepper. And in caſe their merchandizes would not extend to the value of ſo much pepper, hee promiſed to credite them to their next returne: and thereupon ſent the countrey round about to gather pepper, cauſing the ſame to be brought to the court: So that within the ſpace of thirtie dayes they had gathered foureſcore tunne of pepper.

The communication betweene the king of Benim and our men.

Pepper.

The kings gentleneſſe toward our men.

In the meane ſeaſon, our men partly hauing no rule of themſelues, but eating without meaſure of the fruites of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppeth in the night from the cut of the branches of the ſame, and in ſuch extreame heate running continually into the water, not vſed before to ſuch ſudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into ſwellings and agues: inſomuch that the later time of the yeere comming on, cauſed them to die ſometimes three, and ſometimes foure or fiue in a day. Then Windam perceiuing the time of the thirtie dayes to be expired, and his men dying ſo faſt, ſent to the court in poſte to captaine Pinteado, and the reſt, to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the reſt, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantitie of pepper they had already gathered, and looked daily for much more: deſiring him furthermore to remember the great prayſe and name they ſhould winne, if they came home proſperouſly, and what ſhame of the contrary. With which anſwere Windam not ſatisfied, and many of their men dying daily, willed and commanded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behind. Whē Pinteado heard this anſwer, thinking to perſwade him with reaſon, he tooke his way from the court toward the ſhips, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

The diſorder and death of our men.

In the meane ſeaſon Windam all raging, brake vp Pinteados Cabin, brake open his cheſtes, ſpoiled ſuch prouiſion of cold ſtilled waters and ſuckets as he had prouided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his inſtruments to ſaile by, nor yet of his apparell: and in the meane tyme falling ſicke himſelfe, died alſo. Whoſe death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deareſt friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did ſpet in his face, ſome calling him Jewe, ſaying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and ſome drawing their ſwordes at him, making a ſhew to ſlay him. Then he perceiuing that they would needes away, deſired them to tary that he might fetch the reſt of the merchaunts that were left at the court, but they would not graunt his requeſt. Then deſired he them to giue him the ſhip boate, with as much of an olde ſaile as might ſerue for the ſame, promiſing them therewith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the reſt into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the merchants, informing them of all the matter, and promiſing them if God would lend him life, to returne with all haſt to fetch them. And thus was Pinteado kept a boordſhip againſt his will, thruſt among the boyes of the ſhip, not vſed like a man, nor yet like an honeſt boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leauing one of their ſhips behind them, which they ſunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within ſixe or ſeuen dayes ſayling, died alſo Pinteado for very penſiuneſſe and thought, that ſtroke him to the heart: A man worthy to ſerue any prince, and moſt vilely vſed. And of ſeuen ſcore men came home to Plimmouth ſcarcely fortie, and of them many died. And that no man ſhould ſuſpect theſe wordes which I haue ſaid in commendation of Pinteado, to be ſpoken vpon fauour otherwiſe then trueth, I haue thought good to adde hereunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portingale and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him, at ſuch time as vpon the king his maiſters diſpleaſure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the ſayd letters) he was onely for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he firſt perſwaded our merchants to attempt the ſayd voiages to Guinea. But as the king of Portingall too late repented him that he had ſo puniſhed Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of ſuch as enuied the mans good fortune: euen ſo may it hereby appeare, that in ſome caſes, euen Lions themſelues, may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the helpe of the poore miſe, according vnto the fable of Eſope.

The death of Windam. Pinteado euil vſed of the mariners.

This Lambart was a Londoner borne, whoſe father had bene Lord maior of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado firſt perſwaded our men to the voyage of Guinea.

The copie of Anthonie Anes Pinteado his letters patents, wherby *the king of Portingall made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and* imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had susteined of long time, being at the last deliuered, his cause knowen and manifested to the king by a gray frier the kings Confessor.

Seuen hundred reis are ten shillings. Alcayre is halfe a bushell.

I The king do giue you to vnderstand lord Frances Desseosa, one of my counsell, and ouerseer of my house, that in consideration of the good seruice which Antonie Anes Pinteado, the sonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seuen hundred reis monethly, and euery day one alcayre of barly, as long as he keepeth a horse, and to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Prouiding alwayes that he shall receiue but one marriage gift: And this also in such condition, that the time which is excepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succeed them in this allowance, which is sixe yeeres after the making of this patent, shalbe first expired before he do marry. I therefore command you to cause this to be entred in the booke called the Matricula of our household, vnder the title of knights. And when it is so entred, let the clarke of the Matricula, for the certeintie thereof, write on the backeside of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the leafe wherein this our grant is entred. Which done, let him returne this writing vnto the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almarin the twenty and two day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1551. And this benevolence the king gaue vnto Anthonie Anes Pinteado the twentie and fiue day of July this present yeere.

Rey.

The secretaries declaration written vnder the *kings grant.*

YOur Maiestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good seruice of Anthonie Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and sonne of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seuen hundred reis pension by the moneth, and one alcayre of barly by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be paid according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that he shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of sixe yeeres after the making of these letters patents. The secretaries note. Entred in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of *Don Lewes* the infant, and brother to the *king of Portingall, sent into England to* Anthonie Anes Pinteado.

ANthonie Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended vnto you. Peter Gonsalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home againe into your countrey. And for that purpose, hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that thereby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maiestie hath giuen you, you may do many thinges to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalues will make further declaration hereof vnto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbone the eight day of December. Ann. 1552.

The infant *Don Lewes.*

ALl these foresaid writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Liese, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But notwithstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe company with the Portingals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secret admonitions that they entended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The

The ſecond voyage to *Guinea*, ſet out by Sir *George Barne*, Sir *Iohn Yorke*, *Thomas Locke*, and *Edward Caſtelyn*, in the yeere 1554.

AS in the firſt voyage I haue declared rather the order of the hyſtorie, then the courſe of the nauigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: ſo in the diſcription of this ſecond voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to ſhew the courſe of the ſame, according to the obſeruation and ordinary cuſtome of the Mariners, and as I receiued it at the hands of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who alſo with his owne hands wrote a briefe declaration of the ſame, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of ſailing, and inſtruments perteining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore aſſuming to my ſelfe the commendations due vnto other, neither ſo bolde as in any part to change or otherwiſe diſpoſe the order of this voyage, ſo well obſerued by art and experience, I haue thought good to ſet forth the ſame, in ſuch ſort and phraſe of ſpeech as is commonly vſed among them, and as I receiued it of the ſaid Pilot, as I haue ſaid. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord 1554. the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of Thames with three goodly ſhippes, the one called the Trinitie, a ſhip of the burden of ſeuenſcore tunne, the other called the Bartholomew, a ſhippe of the burden of nintie, the third was the Iohn Euangeliſt, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunne. With the ſaid ſhippes and two pinneſſes (whereof the one was drowned on the coaſt of England) we went forward on our voyage, and ſtaid at Douer fourteene dayes. We ſtaid alſo at Rie three or foure dayes. Moreouer laſt of all we touched at Dartmouth. Robert Gainſh was maſter of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

The firſt day of November at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coaſt of England, we ſet of the Start, bearing Southweſt all that night in the ſea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntil the third day of the ſaid moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne three-ſcore leagues.

Item from twelue of the clocke the third day, till twelue of the clocke the fourth day of the ſayd moneth, making our way good Southeaſt, did runne euery three houres two leagues, which amounteth to ſixteene leagues the whole.

Item frō twelue of the clocke the fourth day, to twelue of the clocke the fift day, running Southweſt in the ſea, did runne twelue leagues.

Item from twelue of the clocke the fift day, vntill twelue of the clocke the ſixt day, running Southeaſt, did runne eighteene leagues.

And ſo from twelue of the clocke the ſixt day, vntill twelue of the clocke the ſeuenth day, running Southſouthweſt, did run euery houre two leagues, which amount to eighteene leagues the whole.

Item from twelue of the clocke the ſeuenth day, till three of the clocke the eight day, Southſouthweſt running in the ſea, did runne thirtie leagues.

Item from three of the clocke the eight day, vntill three of the clocke the ninth day, running Southſouthweſt, did runne thirtie leagues.

Item frō three of the clocke the ninth day, till three of the clocke the tenth day, in running Southſoutheaſt in the ſea, did run the ſumme of foure and twentie leagues.

Alſo from three of the clocke the tenth day, vntill twelue of the clocke the eleuenth day, did runne Southſouthweſt the ſumme of twelue leagues, & from twelue of the clocke, till ſixe of the ſaid day, did runne ſixe leagues.

Running South and by weſt in the ſea, from ſixe of the clocke the eleuenth, till ſixe of the clocke the twelft day, did runne ſixe and thirtie leagues.

From ſixe of the clocke at after noone the twelft day, till ſixe of the clocke the thirteenth day at after noone, did runne thirteene leagues.

Item from ſixe of the clocke the thirteenth day, til ſixe of the clocke the foureteenth day after noone, we were becalmed, that we could lie Southweſt with a ſaile. And the fifteenth day in the morning, the winde came to the Eaſt and Eaſtnorth eaſt.

The ſeuenteenth day in the morning, we had ſight of the iſle of Madera, which doth riſe to him that commeth in the Northnortheaſt part vpright land in the weſt part of it, and very high: and to the Southſoutheaſt a low long land, and a long point, with a ſaddle thorow the middeſt of it, ſtanding in two and thirtie degrees: and in the Weſt part, many ſprings of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fieldes like vnto corne fieldes, and ſome white houſes to the Southeaſt part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine ſheweth very ragged, if you may ſee it, and in the Northeaſt part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Alſo in the ſaid part, The iſle of Madera.

there is a rocke a litle distance from the shore, and ouer the said bight, you shall see a great gap in the mountaine.

The isle of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries.

The ninteenth day at twelue of the clocke, we had sight of the isle of Palmes and Teneriffa and the Canaries. The isle of Palme riseth round, and lieth Southeast and Northwest, and the Northwest part is lowest. In the South, is a round hill ouer the head land, and an other round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the Southeast part of the isle of Madera and the Northwest part of the isle of Palme seuen and fiftie leagues. This isle of Palme lieth in nine and twentie degrees. And our course from Madera to the isle of Palme was South, and South and by West, so that we had sight of Teneriffa and of the Canaries. The Southeast part of the isle of Palme, & the Northnortheast of Teneriffa, lieth Southeast & Northwest, & betweene them are twentie leagues.

From Madera to the isle of Palmes.

Grancanaria. Forteuentura. The island of Gomera.

Teneriffa and the great Canarie, called Grancanaria, and the West part of Forteuentura, standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and a halfe. Gomera, is a faire island but very ragged, & lieth Westsouthwest off Teneriffa. And whosoeuer will come betweene them two islands, must come South and by East, and in the South part of Gomera is a towne and a good rode in the said part of the island: and it standeth in twentie and seuen degrees and three terces. Teneriffa is an high land, and a great high pike, like a suger loafe: and vpon the said pike is snow throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that picke it may be knowen aboue all other islands, and there we were becalmed the twentith day of Nouember, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at after noone.

Teneriffa. Snowe.

The two and twentith day of Nouember, vnder the Tropike of Cancer, the Sunne goeth downe West and by South. Upon the coast of Barbarie fiue and twentie leagues by North Cape blanke at three leagues off the maine, there are fifteene fadomes, and good shelly ground, and sand among, and no streames, and two small islands standing in the two and twentie degrees and a terce.

The coast of Barbarie. Cape blanke.

From Gomera to Cape de las Barbas is an hundred leagues, and our course was South and by East. The said Cape standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is flatte, sixteene or seuentene fadome deepe. Seuen or eight leagues off from the riuer de Oro to Cape de las Barbas, there vse many Spanyardes and Portingals to trade for fishing, during the moneth of Nouember: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from Cape de las Barbas Southsouthwest, and Southwest and by South, till we brought our selues in twentie degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues seuen leagues off: and that was the least sholes of Cape Blanke.

The riuer de Oro.

Then we went South, vntill we brought our selues in thirteene degrees, reckoning our selues twentie and fiue leagues off. And in fifteene degrees, we did reare the Crossiers, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a crosse in the moneth of Nouember, by reason that the nights are short there. Neuerthelesse we had the sight of them the nine & twentith day of the said moneth at night.

The crossiers or crosse stars.

The first of December being in thirteene degrees, we set our course South and by East, vntill the fourth day of December at twelue of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees & a terce, reckoning our selues thirty leages of the sholes of the riuer called Rio Grande, being Westsouthwest of them: the which sholes be thirtie leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of December, we began to set our course Southeast, we being in sixe degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the foureteenth day of the said moneth, we set our course East, we being in fiue degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues thirtie and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

The nineteenth of the said moneth, we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selues seuenteene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnortheast of vs, and the riuer of Sesto being East.

Cape Mensurado. The riuer of Sesto.

The one and twentith day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason the rising of it is like a Porpose head. Also toward the Southeast there are three trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlemost is like a hie stacke, & the Southermost like vnto a gibet: and vpon the maine, are foure or fiue high hilles rising one after another like round hommockes or hillocks. And the Southeast of the three trees, brandiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentith of December, we came to the riuer of Sesto, and remained there vntill the nine and twentith day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send before vs the pinnesse

to

to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market before the comming of the Iohn Euangeliſt.

At the riuer of Seſto, we had a tunne of graines. This riuer ſtandeth in ſixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Seſto to Rio Dulce, are fiue and twentie leagues, Rio Dulce ſtandeth in fiue degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Seſto is eaſie to be knowen, by reaſon there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeaſt part of the Rode. And at the entring into the hauen, are fiue or ſixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narow at the entrance into the riuer. There is alſo a rocke in the hauens mouth right as you enter. And all that coaſt betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeaſt and by Eaſt, Northweſt & by Weſt, being three leagues off the ſhore. And you ſhall haue in ſome places rocks two leagus off: and that betweene the riuer of Seſto and cape de las Palmas.

The riuer of Seſto.
Rio Dulce.
Cape de monte.
Cape de las Palmas.

Betweene the riuer of Seſto and the riuer Dulce are fiue and twenty leagues: and the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakeado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Seſto. And to the Southeaſtward of it, is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get freſh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rocks: and to the Southeaſtward, lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakeado and Croke, are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeaſtward off, is a harborow called ſaint Vincent: Rigot ouer againſt ſaint Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagus and a halfe off the ſhore. To the Southeaſtward of that rocke you ſhall ſee an iſland about three or foure leagues off: this iſland is not paſt a league off the ſhore. To the Eaſtſoutheaſt of the iſland, is a rocke that lieth aboue the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you ſhall know by the ſaid riuer and rocke. The Northweſt ſide of the hauen, is flat ſand, and the Southeaſt ſide therof, is like an iſland, and a bare plat without any trees, and ſo is it not in any other place.

The land of Cakeado.
Shauo.
Croke.
Saint Vincents harborow.
The riuer Dulce.

In the Rode, you ſhall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good owes & ſand, being the marks of the Rode to bring the iſland and the Northeaſt land together, and here we ankered the laſt of December.

The third day of Ianuarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Note that cape de las Palmas, is a faire high land, but ſome low places thereof by the water ſide looke like red cliffes with white ſtrakes like hie wapes, a cable length a piece, and this is to the Eaſt part of the cape. This cape is the Southermoſt land in all the coaſt of Guinea, & ſtandeth in foure degrees and a terce.

Cape de las Palmas.
The coaſt of Guinea.

The coaſt from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes, or Tres Puntas, is faire and cleare without rocke or other danger.

Twentie and fiue leagues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepoyntes. And about ten leagues before you come to Cape Trepoyntes, the land riſeth ſtill higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepoyntes. Alſo before you come to the ſaid Cape, after other fiue leagues to the Northweſt part of it, there is certaine broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a caſtell called Arra, pertcining to the king of Portingall. You ſhall know it by the ſaid rockes that lie off it: for there is none ſuch from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes. This coaſt lieth Eaſt and by North, Weſt and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the ſaid caſtell, is foureſcore and fifteene leagues. And the coaſt lieth from the ſaid caſtell to the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, Southeaſt and by South, Northweſt and by North. Alſo the Weſtermoſt point of Trepoyntes, is a low land, lying halfe a mile out in the ſea: and vpon the innermoſt necke to the land ward, is a tuft of trees, and there we arriued the eleuenth day of January.

The caſtell of Arra.

The twelft day of January, we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being eight leagues from Cape Trepoyntes toward Eaſtnortheaſt. Betweene Cape Trepoyntes and the towne of Samua, is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the ſea. We continued foure dayes at that towne, and the captaine thereof would needes haue a pledge a ſhore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him ſtill and would trafficke no more, but ſhot off their ordinance at vs. They haue two or three pieces of ordinance and no more.

The towne of Samma.
The pledge was ſir Iohn Yorke his nephew.

The ſixteenth day of the ſaid moneth, we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whoſe men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eaſtward of the caſtell of Mina, otherwiſe called La mina, or Caſtello de mina, where we arriued the eighteenth day of the moneth. Heere we made ſale of all our cloth, ſauing two or three packes.

Cape Corea.
The caſtell of Mina pertaining to the king of Portingall.

The ſixe and twentith day of the ſame moneth we weighed anker, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was ſeuen leagues Eaſtward of vs, where ſhe ſolde her wares. Then they of the

Trinitie

Perecow. Perecow grande. Monte Rodondo.

Trinitie willed vs to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hil neere vnto it, named Monte Rodondo, lying West-ward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we set forth homeward the thirteenth day of Februarie, & plied vp alongst till we came within seuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepointes. About eight of the clocke the fifteenth day at afternoone, we did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoeuer shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, vntill ye reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastwarde of Cape de las Palmas, is a riuer called De los Potos, where you may haue fresh water and balast enough, and plentie of iuory or Elephants teeth. This riuer standeth in foure degrees, and almost two terces. And when you reckon your selfe as farre shot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, vntill you come in three degrees: and then you may go Westnorthwest, and Northwest and by West, vntill you come in fiue degrees, and then Northwest. And in sixe degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnorthwest. Furthermore betweene Cape de Monte, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

The currants. From Mina homeward. Rio de los Potos. Iuory. Cabo de las Palmas. Currants.

The two and twentith day of Aprill, we were in eight degrees and two terces: and so we ranne to the Northwest, hauing the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, vntill we were at eighteene degrees and a terce, which was on May day. And so from eighteene and two terces, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the illands of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of vs, we iudging our selues to be eight and fortie leagues off. And in twentie and one and twentie degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the Northwest and Northnorthwest, and sometimes North and by West and North, vntill we came into one and thirtie degrees, where we reckoned our selues a hundred and fourescore leagues, Southwest, and by South of the illand de Flore, or de los Flores, and there we met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

The Ile de Flores.

In three and twentie degrees, we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course North northeast, and so we ran to fortie degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the wind being at the Southwest, and hauing the Isle de Flores East of vs, and xvii. leagues of.

In the one and fortie degrees, we met with the wind at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde West northwest, & at the West within sixe leagues, running toward the Northwest, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, vntill we came in two and fortie degrees, where we set our course East northeast, iudging the Isle of Coruo South and by West of vs, and sixe and thirtie leagues distant from vs.

The Ile of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the one and twentie day of May we communed with Iohn Rafe, and hee thought it best to goe Northeast, and iudged himselfe fiue and twentie leagues Eastward to the Isle de Flores, and in nine and thirtie degrees and a halfe.

Where they lost the sight of the North starre.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North starre.

How the compasse doeth varie.

Note also, that in fiue and fortie degrees, the compasse is varied eight degrees to the West.

Item, in fortie degrees, the compasse did varie fifteene degrees in the whole.

Item, in thirtie degrees and a halfe, the compasse is varied fiue degrees to the West.

Be it also in memory, that two or three dayes before we came to Cape Troispoints, the pinnesse went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anker three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape Troispoints, where we left the Trinitie.

Then our pinnesse came aboord with all our men, the pinnesse also tooke in more wares. They told me moreouer that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had receiued much gold at the first voiage to these parties, and told mee furthermore that it was a good place: but I fearing a brigantine that was then vpon the coast, did wey and folow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnesse, went a shore to the towne, and there Iohn Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles of trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the Northeast of Cape Troispoints.

The Primrose. The towne of Samma. Gold.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voiage, as it was described by the said Pilot. Now therfore I will

I will ſpeake ſomewhat of the countrey & people, and of ſuch things as are brought from thence.

They brought from thence at the laſt voyage, foure hundred pound weight and odde of golde, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in fineneſſe: alſo ſixe & thirtie buttes of graines, and about two hundred and fiftie Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of theſe, I ſaw & meaſured ſome of nine ſpannes in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh aboue the knee, and weyed about foureſcore and ten pound weight a piece. They ſay that ſome one hath beene ſeene of an hundred and fiue and twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calues, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof ſome were a foot and a halfe, ſome two foot, & ſome three, or more, according to the age of the beaſt. Theſe great teeth or tuſks, grow in the vpper iaw downeward, and not in the nether iaw vpward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are deceiued. At this laſt voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of ſuch huge bigneſſe, that onely the bones or craniew thereof, beſide the nether iaw and great tuſks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: inſomuch that conſidering alſo heerewith the weight of two ſuch great teeth, the nether iaw with the leſſe teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge and long ſnout or troonke, with all the fleſh, braines, and ſkinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh little leſſe then fiue hundred weight. This head diuers haue ſeene in the houſe of the worthie merchant ſir Andrew Judde, where alſo I ſaw it, and beheld it, not onely with my bodily eyes, but much more with the eyes of my minde and ſpirit, conſidered by the worke, the cunning and wiſedome of the workemaiſter: without which conſideration, the ſight of ſuch ſtrange and woonderfull things may rather ſeeme curioſities, then profitable contemplations.

Golde foure hundred weight.
Graines.
Elephants teeth.
The head of an Elephant.
Sir Andrew Judde.
The contemplations of Gods works.

The Elephant (which ſome call an Oliphant) is the biggeſt of all foure footed beaſtes, his forelegges are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and fiue toes on his feet vndiuided, his ſnout or troonke is ſo long, & in ſuch ſorme, that it is to him in the ſtead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his troonke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth vp his maiſter or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beſide his two great tuſks, he hath on euery ſide of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meat: either of theſe teeth, are almoſt a ſpanne in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almoſt as much in thickeneſſe. The tuſkes of the male are greater then of the female: his tongue is very litle, and ſo farre in his mouth, that it cannot be ſeene: of all beaſts they are moſt gentle and tractable, for by many ſundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderſtand: inſomuch that they learne to doe due honor to a king, and are of quicke ſenſe and ſharpeneſſe of witte. When the male hath once ſeaſoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundred yeeres, or at the leaſt one hundred and twentie: the female almoſt as long, but the floure of their age, is but threeſcore yeeres, as ſome write. They cannot ſuffer winter or colde: they loue riuers, and will often goe into them vp to the ſnout, wherewith they blow and ſnuffe, and play in the water: but ſwimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vſe none adulterie. If they happen to meet with a man in wilderneſſe being out of the way, gently they will goe before him, and bring him into the plaine way. Joined in battell, they haue no ſmall reſpect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuiſe of barley. They haue continuall warre againſt Dragons, which deſire their blood, becauſe it is very colde: and therefore the Dragon lying await as the Elephant paſſeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legges of the Elephant, & ſo ſtaying him, thruſteth his head into his troonke and exhaulteth his breath, or elſe biteth him in the eare, whereunto he cannot reach with his troonke, and when the Elephant wareth faint, he falleth downe on the ſerpent, being now full of blood, and with the poiſe of his body breaketh him: ſo that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant, runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that ſubſtance which the Apothecaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwiſe called Cinnabaris, although there be an other kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called cinoper or vermilion, which the painters vſe in certeine colours.

The deſcription and properties of the Elephant.
Debate betweene the Elephant & the Dragon.
Sanguis Draconis.
Cinnabaris.

They are alſo of three kindes, as of the marſhes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no leſſe differing in conditions. Philoſtratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in bigneſſe paſſeth the horſe of Nyſea, ſo much doe the Elephants of India exceede them of Libya: for of the Elephants of India, ſome haue beene ſeene of the height of nine cubites: the other doe ſo greatly feare theſe, that they dare not abide the ſight of them. Of the Indian Elephants, onely the males haue tuſkes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya, both kindes are tuſked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirteene, and foureteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a meaſure of nine inches. Some write

Three kindes of Elephants

wiue that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Oxen or Buffes. They of India are blacke, or of the colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiope or Guinea, are browne: the hide or skinne of them all is very hard, and without haire or bristles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Our men saw one drinking at a riuer in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties and conditions of the Elephant, as of their maruellous docilitie, of their fight and vse in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the theaters and triumphes of the Romans, how they are taken and tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the vse of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall historie. He also writeth in his twelft booke, that in olde time they made many goodly

Workes of iuorie. workes of iuory or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, railes, lattesses for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuory, both coloured and vncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginalles. They had such plentie thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuory gate. The whitenesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the naturall fairenesse of mans skinne: insomuch that such as went about to set footh (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reproued by this prouerbe, Eburatramento candefacere, that is, To make iuory white with inke. The poets also, describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuory necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and iuory, it may suffice.

The people of Africa. Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with an other briefe description of Africa also. It is to be vnderstood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the mid parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great and large regions about the same, were in olde time called Ethiopes & Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beastly liuing, without a God, law, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and vexed with the heat of the sunne, that in many places

Libya Interior. they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya Interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya Interior, is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesses & mountaines, replenished with diuers kindes of wilde and monstrous beasts and serpents. First from

Getulia. Mauritania or Barbarie toward the South is Getulia, a rough and saluage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogetuli and Pharusij, which wander in the wildernesse, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The E-

Ethiopes. Nigrite. thiopians, called Nigritæ, occupie a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus,

The riuer Nigritis or Senega. forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth footh the like beastes as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same riuer which the Portingals call Senega: For this riuer is also of the same nature. It is furthermore maruellous and very strange

A strange thing. that is said of this riuer: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and blacke, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Garamantes. There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they

People of Libya. contract no matrimonie, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitę, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatę, Dolopes, Aganginę, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilicei Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolomie that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Heere are certaine Christians vnder the dominion

Prester Iohn. of the great Emperour of Ethiopia, called Prester John. From these toward the West, is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by coniec-

Regnum Orguene. Gambra. ture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the East parts of Guinea. From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdomes of Gambra and Budomel, not farre from the riuer of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along

Guinea or Cap. Verde. The Portingals nauigations to Brasile. by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the West side of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride (that is) The greene cape, to the which the Portingals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the winde called Garbino, which is betweene the West and the South. But

Ethiopia. to speake somewhat more of Ethiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Ethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Ethiopia vnder Egypt, a great

and

and rich region. To this perteineth the iſland Meroc, imbraced round about with the ſtreames of the riuer Nilus. In this iſland women reigned in olde time. Joſephus writeth, that it was ſometime called Sabea: and that the queene of Saba came from thence to Hieruſalem, to heare the wiſedome of Salomon. From hence toward the Eaſt, reigneth the ſaid Chriſtian Emperour Preſter John, whom ſome call Papa Iohannes, and other ſay that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great John, whoſe Empire reacheth farre beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coaſtes of the red ſea and Indian ſea. The middle of the region is almoſt in threeſcore and ſixe degrees of longitude, & twelue degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Riſophagi, Babylonij, Axiunitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After theſe is the region called Troglodytica, whoſe inhabitants dwell in caues and dennes: for theſe are their houſes, and the fleſh of ſerpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no ſpeech, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are alſo people without heades, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breſt. Likewiſe Strucophagi, and naked Ganphaſantes: Satyrs alſo, which haue nothing of men but onely ſhape. Moreouer Oripei, great hunters. Mennones alſo, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth forth myrrh. After theſe is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Afrike that are beyond the Equinoctiall line, are now aſcribed to the kingdome of Melinde, whoſe inhabitantes are accuſtomed to traffike with the nations of Arabie, and their king is ioyned in friendſhip with the king of Portingall & payeth tribute to Preſter John.

The iſland of Meroe.

The queene of Saba.

Preſter John Emperour of Ethiopia.

People of the Eaſt ſide of Africa.

People without heades.

Myrrh.

Azania.

Regnum Melinde.

The other Ethiope, called Ethiopia Interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatneſſe thereof, but onely by the ſea coaſtes: yet is it deſcribed in this maner. Firſt from the Equinoctiall toward the South, is a great region of Ethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beaſtes called Rhinocerontes. Alſo a region that bringeth forth plentie of cynamome, lying betweene the branches of Nilus. Alſo the kingdome of Habech or Habaſia, a region of Chriſtian men, lying both on this ſide and beyond Nilus. Here are alſo the Ethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) ſuch as liue onely by fiſh, and were ſometimes ſubdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Ethiopians called Rhapſij, and Anthropophagi, that are accuſtomed to mans fleſh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountaines called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazatia is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this, followeth the front of Afrike, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, (that is) the Cape of good hope, by the which they paſſe that ſaile from Spaine to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfes are called, foraſmuch as the ſame are in euery globe and card, it were here ſuperfluous to rehearſe them.

Ethiopia Interior.

White Elephants.

Habaſia.

Ichthiophagi.

Anthropophagi.

Montes Lunæ.

Gazatia.

Cape bonæ Spei.

Some write that Affrica was ſo named by the Grecians, becauſe it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A, ſignifieth priuation, void, or without: and Phrice, ſignifieth colde. For in deed although in the ſtead of Winter, they haue a cloudie and tempeſtuous ſeaſon, yet is it not colde, but rather ſmothering hotte, with hotte ſhowres of raine alſo, and ſomewhere ſuch ſcorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they ſeeme at certeine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phriſius writeth, that in certeine partes of Affrica, as in Atlas the greater, the ayre in the night ſeaſon is ſeene ſhining, with many ſtrange fires and flames riſing in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are ſometime heard as it were the ſound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noiſes may perhaps be cauſed by the vehement and ſundry motions of ſuch firie exhalations in the ayre, as we ſee the like in many experiences wrought by fire, ayre, & winde. The hollowneſſe alſo, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the clouds, may be great cauſes heereof, beſide the vehement colde of the middle region of the ayre, whereby the ſaid firie exhalations, aſcending thither, are ſuddenly ſtricken backe with great force: for euen common and dayly experience teacheth vs, by the whiſſling of a burning torch, what noiſe fire maketh in the ayre, and much more where it ſtriueth when it is incloſed with ayre, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is ſeene in only aire incloſed, as in Organ pipes, and ſuch other inſtruments that go by winde. For winde (as ſay the Philoſophers) is none other then ayre vehemently moued, as we ſee in a paire of bellowes, and ſuch other.

Afrika without colde.

The winter of Afrika.

Flames of fire & noiſe in the aire.

The middle region of the aire is colde.

The ſtrife of elements.

Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this laſt voyage to Guinea, affirme earneſtly that in the night ſeaſon they felt a ſenſible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be ſtrange and inſenſible to vs that inhabite colde regions, yet doth it ſtand with good reaſon that it may ſo be, foraſmuch as the nature of ſtarres and planets (as writeth Plinie) conſiſteth of fire, and conteineth in it a ſpirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

The heat of the Moone.

The nature of the ſtarres.

And that the Moone giueth heate vpon the earth, the Prophet Dauid ſeemeth to confirme in his 121 Pſalme, where ſpeaking of ſuch men as are defended from euils by Gods protection, he

he saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore that in certaine places of the sea, they saw certaine streames of water, which they call spoutes, falling out of the aire into the sea, and that some of these are as bigge as the great pillers of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some faine that these should be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes flood. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus. Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking foorth of springs, that the mouthes of riuers are opened, Whirlepooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not onely in the middest of the sea, but also in creekes and streights. At certaine times also, a great quantitie of water is suddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appeare that such waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And hereunto perhaps perteineth it that Richard Chanceller tolde me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coastes of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or pinnesse was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe farre. The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans vnderstanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many thinges more our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthie to be noted, whereof I haue thought good to put some in memorie, that the reader may as well take pleasure in the varietie of thinges, as knowledge of the hystorie. Among other thinges therefore touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes and noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnes with prettie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, and especially their women, in maner laden with collars, braslets, hoopes, and chaines, either of golde, copper, or iuory. I my selfe haue one of their braslets of iuory, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and somewhat carued, with a hole in the middest, wherein they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue of euery arme one, and as many on their legs, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legs great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to be no lesse comely. They weare also collars, braslets, garlands, and girdles, of certaine blew stones like beades. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine foresleeues, made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a rush. Among other thinges of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs chaines and collers.

Spoutes of water falling out of the aire.

Cataracts of heauen.

Vehement motions in the sea.

A strange thing.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Fine iewels.

A braslet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very warie people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall haue to do with them, must vse them gently: for they wil not traffike or bring in any wares if they be euill vsed. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did traffike, one of them either stole a muske catte, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should haue hindred their bargaining in another place whither they intended to go. But for all the haste they could make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so preuented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were inforced either to restore the cat, or pay for her at their price, before they could traffike there.

A muske cat.

Their houses are made of foure postes or trees, and couered with boughes.

Their houses.

Their common feeding is of roots, and such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plentie. There are also such fleeing fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to prouide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten forthwith as some say. Howbeit, other affirme that if they be salted immediatly after they be taken, they will last vncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, and putrified there, became sweet againe at their returne to the clime of temperate regions.

Their feeding.

Fleeing fishes.

A strange thing.

They

They vſe alſo a ſtrange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two ſtones with their handes as much corne as they thinke may ſuffice their family, & when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they ſticke vpō ſome poſt of their houſes, where it is baked by the heat of the ſunne: ſo that when the maſter of the houſe or any of his family wil eat therof, they take it downe & eat it. Their bread.

They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulruſh, and almoſt foure inches about where it is biggeſt. The ſtemme or ſtraw, ſeemeth to be almoſt as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle leſſe. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peaſon, round alſo, and very white, and ſomewhat ſhining, like pearles that haue loſt their colour. Almoſt al the ſubſtance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle branne or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threeſcore graines. The eare is incloſed in three blades longer then it ſelfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulnes the Sunne ſeemeth partly to recompence ſuch griefes and moleſtations as they otherwiſe receiue by the feruent heate thereof. It is doubtleſſe a worthy contemplation to conſider the cōtrary effects of the Sunne: or rather the contrary paſſions of ſuch things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefite. Their drinke is either water, or the iuiſe that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmites. For either they hang great gourdes at the ſaid branches euery euening, and let them ſo hang all night, or els they ſet them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They ſay that this kinde of drinke is in taſte much like vnto whey, but ſomewhat ſweeter, and more pleaſant. They cut the branches euery euening, becauſe they are ſeared vp in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue alſo great Beanes as bigge as cheſtnuts, and very hard with a ſhell in the ſtead of a huſke. Their wheate. The Sunne. Their drinke.

Many thinges more might be ſaide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monſtrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaide thus much of ſuch things as our men partly ſawe, and partly brought with them.

And whereas before ſpeaking of the fruite of graines, I deſcribed the ſame to haue holes by the ſide (as in deede it is, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterwarde enfourmed, that thoſe holes were made to put ſtringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them vp to dry at the Sunne. They grow not paſt a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as redde as blood when they are gathered. The graines themſelues are called of ꝑ Phyſitiōs Grana Paradiſi. Graines.

At their comming home, the keeles of their ſhippes were marueilouſly ouergrowne with certaine ſhelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they coulde ſtande, and of ſuch bigneſſe that a man might put his thumme in the mouthes of them. They certainely affirme that in theſe there groweth a certaine ſlimie ſubſtance, which at the length ſlipping out of the ſhell and falling in the ſea, becommeth thoſe foules which we call Barnacles. The like ſhelles haue bene ſeene in ſhippes returning from Iſeland, but theſe ſhels were not paſt halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I ſawe the Primroſe lying in the Docke, and in maner couered with the ſaid ſhelles, which in my iudgement ſhould greatly hinder her ſayling. Their ſhippes were alſo in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Biſſas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. Theſe creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places. Shelles that cleaue to ſhips. Barnacles. Bromas. A ſecret.

Among other things that chaſiced to them in this voyage, this is worthy to be noted, that whereas they ſailed thither in ſeuen weekes, they could returne in no leſſe ſpace then twentie weekes. The cauſe whereof they ſay to be this: That about the coaſt of Cabo Verde, the winde is euer at the Eaſt, by reaſon whereof they were enforced to ſaile farre out of their courſe into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the Weſt to bring them home. There died of our men at this laſt voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the clyme of the colde regions, as betweene the Iſlands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke ſlaues, wherof ſome were tall and ſtrong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes. The colde and moiſt ayre doth ſomewhat offend them. Yet doubtleſſe men that are borne in hotte Regions, may better abide colde, then men that are borne in colde Regions may abide heate, foraſmuch as vehement heate reſolueth the radicall moiſture of mens bodies, as colde conſtraineth and preſerueth the ſame. The death of our men. 5. Blacke Moores brought into England. Colde may be better abiden then heate.

This is alſo to be conſidered as a ſecret worke of nature, that throughout al Affricke vnder the Equinoctiall line, and neere about the ſame on both ſides, the regions are extreeme hotte, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily ſuch regions of the Weſt Indies as are vnder the ſame line, are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curlde and ſhort wooll on their heads, as haue they of Affrike, but of the colour of an Olive, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cauſe of which varietie is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage tolde me: That is, that they ouertooke the course of the Sunne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the xiiii. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by M. William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Shippes, in the yeere 1555.

September. Vpon munday the 30. day of September we departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the hauen of Neuport with 2. good shippes, the one called the Hart the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Maisters of them were John Ralphe, and William Carter, for a voyage to be made vnto the Riuer de Sestos in Guinea, and to other hauens there about.

October. It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the 14. day of October before we could fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade fiue dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the hauen, & set saile directing our course towards the Southwest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation 30. leagues.

The 21. we suppose we ranne 36. leagues, the 22. 40. leagues, the 23. 20. leagues, the 24. but 12. by reason of the foule weather, and change of windes.

The 25. day wee ranne about 20. leagues, the 26. about 12. and all the night laye at trie with much raine and foule weather.

The 27. the windes and seas were high, yet we made some way.

The 28. day the Hindes poope brake with a sea some what aboue the helme, whereupon William Carter & Richard Gresham with their marchants agreed to set saile, and go backe againe for England, and for that purpose hoysed vp their saile, and we seeing it shotte off a peece to cause them to tary for vs, and hoysed our foresaile and went to them: and they tolde vs that they would not keepe the seas, and required mee to agree that they might returne, and we also with them to amende the fault, whereunto I would not agree, seeing the fault to bee no worse then it was, and our Maister Iohn Ralphe offered them that hee himselfe would goe in her, which thing they hearing saide that they were as able to keepe her as hee, and William Carter made answere, that as long as the company would continue with him, he would not refuse the voyage: so we lay at hull about an houre after, and then it pleased God to sende vs a faire winde at North and by East, and we ranne our course that day by estimation 25. leagues.

The 29. day wee ranne about 40. leagues, the 30. about 50. and the 31. and last of October about 40.

November. The first of November we found our selues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Maister. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also.

The 2. day we ranne 36. leagues.

Porto Sancto. The 3. day we had sight of Porto Sancto, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about three leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portingals. It riseth as we came from the North Northwest like two small hilles neere together. The East ende of the same Island is a high land like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to beare that fourme. The west ende of it is lower with certaine small round hillockes. This Island lyeth in thirtie and three degrees. The

Madera. same day at 11. of the clocke wee raysed the Isle of Madera, which lyeth 12. leagues from Porto Sancto, towards the Southwest: that Island is a faire Islande and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portingals, it riseth afarre off like a great whole lande and high. By three of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Sancto, and wee set our course Southwest to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Sancto. These two Islands were the first land that we sawe since wee left the coast of England. About 3. of the clocke after midnight we were thwart of Madera, within three leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues.

The fourth day wee laye becalmed vnder the Isle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day 15. leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues more.

Tenerif. The 6. day in the morning we raysed the Isle of Tenerif, otherwise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island with a pike vpon the toppe like a loafe of Suger. The same night we raised the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif.

Palma.

The

The 7. day we perceiued the Iſle of Gomera, which is an Iſland ſtanding betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eaſtward from Palma, and 8. leagues Weſtwarde from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Iſle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eaſtward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues. Gomera.

Note that theſe Iſlands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Iſlands more to the Weſtward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forteventura, & Lancerot, of which Iſlands we came not in ſight: they be inhabited by Spaniards.

This day alſo we had ſight of the Iſle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Iſlands, and is poſſeſſed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reaſon of the winde wee coulde not double the point of the Iſle of Ferro, except wee would haue gone to the Weſtward of it which had bene much out of our courſe: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe fiue houres Eaſt Northeaſt to the ende we might double it vpon the next boorde, the winde continuing Southeaſt, which hath not bene often ſeene vpon that coaſt by any trauailers: for the winde continueth there for the moſt part Northeaſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt: ſo vpon the other boorde by the next morning we were in a maner with the Iſland, and had roome ynough to double the ſame. Ferro.

The 8. day we kept our courſe as neere the winde as we coulde, becauſe that our due courſe to fetch the coaſt of Barbary, was Southeaſt and by Eaſt, but by the ſcant winde we coulde not goe our due courſe, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 11. 24.

The 12. day we ſaw a ſaile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fiſherman, ſo that we went roome to haue ſpoken with him, but within one houre there fell ſuch a fogge, that we coulde not ſee the ſhippe nor one of vs the other: we ſhot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but ſhe hard them not: at after noone ſhe ſhot off a piece which wee hard, and made her anſwere with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the ſhoare vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, and wee ſounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke alſo came roome with vs and there ancred by reaſon of the contrary winde. When we fell with the lande, we could not iudge iuſtly what part of the land it was, becauſe the moſt part of that coaſt is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the ſhoare, which is white like chalke or ſande, and very deepe vnto the hard ſhoare: there immediatly wee beganne to fiſh, and founde great ſtore of a kinde of fiſh which the Portingals commonly fiſh for vpon that coaſt, which they call Pergoſſes, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men, ſalt water breames. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the ſhippe which we followed ſhaped vs ſuch a courſe that wee coulde ſee her no more, by reaſon of our ſhooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coaſt of Barbarie, by our Pilots reckoning is about 16. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the riuer del Oro. Riuer del Oro.

The 13. day in the after noone wee ſpyed a ſaile comming towardes vs, which wee iudged to be the ſaile that wee ſawe the day before, and as ſoone as wee ſpyed him we cauſed the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towardes him, and manned out our Skiffe in like caſe to laye him aboorde, or to diſcerne what hee was, and we our ſelues within halfe an houre after wayed alſo: but after the ſaile had eſpyed vs, he kept about, and turned backe againe, and ſhortly after there fell ſuch another fogge, that wee coulde not ſee him: which fogges continued all that night, ſo that wee were conſtrained to leaue the chaſe. This after noone the winde came about, and wee went our courſe Southweſt, and by Weſt, to goe cleare off the coaſt, and we ranne that night 16. leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke wee eſpyed a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fiſhing, and wee ſent our Skiffe to him with fiue men, and all without any weapon ſauing their Dares. The Caruell for haſte let ſlippe her ancre, and ſet ſaile; and they ſeeing that, fearing that they ſhould not fetch her, woulde tary for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to ſtrike ſaile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fifteene men aboorde, & euery man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to reſiſt our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for wee had caſt ancre becauſe the winde was not good: I cauſed then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboorde of them to ſee that no harme ſhoulde bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might ſpare vs for our money. So we tooke of them three Tapnets of figges, two ſmall pots of oyle, 2. pipes of water, foure hogſheads of ſalt fiſh which they had taken vpon the coaſt, and certaine freſh fiſh which they did not eſteeme, becauſe there is ſuch ſtore vpon that coaſt, that in an houre and ſometime leſſe, a man may take as much fiſh as will ſerue twentie men a day. For theſe thinges, and for ſome wine which wee dranke aboorde of them, and three or foure great cannes which they ſent aboorde of our Shippes, I payed them twentie and ſeuen Piſtolets, A Caruell taken. Great ſtore of fiſh vpon the coaſt of Barbarie.

which was twise as much as they willingly would haue taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this we set saile, but the wind caused vs to ancre againe about 12. leagues off the riuer Del oro, as the Portingals tolde vs. There were 5. Caruels more in this place, but when they sawe vs, they made all away for feare for vs.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbarie.

The 18. day we ranne 30. leagues, and at 12. of the clocke by the reckoning of our Pilots wee were thwart of of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanko.

The 19. day we ranne our course 30. leagues.

The 20. day we ranne 36. leagues, the 21. 34 leagues, and the 22. 30 leagues. And this 22. day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart of Cape Verde.

Cape Verde.

The 23. day we ranne our course 28. leagues, the 24. 25. leagues, the 25. 12. leagues, the 26. 12. leagues, the 27. 15. leagues, the 28. by reason we were becalmed, but 3. leagues, the 29. 25. leagues, the 30. 8. leagues: and this day at 12. of the clocke, we found our selues to be in 8. degrees and a halfe of latitude.

8. Degrees and a halfe.

December. The first of December we ranne 20. leagues, the 2. day being becalmed, but 4. leagues, the 3. day 16. leagues.

The 4. day we had terrible thunder and lightning, with exceeding great gusts of raine called Ternados, which continued not aboue halfe an houre: we ranne our course 18. leagues.

The 5. day we ranne 20. leagues, the 6. day 8. leagues by reason of variable windes, the 7. day but 4. leagues.

The 8. day we had more thunder and lightning, and we raine about 6. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 8. leagues, the 10. day 10. leagues, the 11. day 12. leagues.

The coast of Guinea.

The 12. day we had sight of the land of Guinea, which as soone as we sawe we halled into the lande Northeast, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to haue bene a shippe, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Sestos, which light as soone as we espied, wee came to an ancre and armed our toppes, and made al things readie to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portingal or French man: this night we remained at an ancre, but in the morning we saw no man, onely we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from vs, one great rocke, and the three other small ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shore, and so waied and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the riuer de Sestos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doeth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In these 24. houres I thinke we ranne 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder saile, and had withall store of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ranne East Southeast all along the shoare, within 2. leagues alwayes of the same, and founde the land all as at the first, full of woods and great rockes harde aboorde the shoare, and the billowe beating so sore, that the seas brake vpon the shoare as white as snowe, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it foure leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus wee ranne vntill twelue of the clocke, and then they tooke ẏ sunne & after iudged themselues to be 24. leagues past the riuer de Sestos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there ancred and found fifteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that wee might well haue ridde by an Hawser: All that after noone we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might goe along by the shoare to seeke some place to water in: for we could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Sestos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the currant runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against vs.

The Currant setting Eastward.

The fourteenth day we set saile and went backe againe along the coast, and sent our boates hard aboorde the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they founde about twelue of the clocke, and we being farre into the sea, mette with diuers boates of the Countrey, small, long and narrowe, and in euery boat one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eate, and were very glad of it. About foure of the clocke our boates came to vs with fresh water: and this night

we

we ancred againſt a Riuer.

The 15. day wee waied and ſet ſaile to goe neere the ſhoare, and with our leade wee ſounded all the way, and found ſometimes rockes, and ſometimes faire grounde, and at the ſhalloweſt found ſeuen fadoms alwayes at the leaſt. So in fine we founde 7. fadom and a halfe within an Engliſh mile of the ſhoare, and there wee ancred, in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then we ſent our boates into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lyeth by eſtimation eight leagues beyond the Riuer de Seſtos, and is called in the Carde, Riuer S. Vincent, but it is ſo harde to finde, that a boate being within halfe a mile of it, ſhall not be able to diſcerne that it is a Riuer: by reaſon that directly before the mouth of it, there lyeth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, ſo that a boate muſt runne in along the ſhoare a good way betwixt the rockes, and the ſhoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers other Riuers falls into it: The going into it is ſomewhat ill, becauſe that at the entring, the ſeas doe goe ſomewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames. Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the ſea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mightie bigge men and goe all naked except ſome thing before their priuie partes, which is like a cloute about a quarter of a yarde long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a clothe: for the barke is of that nature, that it will ſpinne ſmall after the maner of linnen. Some of them alſo weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers coulers, but the moſt part of them goe bare headed, and their heades are clipped and ſhorne of diuers ſortes, and the moſt part of them haue their ſkinne of their bodies raced with diuers workes, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe ſo alike, that one cannot knowe a man from a woman but by their breaſtes, which in the moſt part be very foule and long, hanging downe lowe like the vdder of a goate. Cloth made of the barke of trees. The Negroes race their ſkinnes.

This ſame morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and carried certaine baſons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hogſehead and 100. li. waight of graines, and two Olephants teeth at a reaſonable good reckoning; We ſolde them both baſons, and Manellios, and Margerets, but they deſired moſt to haue baſons: For the moſt part of our baſons we had by eſtimation about 30. li. for a piece, and for an Oliphants tooth of 30. li. waight, we gaue them 6. Graines of Guinea. Oliphants teeth.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke ſome of euery ſort of our Marchandize with vs, and ſhewed it to the Negroes, but they eſteemed it not, but made light of it, and alſo of the baſons, Manellios and Margarets, which yeſterday they did buy: howbeit for the baſons they would haue giuen vs ſome graines, but to no purpoſe, ſo that this day we tooke not by eſtimation aboue one hundreth pound waight of graines, by meanes of their Captaine, who would ſuffer no man to ſell any thing but through his handes, and at his priſe: hee was ſo ſubtile, that for a baſon hee would not giue 15. pounde waight of graines, and ſometimes would offer vs ſmall diſhfuls, whereas before wee had baſkets full, and when hee ſawe that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and cauſed all the reſt of the boates to depart, thinking belike that we would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne aſkings. But after that we perceiued their fetche, we waied our Grapnel and went away, and then we went on lande in a ſmall Towne to ſee the faſhions of the Countrey, and there came a threeſcore of them about vs, and at the firſt they were afraide of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hande and bee familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie ſmall houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the ſides open, and a ſcaffolde vnder the houſe about a yarde high, where they worke many prette thinges of the barkes of trees, and there they lye alſo. In ſome of their houſes they worke yron and make faire dartes, and diuers other thinges to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when we were there diuers of the women to ſhewe vs pleaſure daunced and ſung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their ſong was thus: The deſcription of their Townes and houſes.

Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho. Sakere, ſakere, ho, ho.

And with theſe wordes they leape and daunce and clappe their handes. Beaſtes wee coulde ſee none that they had, but two goates, ſmall dogges, and ſmall hennes: other beaſtes wee ſawe none. After that wee had well marked all things we departed and went aboorde our ſhippes: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, ſent 2. of his ſeruants in a boate with a baſket of graines, and made vs ſignes that if when we had ſlept we would come againe into their Riuer, we ſhould haue ſtore of graines, and ſo ſhewed vs his graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning becauſe we thought that the Negroes would haue done ſomething becauſe the Captaine ſent for vs, I required the Maſter to goe on ſhoare, and ſent the reſt of our

marchants with him, and taried aboorde my selfe by reason that the last day hee esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master & the rest came into the riuer, the Captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought graines with them, and after that hee sawe that I was not there, hee made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then he made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, and they pointed to the Master of the shippe: then hee beganne to shewe his graines, but he held them so vnreasonably, that there was no profite to be made of them: which things the Master perceiuing, and seeing that they had no store of graines, came away, and tooke not aboue 50. pound waight of graines. Then hee went a shoare to the litle towne where we were the day before, and one of them plucked a gowd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, and came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bowe and 2. or 3. swordes, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and assoone as they were come aboord we waied & set saile, but the winde was off the sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, & therefore we came to an ancre againe.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, & it ebbeth and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeth the most: while we were there, it ebbed 1. fadome and a halfe of water.

The latitude of S. Vincents riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof we knewe none, and they were of many sorts, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the toppe of them.

Leaues of exceeding length.

There are certaine peason by the sea side, which growe vpon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and doeth grow vpon the sand like to trees, and that so neere the sea, that sometimes the sea floweth into the woods as wee might perceiue by the water markes.

Long pease stalkes.

The trees and all things in this place grow cõtinually greene. Diuers of the women haue such exceeding long breastes, that some of them wil lay the same vpon the grounde and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not such breastes.

Long womens breasts.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the sea, and all the night off the lande, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marueyled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came vp at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North North west off the shoare: yet we waied and hailed off South with that winde all night into the sea, but the next morning we hailed in againe to the lande, and tooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our shippe, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceiue that here was any golde, or any other good thing: for ỹ people be so wilde and idle, that they giue themselues to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceiue 2. cunne.

There are many foules in the countrey, but the people will not take the paines to take them.

I obserued some of their words of speach, which I thought good here to set downe.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

Bezow, bezow,	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,	Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,	Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,	Haue you ynough?
Begge sacke,	Giue me a knife.
Begge come,	Giue me bread.
Borke,	Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,	Ye lye.
Veede,	Put foorth, or emptie.
Brekeke,	Rowe.
Diago,	Their Captaine, and some cal him Dabo.

These and other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word three times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sayling along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tarie there, least the other ships should get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it 3. great rocks, and 5. smal rocks, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the rest: we hailed this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tarie there.

We

We proceeded along the coaſt, & aucred by the ſhore all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The twentie day, the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongeſt rockes, and foule ground, loſt a ſmall anker. At noone, as we paſſed along the coaſt, there came foorth a Negro to vs, making ſignes, that if we would goe a ſhoare, wee ſhould haue graines, and where we ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought graines, and ſhewed vs them, and made ſignes that wee ſhould tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tel vs where we ſhould land, and ſo they did in diuers other places vpon the coaſt, where they ſawe vs to anker.

In all the places that we haue ankered, ſince we came from our watring place, we haue found the tide alwaies running to the Weſtwardes, and all along the coaſt many rockes hard aboard the ſhoare, and many of them a league of the ſhoare or more, we ran this day twelue leagues. The tides and nature of the ſhoare.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came ſo ſore out of the coaſt, that we were not able to runne aboue ſix leagues: and this day there came ſome Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The 22. we ranne all day and night, to double a point, called Dos palmas, and ranne ſixteene leagues. The point of Palmas.

The 23. day, about three of the clocke, we were thwart of the point, and before we came to the weſtermoſt part of it, we ſawe a great ledge of rockes, which lie weſt from the Cape, about three leagues, and a league or more from the land. Shortly after, we had ſight of the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape, which lieth foure leagues from the Weſtermoſt part, and vpon the very corner therof, lie two greene places, as it were cloſes, and to the weſtwards of the Cape, the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Baye, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyond that, there lieth a head land in the ſea, and about two leagues beyond the head lande, there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which we did, leaſt in the night we ſhould ouerrunne a riuer, where the "laſt yere, they had all their Elephants teeth. "That was the yere 1554.

This Cape Dos palmas, lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the ſaid Cape, and the riuer de Seſtos, is the greateſt ſtore of graines to be had, and being paſt the ſaid Cape, there is no great ſtore els where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ranne alwaies to the weſtward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eaſtward: this day we ranne ſome 16. leagues. The tides running eaſtward.

The 24. day running our courſe, about eight of the clocke there came foorth to vs certaine boates, which brought with them ſmall egges, which were ſoft without ſhels, and they made vs ſignes, that there was within the land freſh water, and Goates: and the Maſter thinking that it was the riuer which we ſought, caſt anker, and ſent the boate on ſhoare, with one that knewe the riuer, and comming neere the ſhoare, he perceiued that it was not the riuer, and ſo came backe againe, and went along the ſhoare, with their oares and ſaile, and wee waied, and ranne along the ſhoare alſo: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Maſter perceiued a place, which he iudged to be the riuer, when we were in deede two miles ſhot paſt it: yet the boate came from the ſhoare, and they that were in her, ſaid, that there was no riuer: notwithſtanding we came to an anker, and the Maſter and I tooke fiue men with vs in the boate, and when he came neere the ſhoare, he perceiued that it was the ſame riuer which he did ſeeke: ſo we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reaſon that the ſea goeth ſo high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and ſhewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one about eight pound, and a litle one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer ſide, making ſignes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would ſell vs them: ſo we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and ſo we departed, and came aboard, and ſent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the ſea, made vs ſignes that there was freſh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them freſh water, and ſhewed them an Elephants tooth, making ſignes that the next day they would ſell them teeth, and ſo they came aboard. A towne.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Dos palmas, and there lieth to the weſtwards of the ſame, a rocke about a league in the ſea, and the riuer it ſelfe hath a point of land comming out into the ſea, whereupon groweth fiue trees, which may well be diſcerned two or three leagues of, comming from the weſtward, but the riuer can not be perceiued vntill ſuch time, as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle towne on each ſide the riuer, and to each towne there belongeth a Capitaine. The riuer is but ſmall, but the water is good and freſh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the ſea, which is greene like a cloſe, and not aboue ſixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other,

other, whereby the coaſt may well be knowne: for along all the coaſt that we haue hitherto ſailed by, I haue not ſeene ſo much bare land.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the weſtward of it, al along the ſhoare, there grow
Many Palme trees. many Palme trees, whereof they make their wine De Palma. Theſe trees may eaſily be knowne almoſt two leagues of, for they be very high, and white bodied, and ſtreight, and be biggeſt in the middes: they haue no boughes, but onely a round buſh in the toppe of them: and at the toppe of the ſame trees, they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the ioyce of the tree runneth out of the ſaid hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres Puntas. From the Cape Dos palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpoſe to make ſales of our cloth beyond the Cape Tres puntas, fortie leagues.

Note: that betwixt the riuer De Seſtos, and the Cape Dos palmas, is the place where all the graines be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as farre as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of thoſe, which dwel where we watered before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then ꝑ other, & goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their deſire in this place was moſt of all to haue Manillios and Margarets, as for the reſt of our things, they did litle eſteeme them.

The 25. day, being the day of the natiuitie of Chriſt, we ſent our boates and ſkiffes for water for our ſhippes, which that day filled as much water, as we had caſkes emptie, which was about two tunnes for vs, and one tunne for the Hinde.

Their maner of ſwearing by the water of the ſea. About nine of the clocke, there came boates to vs fourth, from both of the places aforeſaide, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had cauſed me to ſweare by the water of the ſea, that I would not hurt them, they came aboord our ſhippe three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all ſuch things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our ſelues. Afterwardes we bought all their teeth, which were in number foureteene, and of thoſe foureteene there were ten ſmall: afterwards, they departed, making vs ſignes, that the next day we ſhould come to their townes.

Two townes. The 26. day, becauſe we would not trifle long at this place, I required the Maſter to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, and I my ſelfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, becauſe theſe two townes ſtand three miles aſunder. To theſe places we caried ſomewhat of euery kind of marchandize that we had: and he had at the one towne, nine teeth, which were but ſmall, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were alſo not bigge, and we left aboord with the Maſter, certaine manillios, wherewith he bought twelue teeth aboord the ſhippe, in our abſence: and hauing bought theſe of them, we perceiued that they had no more teeth: ſo in the place where I was, one brought to me a ſmal goate, which I bought, and to the Maſter of the other place, they brought fiue ſmall hennes, which he bought alſo, and after that, we ſawe there was nothing els to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke, we met aboord, and then waied, and went Eaſt our courſe eighteene leagues ſtill within ſight of land.

The 27. day we ranne twentie leagues.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the ſea, and the wind comming againe off the ſea, we fell with the land againe, and the firſt of the land which we raiſed, ſhewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eaſtward of that, another ſmaller red cliffe, and right aboue that, into the land a round hammoke, and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in theſe 24. houres, not aboue foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the ſhoare, we perceiued the red cliffe aforeſaide, to haue right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the weſtwards of it full of red cliffes, as farre as we could ſee, and all along the ſhoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwiſe, full of wood: within a mile of the ſaid great cliffe, there is a riuer to the Eaſtwards, and no cliffes, that we could ſee, except one ſmall cliffe, which is hard by it. We ranne this day and night, twelue leagues.

The winds that we had in this place, by the reportes of the people, and of thoſe that haue bene there, haue not bene ſeene often, but in the night, at North off the land, & in the day South off the ſea, and moſt commonly Northweſt, and Southweſt.

The 30. day, we made our way twentie leagues.

The 31. day, we went our courſe by the ſhoare Northwards: this land is all along a low ſhoare, and full of wood, as all the coaſt is, for the moſt part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates, which went a fiſhing, which be greater boates then thoſe which we ſawe before, ſo that in ſome of them there ſate fiue men, but the faſhion of the boates is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke, we had ſight of a towne hard by the ſea ſide, which our Pilots iudged to be 25.

leagues

leagues to the weſtwards of the Cape, Tres puntas. About foure of the clocke we met with many fiſher boates, but none of them would come neere to vs, ſauing two, of whome we bought certaine fiſhe.

Betwixt theſe two Capes, we haue found the wind freſheſt in the day, and ſpecially about ten of the clocke, with great gales: the nights we found calmeſt. In theſe 24. houres we made way twentie leagues.

The firſt day of Januarie in the morning, we perceiued the lande to riſe higher then it did before, which our Pilots iudged to be the Cape, and halled in as neere to the land as they could: we ranne this day twenty leagues. January 1.

The ſecond day in the morning, when we were come neere to the place, our Pilots perceiued that it was not the Cape, as they thought it had bene: we made way this day but eight leagues.

The third day in the morning, we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night paſſed, as our Pilots ſaid, by one of the Portingals caſtles, which is eight leagues to the weſtwards of the Cape: vpon the firſt ſight of the Cape, we diſcerned it a very high land, and all growen ouer with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceiued two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the weſtward, and the vttermoſt of them is the Eaſterne Cape, there we perceiued the middle Cape, and the Eaſtermoſt Cape: the middle Cape ſtandeth not aboue a league from the weſt Cape, although the Carde ſheweth them to be three leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it, a ſmall rocke ſo neere to it, that it can not be diſcerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the ſhoare, and vpon the ſame Cape ſtandeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the ſame Cape, to the Eaſtward, there riſeth hard by it a round greene hommoke, which commeth out of the maine. Cape Tres Puntas.

The third Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwirt the middle, and the third commeth out a litle head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboard the ſhoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about eight leagues off them, we had the lande South-eaſt, and by Eaſt, and being paſt the Capes, the land runneth in againe Eaſt Northeaſt.

About two leagues beyond the fartheſt Cape, there is a low glade about two miles long, and then the land riſeth high againe, and diuers head lands riſe one beyond another, and diuers rocks lie at the point of the firſt head land. The middeſt of theſe Capes, is the neereſt to the Southwards, I meane further into the ſea, then any of the other, ſo that being to the Eaſtward of it, it may be diſcerned farre off, and being ſo to the Eaſtward, it riſeth with two ſmall rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouerſhooting a towne, called S. Iohns. We ranne this day not aboue eight leagues. In the afternoone this day, there came a boate of the countrey from the ſhoare, with fiue men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to diſcerne our flaggs, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, ſailing by the coaſt, we eſpied a ledge of rockes by the ſhoare, and to the weſtwards of them two great greene hils ioyning together, ſo that betweene them it was hollowe, like a ſaddle, and within the ſaid rockes, the Maſter thought the aforenamed towne had ſtoode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed a ſhoare, but going along by the coaſt, we ſawe that there was no towne, therefore we went aboord againe.

From theſe two hils aforeſaid, about two leagues to the Eaſtward, lie out into the ſea almoſt two miles, a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North Northweſtward, and the land in this place lieth North Northeaſt along the ſhoare: but the vttermoſt point of the land in that place that we could ſee, lay Northeaſt, and by Eaſt from vs.

After that we were with a ſmall gale of wind runne paſt that vttermoſt head land, we ſawe a great red cliffe, which the Maſter againe iudged to be the towne of S. Iohns, and then we tooke our boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the toppe of the hill, and ſo we went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great ſort of them, and waued vs to come in with a peece of cloth, and ſo we went into a very faire Baye, which lieth to the Eaſtward of the cliffe, whereupon the towne ſtandeth, and being within the cliffe, we let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good ſpace, they ſent a boate aboord of vs, to ſhewe vs that they had golde, and they ſhewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to knowe our meaſure, & our weight, that they might ſhew their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a meaſure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to ſhew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on ſhoare, and ſhewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a meaſure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and

one

one crusado weight of golde, making vs signes that so much they would giue, for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an howre, and when we sawe that they would doe no otherwise, and withall vnderstoode, that all the best places were before vs, we departed to our shippes, and waied, and rainc along the shoare, & went before with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point, where there lay fourth a ledge of rockes, like to the others before spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place, which he said plainly was the towne of Don Iohn: & the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not wel discerne it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of Don Iohn.

The fift day in the morning, we perceiued it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates, and went thither, and because that the last yeere the Portingals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bases, and did beate them from the place, wee let fall our grapnell almost a base shot of the shoare, and there we laye about two howres, and no boates came to vs. Then certaine of our men, with the Hindes boate, went into a Baye, which lieth to the Eastward of the Towne, and within that Baye, they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwards they came, and waued to vs also to come in, because they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could we perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portingals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroied.

Wee hauing staied there a good space, and seeing that they woulde not come to vs, thrust our boates heades a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Capitaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart, and his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them, which caried the Capitaines stoole: we saluted him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and he like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moue his cappe, nor scant bowed his body, and sate him downe very solemnly vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and bowed downe themselues.

He was clothed from the loines downe, with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his loines with a girdle, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare aboue the loines, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast before, and behind, to their girdles, and caps of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beasties skinne.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing-lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the barke of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very prettily, and yron worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishookes, hooking yrons, yron heades, and great daggers, some of them as long as a wood knife, which be of both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the manner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their weapõs

Their targets be made of such pils as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they be in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they be broad, so that kneeling downe, they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a prettie strength, as much as a man is able to drawe with one of his fingers, and the stringe is of the barke of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an ynche broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them vp close, and because I was busie, I coulde not stande about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When the Capitaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two basons, and gaue them vnto him, and he sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a weight of two Angels, which he would not take, neither would he suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the basons of brasse: so that we solde that day 74. basons, vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white basons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angel a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other thinges which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Capitaine, who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present me withall, a hennc, and two great rootes, which I receiued, and after made me signes, that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great store of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3.

Captaines,

Captaines, well appointed with their darts, and bowes, and when they came to vs, euery man ſticked downe his dart vpon the ſhoare, and the Captaines had ſtooles brought them, and they ſate downe, and ſent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a meaſure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one ſixteene part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell, and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done before for two Angels weight, which he eſteemed nothing, but ſtill ſtucke at his foure meaſures aforeſaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him ſignes that I would depart, he came to foure elles, for the weight aboueſaid, and otherwiſe he would not deale, and ſo we departed. This day we tooke for baſons ſixe ounces and a halfe, and one eight part.

The ſixt day in the morning, we manned our boates, and the ſkiffe well, for feare of the Portingals, which the laſt yeere had taken away a man from the other ſhippes, and went on ſhoare, and landed, becauſe they had no boates to come to vs, and ſo the young man which was with vs the night before, was ſent aboord, who ſeemed to haue dealt and bargained before with the Portingals, for he could ſpeake a litle Portuguiſe, and was perfect in weights, and meaſures: at his comming, he offered vs as he had done before, one Angell, and twelue graines, for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made ſignes, that if we would not take that, we ſhould depart, which we did: but before we did in deede depart, I offered him of ſome rotten cloth three elles for his waight of an Angell, and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed, making ſignes to him that we would goe away, as in deed we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that meaſure, although the cloth was ill, ſeeing we were ſo neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for ſale. Then we went aboord our ſhippes, which lay about a league of, and came backe againe to the ſhoare for ſande, and balaſte: and then the Captaine perceiuing that the boates had brought no marchandiſe, but came onely for water, and ſand, and ſeeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making ſignes againe, to knowe whether wee would not giue the foure elles, and they made ſignes againe, that we would giue them but three, and when they ſawe that the boates were ready to depart, they came vnto them, and gaue them the weight of one Angell, and twelue graines, which we required before, and made ſignes, that if we would come againe, they would take three elles. So when the boates came aboord, we laied wares in them both, and for the ſpeedier diſpatch, I and Iohn Sauill went in one boate, and the Maſter Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on ſhoare, and that night I tooke for my part, fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight, and meaſure, and ſo being very late, we departed, and went aboord, and tooke in all this day three pound.

The ſeuenth day we went a ſhoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate three pound, 19. ounces, ſo that we diſpatched almoſt all the cloth that we caried with vs, before noone, and then many of the people were departed, & thoſe that remained, had litle golde, yet they made vs ſignes to fetch them ſome latten baſons, which I would not, becauſe I purpoſed not to trifle out the time, but goe thence with ſpeede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, were deſirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, conſented, but went not my ſelfe: ſo they tooke eighteene ounces of gold, and came away, ſeeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the ſhoare, there came a young fellow, which could ſpeake a litle Portuguiſe, with three more with him, and to him I ſolde 39. baſons, and two ſmall white ſawcers, for three ounces, &c. which was the beſt reckoning that we did make of any baſons: and in the forenoone, when I was at the ſhoare, the Maſter ſolde fiue baſons vnto the ſame fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Caſtle by the Portingals, and was gotten away from them, for he told vs, that the Portingals were bad men, and that they made them ſlaues, if they could take them, and would put yrons vpon their legges, and beſides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen, or Engliſhmen, as they could take (for he could name theſe two very well.) they would hang them: he told vs further, that there were 60. men in the caſtle, and that euery yeere there came thither two ſhippes, one great, and one ſmall caruell, and further, that Don Iohn, had warres with the Portingals, which gaue me the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Caſtle, where hence our men were beaten the laſt yeere.

60. Portingals in the caſtle of Mina.

This fellow came aboord our ſhippe without feare, and aſſoone as he came, he demanded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the laſt yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs, that there were fiue taken away by Engliſhmen: we made him anſwere, that they were in England well

The Engliſh in anno 1554. tooke away 5. Negroes.

well vsed, and were there kept till they could speake the language, & then they should be brought againe, to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey: and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboord, we waied, and set saile, and a litle after spied a great fire vpon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of ouershooting the towne of Don Iohn, we there ankered, two leagues of the shoare, for it is hard to fetch vpp a towne here, if a shippe ouer shoote it. This day we tooke seuen pound, and fiue ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Baye, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to haue basons, and cloth. They would bie some of them also, many trifles, as kniues, horsetailes, hornes: and some of our men going a shoare, sould a cappe, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed vs a certaine course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France: for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wosted, and stripped with strippes of greene, white, yellow, &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diuers colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth:

This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	Is their salutation.
Dassee, dassee,	I thanke you.
Sheke,	Golde.
Cowrte,	Cut.
Cracca,	Kniues.
Basina,	Basons.
Foco, foco,	Cloth.
Molta,	Much, or great store.

Sight of the castle of Pima.

The eight day in the morning, we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a mist that then fel, we could not haue the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleered vp, and we sawe it, and a white house, as it were a Chappell vpon the hill about it: then we hailed into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in seuen fadom water. Here, as in many other places before, we perceiued that the currant went with the winde.

The land here is in some places lowe, and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Iohns towne described.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made with reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staied two or three howres after we had ankered, to see if any man would come vnto vs: and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates, and put in marchandize, and went, and ankered with our boates neere to the shoare: then they sent out a man to vs, who made vs signes, that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe, which come first aboord, and I gaue him one ell of cloth, and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning, we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came foorth a boate to vs, who made signes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day: and to that place also came another boate from the other towne, a mile from this, which is called Don Deuis, and brought with him gold, to shew vs, making signes that we should come thether. I then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Pinde, and went to the other towne, and there ankered, and tooke cloth, and went to shoare with the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs, and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed vs a weight of an Angell, and twelue graines, which they would giue for so much, and not otherwise: so I staied, and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and did nothing, hauing answer that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boate with good store of gold, and hauing driuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the measure to a naile lesse then three elles, and their weight to an Angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and solde, and within one quarter of an howre, I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of gold: and then they made me signes to tary, til they had parted their cloth vpon the shoare, as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layd the cloth all abroad vpon the sand, peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake vnto them, & foorthwith euery man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods, to hide his golde, and his cloth: we mistrusted some knauerp,

rie, and being waued by them to come a ſhoare, yet we would not but went aboord the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30. men which we iudged to be Portingals: and they went vp to the toppe of the hill and there muſtered, and ſhewed themſelues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being deſirous to know what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towardes her, and when I came neere to them, they ſhot off two pieces of ordinance which I marueiled at: I made as much haſte as I could to her, and met her boate & Skiffe comming from the ſhoare in all haſte, and wee met aboord together. They ſhewed me that they had bene a ſhoare all that day, and had giuen to the 2. ſonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them 3. yardes and a halfe of cloth, and 3. baſons betwixt them, and had deliuered him more 3. yards of cloth and the waight of an Angel and 12. graines, and being on land did tarie for his anſwere, and in the meane time the Portingals came running from the hill vpon them, whereof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and bad them to goe away but they perceiued it not. The ſonne of Don Iohn conſpired with the Portingals againſt them, ſo that they were almoſt vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and ſet off from the ſhoare, and the Portingals ſhot their caleeuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ſhippe perceiuing it, ſhot off the 2. pieces aforeſaid among them. Hereupon, we layed baſes in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a ſhoare againe, but becauſe of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the ſea about 10. ſcore and ſhot at them, but the hill ſuccoured them, and they from the rocks and from the hilles ſhot at vs with their halfe hakes, & the Negroes more for feare then for loue ſtood by them to helpe them, and when we ſawe that the Negroes were in ſuch ſubiection vnto them that they durſt not ſell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboorde, and that night ẏ winde kept at the Eaſt, ſo that we could not with our ſhip fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboord the barke to ſee what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like caſe layd with Portingals, ſo wee waued & went along the coaſt. This towne of Iohn de Viſo ſtandeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath bene burned, ſo that there are not paſſing 6. houſes in it: the moſt part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the cõtrey, & no doubt if the people durſt for feare of ẏ Portingals bring forth their gold, there would be had good ſtore: but they dare not ſel any thing, their ſubiection is ſo great to the Portingals. The 11. day rũning by the ſhoare we had ſight of a litle towne 4. leagues frõ the laſt towne that we came from, & about halfe a league from that of another towne vpõ a hil, & halfe a league from that alſo of another great towne vpõ the ſhoare: whither we went to ſee what could there be done: if we coulde doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, becauſe wee thought that the Portingals would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Here grew ſome contention about one Greſham aboorde the Hinde, who refuſed to vndertake further paines without further wages: but the matter was quieted, for Packman tooke the charge which he refuſed, and ſo wee went towards the ſhoare, but the winde ſcanted ſo that we could not doe it. Along from the caſtle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be ſeene aboue all other hilles. but they are full of wood, & great red cliffes by the ſea ſide. The boates of theſe places are ſomewhat large & bigge, for one of them wil carry 12. men, but their forme is alike with the former boats of the coaſt. There are about theſe townes few riuers: their lãguage differeth not frõ the language vſed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can ſpeake 3. or 4. words of Portuguiſe, which they vſed altogether to vs.

The Portingals of the Caſtle of Mina inuaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viſo.

We ſaw this night about 5. of the clocke 22. boats running along the ſhoare to the Weſtward, whereupon we ſuſpected ſome knauerie intended againſt vs. The 12. day therefore we ſet ſaile and went further along the coaſt, & deſcried more townes, wherin were greater houſes then in the other townes, & the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could ſee no boates. Two mile beyond the Eaſtermoſt towne are blacke rocks, which black rocks continue to ẏ vttermoſt cape of the land, which is about a league off, & then ẏ land runnes in Eaſt northeaſt, & a ſandy ſhoare againe; vpon theſe black rocks came downe certaine Negroes, which waued vs w̃ a white flag. but we perceiuing ẏ principal place to be neere, would not ſtay, but bare ſtill along the ſhoare: and as ſoone as we had opened ẏ point of the land, we raiſed another head land about a league of the point, which had a rocke lying off it into the ſea, & that they thought to be the place which we ſought. When we came almoſt thwart the place they knew it, & we put wares into our boat, & the ſhip being within halfe a mile of the place ancred in 5. fadom water, and faire ground. We went on ſhoare with our boate, and ancred about 10. of the clocke in the forenoone: we ſaw many boates lying vpon the ſhoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come neere vs, being as we iudged afraied of vs: becauſe that foure men were taken perforce the laſt yeere from this place, ſo that no man came to vs. whereupon we went aboorde againe, and thought here to haue made no ſale: yet towardes night a great ſort came downe to the water ſide, and waued vs on ſhoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him,

Foure men taken away by the Engliſh.

and sate him downe by the shoare vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, I tooke things with me to giue him: at last he sent a boat to call to vs, which would not come neere vs, but made vs signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them thinges to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latton bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, & 6. bisket cakes, which they receiued making vs signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captaine was Grand Capitane as appeared by those that attended vpon him with their darts, and targets, and other weapons.

This towne is very great and stands vpon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be neere it: to the Eastward of it vpon the hil hard by the towne stand two high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne. And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, whereupon the sea beates: and that ende next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyond the towne in a bay lieth a nother small towne.

The 13. day in the morning wee tooke our boate and went to shoare, and staied till tenne a clocke and no man came to vs: wee went about therefore to returne aboorde, and when the Negroes sawe that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, so wee ancred againe, and then one shewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: wee sawe a saile in the meane time passe by vs, but it was small, and wee regarded it not. Being on shoare wee made a Tilt with our Dares and saile, and then there came a boate to vs with fiue men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a henne, making signes by the sunne, that within 2. houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and bupe all that wee had: so I gaue them 6. Manillios to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, so wee tooke our man againe, and there tarried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe araped like their Captaine, with a great traine after him, who saluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went & sate downe vnder a tree, where the last yere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceiued a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, & behinde them the Portingals had planted a base, who suddenly shot at vs, but ouershot vs, and yet we were in a maner hard by them, and they shot at vs againe before we could ship our oares to get away, but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and discharged Caleeuers at vs, and againe the Portingals shotte off their base twise more, and then our ship shot at them, but the rockes and hilles defended them.

M. Robert Gainshees voyage to Guinea in Anno 1554.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against vs, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne, and 3. others from this place with their gold, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friendes with the Portingals, whom before they hated as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainement which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboorde the ship, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a castle in, and there they had good sales.

The 14. day we waied & plied backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in ꝑ morning we met, and so we turned both backe to ꝑ Eastwards to see what we could do at that place where the Trinitie did sel her 8. frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken 18. ounces & a halfe more of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about 1. of the clocke we espied certaine boates vpon the sand & men by them, and went to them with marchandises, and tooke 3. ounces of gold for 18. fuffs of cloth, euery fuffe 3. yardes & a halfe after one Angel, and 12. graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should haue golde ynough: so the Master tooke the Hind with Iohn Sauil, and Iohn Makeworth, & went to seeke the place afore said, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place, to see what we could doe the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ship to go away, they feared that the other would folow, & so sent forth 2. boats to vs with 4. men in them, requiring vs to tary, & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2. of them should tary with vs for him, so Edward M. Morleis seruant seeing these men so earnest therein offred himselfe to be pledge, & we let him go for 2. of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of gold about his necke, and another about his arme. They did eate of such things as we had and were wel contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the shoare thwart of vs, & about 1. of the clocke we hard & saw the light of a base which shot off twise at the said light, and by & by discharged 2. caleeuers, which in the end we perceiued to be ꝑ Portingals Brigandine which folowed vs frō place to place, to giue warning to the people of the cōtrey, that they should not deale with vs. The 15. day in the morning the captaine came downe with 100. men with him, and brought his wife, & many others brought their wiues also, because their towne was 8. mile vp in the Countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would.

A Portingale Brigandine.

When

When he was come he ſent our man aboord, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himſelfe would come aboord, and I ſent him 2. of whome he tooke but one, and ſo came aboord vs, hee and his wife, with diuers of his friends, & brought me a goate, and two great rootes, & I gaue him againe a latton baſon, a white baſon, 6. manillios, and a bottel of Malmeſie, and to his wife a ſmal caſket. After this we began to make our meaſure and weight: and hee had a waight of his owne which held one Angel and 14. graines, and required a meaſure of 4. elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8. part for one Angel, and 20. graines, and before wee had done, they tooke mine owne weight and meaſure.

The 16. day I tooke 8. li. 1 ounce of gold: and ſince ꝑ departure of the Hinde I hard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the firſt night, he ſaid he ſaw her caſt ancre aboue fiue leagues from this place. The 17. day I ſold about 17. pieces of cloth, and tooke 4. li. 4. ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18. day the captaine deſired to haue ſome of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a bottel: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke beſides. And this day alſo I tooke 5. li. 5. ounces of gold. The 19. day we ſold about 18. clothes, and tooke 4. li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20. day we tooke 3. li. 6. ounces and a quarter of gold. The 21. we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22. 3. li. 8. ounces & a quarter. And this night about 4. of the clocke the captaine who had layen all this while vpon the ſhoare, went away with all the reſt of the people with him.

The 23. day we were waued a ſhoare by other Negroes, and ſolde them cloth, caſkets, kniues, and a doſen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24. likewiſe we ſold bels, ſheetes, and thimbles, and tooke 2. li. 1. ounce, and a quarter of golde. The 25. day we ſold 7. doſen of ſmal bels, and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we waped & ſet ſaile and went to leeward to ſeeke the Hinde, and about 5. of the clocke at night we had ſight of her, and bare with her, and vnderſtood that ſhe had made ſome ſales. The 26. day we receiued out of the Hinde 48. li. 3. ounces, & 1. eight part of gold, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the requeſt of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to ſhoare with our marchandiſe, and tooke 7. li. and 1. ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they ſent a man aboord vs, which lay with vs all night, becauſe we might knowe that they would alſo come to vs the next day. The 27. day in both our ſhippes we tooke 8. li. 1. ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28. wee made ſales for the companie, and tooke 1. li. and halfe an ounce of golde. The 29. day in the morning we heard 2. caleeuers ſhot off vpon the ſhoare, which we iudged to be either by the Portingals, or by the Negroes of the Portingals: we manned our boates and armed our ſelues and went to ſhoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30. day we made more ſales for the companie, and for the Maſters.

The 31. we ſent our boate to ſhoare to take in ſand for ballaſt, and there our men mette the Negroes, with whom they had made ſale the day before a fiſhing, which did helpe them to fill ſande, and hauing no gold, ſold fiſh to our men for their handkerchiefs, and nightkerchiefs.

The 1. day of Februarie we waped and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3. quarters of gold. *Februarie.* The 2. day we made more ſales: but hauing viewed our victuals, we determined to tarie no long time vpon the coaſt, becauſe the moſt part of our drinke was ſpent, and that which remained grew ſowre. The 3. and 4. dayes we made ſome ſales, though not greatly, and finding the winde this 4. day to come off the ſhoare, wee ſet ſaile & ranne along the ſhoare to the Weſtwards: vpō this coaſt we found by experience, that ordinarily about 2. of the clocke in the night the winde coms off the ſhoare at Northnortheaſt, and ſo continueth vntill 8. of the clocke in the morning: and al the reſt of the day and night it comes out of the Southweſt: and as for the tide or currant vpon this ſhoare, it goeth continually with the winde. *They returne for England.* The 5. day we continued ſayling, and thought to haue met with ſome Engliſh ſhips, but found none.

The 6. day we went our courſe Southweſt to fetch vnder the line, and ranne by eſtimation 24. leagues. The 7. day we ranne about 20. leagues, the 8. day, 12. leagues, the 9. day, 16. leagues, the 10. day, 18. leagues, the 11. day, 16. leagues, and ſo many more the 12. day.

The 13. day we thought our ſelues by our reckoning to be cleare of the Cape dos Palmas, and ranne 12. leagues.

The 14. day we ranne 16. leagues, the 15. 20. leagues, and ſo many more the 16. day.

The 17. day in the after noone the winde came vp at the Northweſt with a Ternado, and foule weather continued all day and night, with thunder & lightning: we ranne this day not aboue 4. leagues. The 18. day we had another Ternado, the winde being at Northweſt, and by Weſt: we ranne this day 12. leagues. The 19. day we ranne 10. leagues. The 20. day not aboue 5. leagues, by reaſon of the great change of windes, and foule weather.

The 21. we ranne our courſe with a good gale 25. leagues.

The 22. day Chriſtopher Rawlinſon our Cooper, who had bene ſicke for the ſpace of one moneth before, died about 8. of the clocke at night, whoſe will I made before his death. This night we deſcried two ſaile of tal ſhips, but were content to paſſe quietly, and therefore went not roome with them. This day by our reckoning we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Weſtward of the Riuer de Seſtos, about 30. leagues.

Cape de Mõte.

The 23. day we receiued William Iobber for our Cooke, perceiuing that the Cooke himſelfe was weake and not able to doe that ſeruice for which he was ſhipped.

The 24. day we ranne about 20. leagues, the 25. day 25. leagues, the 26. day 16. leagues.

The 27. day we had a great Ternado out of the Southeaſt with much raine, which continued not aboue one houre, and then the winde came againe to the Southweſt with a good gale: and we made way this day 12. leagues.

The 28. day we had another Ternado out of the North, and Northnorthweſt, but continued not long, and ſo became calme againe preſently.

The 29. day we ranne (becauſe of the varietie of windes,) not aboue 7. leagues.

March. The firſt day of March in a Ternado we loſt the Hinde, whereupon we ſet vp a light, and ſhot off a piece but could not heare of her, ſo that then we ſtrooke our ſaile and taried for her, and in the morning had ſight of her againe, 3. leagues a ſterne of vs. We ranne as we accompted this day 6. leagues.

The 2. day we ranne 16. leagues, the 3. 20. leagues, the 4. 20. leagues more.

The 5. day we had ſight of a Caruel of about 100. tunnes to the windewards of vs, and when ſhe was thwart of vs we caſt about and gaue her the chaſe vntill 4. of the clocke, but coulde not fetche her.

Cape Verde in latitude 14. degrees and a halfe. From this day till the 22. of this moneth wee went our courſe directly. Vpon which 22. day we found our ſelues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which ſtandes in 14. degrees, and a halfe.

From this day till the 29. day we continued our courſe, and then we found our ſelues to be in 22. degrees. This day one of our men called William King, who had bene long ſicke, died in his ſleepe, his apparell was diſtributed to thoſe that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friendes, to be deliuered them at our comming home.

The 30. day we founde our ſelues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31. day we went our courſe, and made way 18. leagues.

Aprill. From the 1. day of Aprill to the 20. we went our courſe, and then found our ſelues to be in the

Maye. height of the Açores.

The ſeuenth day of May wee fell with the South part of Irelande, and going on ſhoare with our boate had freſh drinke, and two ſheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further ſuch other victuals as wee had neede of, and thought would ſerue vs till we arriued in England.

The 12. of May we fell with the Iſle of Lundy in the Chanel of Briſtoll, which lyeth about 5. leagues from the maine land of England.

The 13. day wee came betwixt the flat Holmes and the ſteepe Holmes, which are about 7. leagues from Briſtoll.

Their arriual at Briſtow. The 14. day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Briſtoll called Hungrode, and there ancred in ſafetie, and gaue thankes to God for our ſafe arriuall.

The ſecond voyage made by M. William Towrſon to *the coaſt of Guinea, and the Caſtle of Mina, in the yere* 1556.

with the Tiger of London, a ſhippe of 120. tunnes, the Hart of London of 60. tunnes, and a Pinneſſe of 16. tunnes.

THe 14. day of September, the yeere aboueſaid, at 8. of the clocke in the morning wee departed from Harwiche, and directed our courſe for the Iſle of Sillye, to meete there with the Hart and Pinneſſe, which were rigged and victualled at Briſtoll, but arriuing there the 28. day wee founde them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to tarrie for them, but not eſpying them, wee turned backe to Plimmouth the 12. day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinneſſe

Nouember. came to vs; ſo that the 15. of Nouember we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke

clocke in the afternoone, and the 28. day we had ſight of the Iſle of Porto Sancto, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

The 3. day of December we fell with the Iſle of Palma, and the 9. we were thwart of the Cape Blanke, and found there certaine Caruels fiſhing for Pargoes. December.

The 19. we found our ſelues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day wee ranne thwart of certaine Currants, which did ſet to the Weſt Southweſtward ſo faſt as if it had bene the ouerfall of a ſand, making a great noyſe like vnto a ſtreame or tyde gate when the water is ſhoale: and to proone whether we coulde finde ground in this place, we ſounded and had 150. fadom, and no ground, and ſo departed. Sierra Leona.

The 30. of December we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, and had firſt ſight of it about 4. leagues off. The beſt marke that wee could take of the place to knowe it, was three hilles, which laye Northeaſt and by Eaſt from vs: betwixt the Northermoſt two hilles, there are two high and great trees ſtanding in ſight as it were a ſailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the Northweſtwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing ſailed ſomewhat into the ſhoare, wee tooke our ſelues to be ſhotte ſomewhat paſt the Riuer de Seſtos, ſo that we kept about to fetche it. And a litle after wee had ſight of three ſailes of ſhippes, and two pinneſſes which were in the weather of vs, and hauing ſight of them, we made our ſelues readie to meete them, and halled off our ſhips to fetche the winde as neere as wee coulde: and hauing ſayled about an houre or two, they alſo went about, and went as wee went to make themſelues readie, and when wee had them in chace, they went away from vs: but when they had made themſelues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs very finely appointed with their ſtreamers, and pendants and enſignes, and noyſe of trumpets very brauely: ſo when we met, they had the weather of vs, and wee being determined to fight if they had bene Portingals, waued them to come vnder our lee, which they denied ſtoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they ſaide of Fraunce, we tolde them againe that we were of London in England. They aſked of vs what Portingals wee had ſeene, wee anſwered, none but fiſhermen: then they tolde vs that there were certaine Portingall ſhippes gone to the Mina to defende it, and that they mette with another at the Riuer de Seſtos, which was a ſhippe of two hundreth, which they had burned, and had ſaued none but the Maſter and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were ſore burned, which they left a ſhoare there. Then they deſired to come aboorde of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the Captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboorde very friendly, deſiring vs to keepe them company becauſe of the Portingals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee tolde them that we had not watered, and that we were but nowe fallen with the coaſt, and they ſhewed vs that we were fiftie leagues paſt the Riuer de Seſtos: notwithſtanding there was water ynough to bee had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boates, becauſe they would haue our companie. And tolde vs further, that they had bene ſixe weekes vpon the coaſt, and had gotten but three tunne of graines amongſt them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mine were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs they would marre our market; and if it were not cleare, then if the Portingals were there and did take them, they would vnderſtande that wee were behinde, and ſo woulde waite for vs. And further wee made accompt, that if wee went with them wee ſhould doe as well as they if the coaſt were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them, wee were aſſured to be the ſtronger. Therefore hauing conſidered thus much of their gentle offers, wee tolde them that the next day wee would conferre more largely of the matter. Whereupon they deſired mee to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the Maſters of our ſhippes with mee, and ſuch marchants as I thought good, promiſing to giue vs water out of their owne ſhippes if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs, and helpe vs to water with their owne boates and Pinneſſes. They admit certaine Frenchmen into their companie.

The one and thirtieth day in the morning, the Admirall ſent his boate aboorde for mee, and I tooke our Maſters and certaine of our Marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, deſiring vs ſtill to keepe his companie, promiſing that what victuals were in his ſhippes, or other thinges that might doe vs pleaſure vntill the ende, wee ſhould haue the one halfe of it, offering vs, if wee woulde, to furle his Flagges, and to be at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an ancre, and to ſende our boate on ſhoare with the Admirals boate, and one of his Pinneſſes, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to ſeeke water, as for our Pinneſſe ſhe came to an ancre to ſea ward of vs al, and would not come at vs. All this night the boates continued on ſhoare.

The firſt day of January our boats came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we waued Januarie.

waied and ſet ſaile, and ancred againe at another Riuer.

The 2. day we went into the Riuer and bargained, and tooke 5. ſmall Eliphants teeth.

The 3. day we tooke 5. more.

An aſſault vpon Eliphants.

The 4. day the French Admirall and we tooke 15. ſmall teeth. This day we tooke 30. men with vs & went to ſeeke Eliphants, our men being all well armed with harquebuſſes, pikes, long bowes, croſſebowes, partizans, long ſwords, and ſwordes and bucklers: we founde 2. Eliphants which we ſtrooke diuers times with harquebuſſes and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The 5. day we ſet ſaile and ranne along the coaſt.

The Riuer of S. Androes.

The 6. day we fell with the Riuer of S. Andros, at which place the lande is ſomewhat high to the Weſtward of the Riuer, and a faire bay alſo to the Weſtward of it: but to the Eaſtwarde of it, it is lowe land.

The 7. day we went into the Riuer and found no village, but certaine wilde Negroes not accuſtomed to trade. It is a very great Riuer, and 7. fadom water in ſome places at the entring: here we filled water, and after ſet ſaile.

The 8. day we ſailed along the ſhore and came to the red cliffes, and went forwarde in ſayling the 9. day alſo.

Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 10. day we came together to confer with Captaine Blundel Admiral of the French ſhips, Ierom Baudet his vice Admiral, and Iohn de Orleans maſter of a ſhip of 70. tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God ſhould ſende vs to any place where we might make ſale, that we ſhould be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates to make the price for all the reſt, and then one boate to make ſale for euery ſhippe. This night our boates going to the ſhoare met with certaine Negroes, who ſaid that they had gold, and therefore we here caſt ancre.

Allowe.

The 11. day all the day we tooke but one halfe Angel waight of 4. graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no waight: the Negroes called this place Allowe.

The 12. day we ranne along the coaſt and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our courſe.

The 13. day I tooke my boate and went along the ſhoare, & paſſed by diuers ſmall townes, and was waued to come on ſhoare at 3. places, but the ſea went ſo high vpon the ſhoare, that it was not poſſible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boates, as I could ſee none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the land waſh went ſo ſore, that it ouerthrew his boate, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried ſo ſore, that we might eaſily heare them, and they got his body out of the ſea, and caried it amongſt them to their towne.

Dondowe, a great towne.

The 14. day we came within Saker ſhot of the caſtle, & ſtraight way they ſet forth an Almade to deſcrie vs, and when they perceiued that we were no Portingals, they ran within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the caſtle, which is called by the Negroes, Dondow. Without this there lie two great rocks like Iſlands, and the caſtle ſtandeth vpon a point which ſheweth almoſt like an Iſland. Before we came at this caſtle, we found the land for 5. or 6. leagues to bee high land, and about 7. leagues before we came to the caſtle, low land vntill we came at the caſtel, and then we found ẏ land high againe. This caſtle ſtandeth about 5. leagues on this ſide the Cape Trois points. Here I tooke the boate with our Negroes and ranne alongſt the ſhoare, till I came to the Cape & found two ſmall townes, but no boates at them, neither any trafique to be had. At theſe places our Negroes did vnderſtand them well, and one of them went a ſhoare at all the places, and was well receiued of them: this night we ancred at the Cape Trois points.

The caſtel of Mina.

Cape Troiſ points.

The 15. day I tooke our boate & went along the ſhoare, & about 3. leagues beyond the Eaſtermoſt part of the Cape we found a faire bay where we ran in, and found a ſmall towne, and certaine boates which belonged to the ſame towne, but the Negroes in a long time would not come to vs, but at the laſt by the perſwaſion of our owne Negroes one boat came to vs, and with him we ſent George our Negro a ſhoare, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boats without feare; & I gaue to their captaine a baſon, & two ſtrings of Margarets, & they ſhewed vs about 5. duckets waight of golde, but they required ſo much for it that we would not take it, becauſe the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make price of our goods all in one boat, & the price being made then euery man to ſell in his owne boate, and no man to giue more then the price which ſhould be ſet by vs all. This place is called Bulle, & here the Negroes were very glad of our Negroes and ſhewed them all the friendſhip they could, when they had tolde them that they were the men that were taken away, being now againe brought by vs.

Bulle.

The Negroes here ſhewed vs, that a moneth ſince there were 3. ſhips that fought together, & the

two

two ſhippes put the other to flight, and before that at the caſtle of Mina there were 4. ſhippes of the Portingals, which met with one French man, which Frenchman cauſed them all to flee, which ſhippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be there about that time, with her pinnaſſe alſo: and further, that after her went a ſhippe of twelue ſcore, named the Shawdet, all alone, and after her a ſhippe of foure ſcore, and both for the Mina. And there were two others alſo which they left, one at Cape Verde, called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Seſtos, beſides theſe three, which all this time be in our companie, whoſe names be theſe:

The Eſpoyer of Hableneff, which is the Admirall, whoſe Captaine is Denys Blundell.
The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whoſe Maſter is Ierom Bawdet.
The other is of Hunfleur, whoſe Maſter is called Iohn de Orleance.

The ſixteene day, I went along the ſhoare, with two pinneſſes of the Frenchmens, and found a Baye, and a freſh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hanta, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negroes were well knowen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy, when they ſaw them, and demaunded of them where Anthony, and Binne had bene: and they told them, that they had bene at London in England, and ſhould be brought home the next voyage. So, after this, our Negroes came aboord, with other Negroes, which brought a weight with them, which was ſo ſmall, that we coulde not giue them the halfe of that which they demaunded for it. Hanta.

The Negroes here told vs, that there were fiue Portingall ſhippes at the Caſtle, and one pinneſſe, and that the Portingals did much harme to their Countrey, and that they liued in feare of them, and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portingals, whereof they were very glad.

The 17. day we went a ſhoare, and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negroes were ſo vnreaſonable, we ſolde foure ſcore Manellios for one ounce of golde.

Then we departed, and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer, with fiue boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noiſes of trumpets, and drummes, for we thought here to to haue found ſome Portingals, but there were none: ſo we ſent our Negroes a ſhoare, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negroes, ſpecially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and ſo did all the reſt of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the Captaine, and tolde him, that he ſhould not feare the Portingals, for we would defende him from them: whereupon we cauſed our boates to ſhoote off their baſes, and harquebuſſes, and cauſed our men to come on ſhoare with their long bowes, and they ſhot before the captaine, which he, with all the reſt of the people, wondred much at, ſpecially to ſee them ſhoote ſo farre as they did, and aſſaied to draw their bowes, but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ſhips, for we looked euery howre for the Portingals. " And here the Negroes ſhewed vs, that there was an Engliſh ſhippe at the Mina, which had brought one of the Negroes againe, which Robert Gaynſh tooke away. Shamma. The Negroes brought home by our men. " Note.

The 18. day we went into the riuer, with no leſſe ſtrength then before, and concluded with the Negroes to giue them for euery fuſſe two yardes and three nailes of cloth, and to take for it one Angell Ducket: ſo that we tooke in all 70. Duckets, whereof the Frenchmen had forty, and we thirtie.

The 19. day we went a ſhoare, euery man for himſelfe, and tooke a good quantitie of golde, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of golde, and our Harts boate tooke 21. ounces. At night, the Negroes ſhewed vs, that the next day the Portingals would be with vs, by land or by ſea: and when we were ready to depart, we heard diuers harquebuſſes ſhoote off in the woods by vs, which we knew to be Portingals, which durſt come no neerer to vs, but ſhot off in the woods, to ſee if they could feare vs, and ſo make vs to leaue our traffike.

The 20. day, we manned our fiue boates, and alſo a great boate of the Frenchmens, with our men, and the Admirals, twelue of them in their murrions, and corſlets, and the reſt all well appointed, with foure trumpets, a drumme, and a fife, and the boate all hanged with ſtreamers of ſilke, and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer, and traffiked, our man of warre lying off, and one in the riuer to waft vs, but we heard no more of the Portingals. This day the Negroes told vs, that there were certaine ſhippes come into Hanta, which towne is about two leagues to the weſtward of this place.

The 21. day we manned our boates againe, and went to a place a league from this, to the weſtwards, and there found many Negroes, with another Captaine, and ſolde at the ſame rate that

that we had done with the others.

The 22. day, we went a shoare againe, and trafficked in like sort quietly, and I tooke foure pound and sixe ounces of golde.

The 23. day, about night, the Negroes with their Captaine, came to vs, and tolde vs that the king of Portingals shippes were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plye to the windward, to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heede to our selues: we told them againe, that we were very glad of their comming, and would be ready at all times to meete them: and to assure them that we were glad of it, we sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine bases, whereof the Negroes were very glad, and requested vs, that if the Portingals sought to hinder our traffike, to shew them all the extremitie that we could, promising vs, that if they came by land, they would aduertise vs thereof.

The 24. we went a shoare with our trumpets, and drummes, and trafficked, and I had the Captaine of the towne to dinner.

Fiue saile of Portingals descried.

The 25. day, we being a shoare, our ships had descried fiue sayles of the King of the Portingals, and our shippes shotte off ordinance to call vs away, and we threwe euery man his caske a shoare for water, and went to our shippes, and by that time we had waied, and giuen order one to another what to doe, it was night, so that that night nothing was done: we set sayle, and lay close all night, to get the winde if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shotte off a peece, which we iudged to be the Admirall of the Portingals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selues ready for fight.

The 26. we came in with the shoare, and had sight of the Portingals, where they rid at anker, and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white scarffs, to the ende that the Frenchmen might knowe one the other, if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs, that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within Demy culuering shot of them.

The 27. day we waied, and so did the Portingals, and about eleuen of the clocke, we had the winde of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the shoare againe, and we after them, and when they were so neere the shoare, that they coulde not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the seaward, and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them, and tooke in our topsailes, and taried for them, and the first that came vp, was a small barke, which sailed so well, that she cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordinance, and assoone as she came vp, she shot at vs, and ouershot vs, and then she shot at the Admiral of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went forth a head of vs, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came vp another caruell vnder our lee in like case, which shotte at vs, and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men, and shot him thorough the mayne maste. And after them came vp the Admirall vnder our Lee also, but he was not able to doe vs so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordinance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laide all her ordinance in the sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great shippe aboord, and assoone as the French Admiral went roome with him, he fell a sterne, & could not fetch him, and after he fel a sterne of two caruels more, and could fetch none of them, but fell to leeward of them all: and when he was to leeward, he kept about to the shoareward, and left vs, and then we put out our topsailes, and gaue them chase, and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne shippe was a sterne, so that she could not come to vs: and after we had followed them about two howres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shoare, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, & to haue the wind of the French Admirall, which before ran in towards the shoare, & we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them, thinking that our Viceadmiral, and the other, would haue followed vs, as we willed them to doe: but after that the Portingall was past by them, and euery one had shot at vs & our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmiral, and the two Frenchmen, and our owne pinnesse, left vs in the laps, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them, to succour the French Admiral, who was vnder all of their lees, and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, & gaue him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they sawe vs in the weather of them, or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them: for three of them which were the smallest, went so fast, that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordinance, that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled three of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall, and Viceadmirall, they were both notably appointed.

The fight with the Portingals.

The French forsake our men.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, he laye as neere the winde as he could, and wee followed them still towardes the shoare, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the

rest,

reſt, and left vs all alone: and when the Portingals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chaſe, they kept about with vs, and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne ſtill within baſe ſhot of them, but they ſhot not at vs, becauſe we had the weather of them, and ſaw that they could doe vs no hurt: and thus we followed one another vntill night, and in the night we loſt them, but as for all the reſt of our ſhippes, they packed on all the ſailes that they could, and ranne to ſea, and, as they themſelues confeſſe, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28. day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinneſſe, and two of the French men, and the third was fled, which was a ſhippe of foure ſcore tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the ſight of the reſt of our ſhippes, I tooke our ſkiffe, and went to them, to knowe, why they loſt vs in ſuch a caſe, and Iohn Kire made me anſwere, that his ſhippe would neither reare nor ſteere, and as for the pinneſſe, Iohn Daueis made me anſwer, that ſhe would doe nothing, and that he coulde cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, ſo that the Hart was glad to towe her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found himſelfe to be a man of good ſtomake, but the one halfe of his men were ſicke, and dead, and then I talked with the ſmaller French man, and he made me anſwer, that he could doe nothing, ſaying, that his ſhippe would beare no ſaile, and had ſixteene alſo of his men dead, and ſicke, ſo he made vs plaine anſwer, that he was able to doe nothing. After this, the Frenchmen durſt not anker for feare of the Portingals.

The 29. day, the Maſter of the pinneſſe came to vs, and ſaide, that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then we viewed her, and ſeeing that there was no remedie, her rudder with all the yron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, we agreed to breake her vp, and to put the men into the Hart. So we tooke out of her foure baſes, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and ſet her on fire, and afterwards ranne along the coaſt. The Engliſh pinneſſe burnt vp.

The thirtie day, we went into the ſhoare, and ſpake with certaine Negroes, who tolde vs, that ſome French ſhippes had bene there, but we could not bargaine with them, they were ſo vnreaſonable.

The 31. day, I went to ſhoare, but did not traffike.

The firſt day of Februarie we waied, ſeeing we could not bring the Negroes to any reaſon, and came to another place, which ſtandeth vpon a hill. Februarie.

The ſecond day we waied hence, and had ſight of a ſaile, which departed from the place afore-ſaid, and ſhot off two peeces for his pinneſſe, which was a ſhoare: then I tooke our boate, and the Frenchmen tooke theirs, and went with the ſaile to deſcry him, and when we had rowed about a league, we had ſight of the pinneſſe: the ſhippe was gone ſo farre, that we could not reach her: but the pinneſſe we found to be the French men, which ranne away from vs, when we were in fight with the Portingals. After this, we went to the ſhoare, and found the Negroes vnreaſonable in their prices, and dealt not with them.

The third day, I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and ſhot off two peeces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I ſent Thomas Rippen a land, who knewe the Captaine, and alſoone as he came a ſhoare, the Captaine knew him, and diuers of the Negroes, who then began to aſke for me, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, he made no longer tarying, but by and by cauſed two boates to be put to the ſea, and came to me himſelfe, and when he ſawe me, he cried to me, before he came to the boate, and ſeemed to be the gladdeſt man aliue, and ſo did all the companie that knew me, and I gaue him a reward, as the manner of the Countrey is, and cauſed the Frenchmen to giue another, promiſing the next day to giue him wine: and that night, becauſe it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me, and ſo departed.

The fourth day, going on ſhoare, I found that the ſhippes of France, which had bene there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke fiue ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of golde: but I ſawe that the Negroes perceiued the difference in cloth, betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told Captaine Blundel, that I would goe to the Leeward, becauſe I perceiued, that being there where his cloth was ſolde, I ſhould doe no good, whereof he was ſorie.

The ſixt day, there came an Almade, and Negroes aboord me, requeſting me to come to their towne, for they had much golde, and many marchants: and ſo I went, and found their olde Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night we did no good, becauſe the marchants were not come downe: ſo he required a pledge, which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The ſeuenth day, George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the leaſt thirtie leagues, George the Negro.

leagues in a ſmall boate, and when he came, the Negroes and we ſoone concluded of price. I tooke this day fiue pound and one ounce, & three quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma, at the time of the fight, who ſaid, that he ſawe the fight being a ſhoare, and that when we were gone from the Portingals, the Portingals came into their riuer, and tolde them, that the Engliſhmen had ſlaine two Portingals with a peece, which was in deede out of our ſhippe, and they required harbour there, but the Captaine of Shamma would not ſuffer them.

Two Portingals ſlaine by the Engliſh.

The eight day, we tooke nineteene pound, three ounces and a halfe.

The ninth day, we tooke two pound, ſixe ounces, and a halfe.

The tenth day, three pound.

The 11. day, came to vs Ierome Bawdet, the Viceadmirall of the French men, and his pinneſſe, and he ſhewed vs, that where we left them, there was no good to be done, and ſaid, he would goe to the Eaſtward, but we tolde him he ſhould not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his companie, which he was appointed to be with, which he refuſed to doe, vntil we had ſhot three or foure peeces at their pinneſſe, and when the ſhip ſaw that, ſhe kept about, and ranne to ſeaward, & durſt come no neerer to vs, ſo the pinneſſe went after her. We tooke this day 1. pound, 5. ounces.

The French men bridled by the Engliſh.

The 12. day, there came one of the French mens pinneſſe to vs, laden with cloth, and woulde haue made ſale: but I would not ſuffer him, and therefore tooke him, and ſent him aboord of our ſhippe, and cauſed him to ride there all day. We tooke fiue pound, ſixe ounces, and a halfe.

The 13. day, we tooke in ſande to balaſte our ſhippe.

The 14. day, we tooke of ſome Negroes foure ounces of golde.

The 15. we ranne farther along the ſhoare.

The 16. we came to another towne.

The 17. day, I went a ſhoare, and vnderſtoode that three of the Portingall ſhips were at the caſtle, and the other two at Shamma. The Captaine of this towne was gone to the principal towne, to ſpeake with their King, and would returne ſhortly as they tolde me, and ſo he did, and brought me a weight and meaſure, and I ſent a man to ſee that principall towne, and their King. The Portingall ſhippes rid ſo neere vs, that within three howres they might be with vs, yet we were all contented to tary for ſales.

The 18. day, certaine of the Kings ſeruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound, two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 19. day, we tooke fiue pound, and one ounce.

The 20. day, one pound and foure ounces.

The 21. I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two peeces, which were not fine enough, as they ſaid, but ſeeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I prouided a gift, or preſent, and ſent one merchant, and a marriner with it to the King, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reaſon whereof, we could not ſtay long: for in deede we ſearched our ſhippe, and the moſt part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22. day, we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

King Ebaane.

The 23. our men came from the King Ebaane, and tolde vs, that he had receiued them very friendly, but he had litle golde, but promiſed, if we would tary, to ſende into all his countrey, for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home, to ſpeake to our king, to ſend men and prouiſion into his countrey, to build a Caſtle, and to bring Tailers with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they ſhould be ſure to ſell them: but for that preſent, the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

The offer of the king to the Engliſh.

This towne ſtandeth about foure leagues vp in the land, and is, by the eſtimation of our men, as bigge in circuite as London, but the building is like to the reſt of the countrey. They haue about this towne, great ſtore of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one ſide of the towne, there were 1000. rikes of wheate, and another ſort of corne, which is called mill, which is much vſed in Spaine. About this towne, they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cords made faſt ouer their waies, which leade into the towne, and certaine bels vpon them, ſo that if any man touch the cordes, the bels ring, and then the watchmen runne foorth of their watch houſes, to ſee what they be: and if they be enemies, if they paſſe the cord, they haue prouiſion with certaine nets hanged ouer the waies, where hey muſt paſſe, to let fall vpon them, and ſo take them, & otherwiſe then by the waies it is not poſſible to enter the towne, by reaſon of the thickets, and buſhes, which are about the ſame, and the towne is alſo walled round about with long cords, and bound together with ſedge, and certaine barkes of trees.

A towne in circuite as big as London.

A prettie deuiſe to deſcry the enemie.

When our men came to the towne, it was about fiue of the clocke in the morning, for there they

trauell

trauell alwaies in the night, by reaſon of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the King ſent for them, for there may no man come to him, before he be ſent for, and then they would haue caried their preſent with them: but the Negroes told them, that they muſt be three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an howre, and then they departed, and after that, ſent for them againe three times, and laſt of all, they brought him their preſent, which he receiued thankefully, and then cauſed a pot of wine of Palme to be brought forth, and made them drinke, and before they drinke, both here, and in all the Countrey, they vſe certaine ceremonies. The Kings friendly intertainment of our men.

Firſt, they bring forth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, and put ſome of the drinke into it, and they caſt the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they ſet the pot vpon the ſame, then they take a litle thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the ſame drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pils of Palme trees, ſet in the ground before them, and there they put in ſome drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the ſame Palme trees. Their ceremonies in drinking.

All theſe ceremonies firſt done, the King tooke a cup of golde, and they put him in wine, and he dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other wordes, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpon the Twelfe night, the kinning drinkes: and when he had drunke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the King licenſed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him, boweth three times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bowe, and then doe depart. The King hath commonly ſitting by him, eight or ten ancient men, with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and ten ounces of golde.

The 24. day, we tooke three pound and ſeuen ounces.

The 25. we tooke three ounces, and three quarters.

The 26. we tooke two pound and ten ounces.

The 27. two pound and fiue ounces.

The 28. foure pound, and then ſeeing that there was no more golde to be had, we waied, and went forth.

The firſt day of March, we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boates nor people there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whome we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre, were gone to dwell at Lagwaa. Marche. Mowre. Lagwaa.

The ſecond day, we came thwart of the Caſtle, and about two leagues off, and there ſawe all the fiue Portingall ſhippes at anker, and this day by night, we fetched Shamma. They returne.

The third day, we had ſight of one tall ſhippe, of about two hundreth tunne in the weather of vs, and within leſſe then two leagues of our ſhippes, and then we ſawe two more a sterne of her, the one a ſhippe of fiue hundreth or more, and the other a pinneſſe, and theſe were a newe fleete at that preſent arriued out of Portingall. Whereupon we waied, and made ſhift to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South ſouthweſt, the Hart going roome with them, fell three leagues to the leewards of vs. Theſe Portingals gaue vs the chaſe from nine of the clocke in the morning, till fiue at night, but did no good againſt vs. At laſt, we perceiuing the Admiral to be farre a sterne of his companie, becauſe his maine toppemaſt was ſpent, determined to caſte about with them againe, becauſe we were ſure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our beſt courſe: but the Hart was ſo farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would looſe her companie, ſo that we tooke in ſome of our ſailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he loffed too, and was able to lie as neere as he did before. At night, when we came to him, he would not ſpeake to vs: then we aſked of his companie, why he went ſo roome, and they made excuſe that they were able to beare no ſaile by, for feare of bearing their foretoppmaſt ouer boord: but this was a ſimple excuſe.

The fourth day, being put from our watring place, we began to ſeeth our meate in ſalt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and ſo concluded to ſet our courſe thence, for our owne countrey.

The twelfe of March, I found my ſelfe thwart of Cape Dos palmas.

The 16. day, we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Miſerado, about which place, is very much high land. Cape Miſerado.

The 17. we lay South ſouthweſt with a prettie gale.

The 18. day, we loſt ſight of the Hart, and I thinke the wilfull Maſter ranne in with the

ſhoare

ſhoare of purpoſe to looſe vs, being offended, that I told him of his owne folly.

The 19. day, we bare a ſmall ſaile, to tary for the Hart, but could not deſcry her.

Two ſmal Iſlands by Sierra Leona. Note.

The 27. day, we fell in ſight of two ſmall Iſlands, which lye by our reckoning ſixe leagues off the headlande of Sierra Leona: and before we came in ſight of the ſame Iſlands, we made our reckoning to be fortie or thirtie leagues at the leaſt off them. Therefore all they that ſaile this way, are to regarde the currants, which ſette North Northweſt, or els they may be much deceiued.

Aprill.

The 14. of Aprill, we met with two great ſhippes of Portingall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bounde for Callicut.

The 18. day, we were in the heigth of Cape De Verde.

The 23. one of our companie, called Edmond Perkine, deceaſed.

The 24. we were directly vnder the Tropike of Cancer.

May.

The firſt day of May, Henrie Wilſon our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The fift day, we were in the height of S. Michael.

The 9. day, we met with two tall ſhippes, bound for New found lande, as we iudged, being Biſcaines, but as it well fel out, we had the weather of them, ſo that they were able to doe nothing to vs.

The 20. day, we met with a ſhippe of 60. tunne, and we thought it had bene the Hart, but it was not, we iudged it to be an Engliſh ſhippe.

The 22. we met with the ſame ſhippe againe, but ſhe was in the weather of vs, and ſo kept the wind ſtill.

A French bra-uado.

The 23. we had ſight of a ſhippe in the weather of vs, which was a Frenchman, of 90. tunne, who came with vs as ſtoutly and as deſperately as might be, and comming neere vs, perceiued, that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deede we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue laide vs aboord, and there kept vp ſome of his men in armour, and commaunded vs to ſtrike ſaile: whereupon we ſent them ſome of our ſtuffe, croſſe barres, and chaine ſhot, and arrowes, ſo thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their ſhippe flee about their eares, and we ſpoiled with all his men, and toare his ſhippe miſerably with our great ordinance, and then he beganne to fall a sterne of vs, and to packe on his ſailes, and to get away: and we ſeing that, gaue him foure or fiue good peeces more for his farewell, and thus we were rid of this Frenchman, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboord vs a Frenchman a Trumpetter, who being ſicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithſtanding, and blewe, till he could blow no more, and ſo died.

The 26. we had ſight of another ſaile, & we went roome to haue ſpoken with her, but could not.

The 28. we conferred together, and agreed to goe into Seuerne, and ſo to Briſtol, but the ſame night we had ſight of the Lizard, and by reaſon of the winde, we were not able to double the lands end, to goe into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29. day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued ſafely in Plymmouth, and praiſed God for our good arriuall.

The third and laſt voyage of Maiſter William Towrſon, to the *coaſt of Guinie, and the Caſtle de Mina, in the yeere,* 1557.

THe 30. day of January, the yeere aboue ſayd, we departed out of the Sownde of Plymmouth, with three ſhippes, and a pinneſſe, whereof the names were theſe:

1. The Minion, Admirall of the fleete.
2. The Chriſtopher, Viceadmirall.
3. The Tyger.
4. A pinneſſe, called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coaſt of Guinie.

It is to be vnderſtood, that at this time, there was warre betwixt England and France.

The next day, being the laſt of this moneth, in the afternoone, we mette with two Hulkes of Dantzick, the one called the Roſe, a ſhippe of 400. tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of 150. tunnes, the Maſter of the Roſe was called Nicholas Maſſe, and the Maſter of the Vnicorne, Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the moſt part, with wines. When we came to them, we cauſed them to hoiſe foorth their boates, and to come, and ſpeak with vs, and we examined euery one of them a part, what Frenchmens goods they had in their ſhippes, and they ſaide, they

they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the ſuſpition which wee gathered of their falſe charter parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore cauſed one of them to fetche vs his bils of lading, and becauſe hee denied that he had any, wee ſent certaine with him, who cauſed him to goe to the place where hee had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered as before, that they had Frenchmens goods. Whereupon wee examined them ſtraightly, and firſt the purſer of the Vnicorne which was the ſmaller ſhippe: he confeſſed that they had 32. tunnes and a hogſhead of a Frenchmans. Then we examined the Maſter in like caſe, and he acknowledged the ſame to be true. Then wee examined alſo the Maſter of the great ſhippe, and he confeſſed that hee had 128. tunnes of the ſame Frenchmans, and more they woulde not confeſſe, but ſaide that all the reſt was laden by one Peter Lewgues of Hamburge, to bee deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithſtanding all their letters were directed to Hamburge, and written in Dutch without, and within in French.

When they had confeſſed that they had thus much French mens goods within their ſhippes, we conferred together what was beſt to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it ſhould bee good either to carie them into Spaine, and there to make ſale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into Englande with them if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Maſters, firſt by mouth, and afterwards by writing, that for no ſuch matter wee ſhoulde in any caſe prolong the time, for feare of looſing the voyage, and conſidering that the time of the yeere was very farre ſpent, and the money that wee ſhould make of the wines not very much, in reſpect of the commoditie which wee hoped for by the voyage, perſwaded them that to goe into Ireland the winde being Eaſterly as it was, might be an occaſion that wee ſhould be locked in there with that winde, and ſo looſe our voyage, and to carie them into Spaine (ſeeing they ſailed ſo ill that hauing all their ſailes abroade, we kept them companie onely with our foreſailes, and without any toppe ſailes abroade, ſo that in euery two dayes ſayling, they would haue hindered vs more then one, and beſides that the winde being Eaſterly) we ſhould not be able to ſeaze the coaſt with them: beſides all this the loſſe of time when we came thither was to be conſidered, wherupon I thought it not good to carie them any further.

And as for carying them into England, although the winde had bene good as it was not, conſidering what charge we had of our Maſters, to ſhift vs out of the way for feare of a ſtay by reaſon of the warres, I held it not in any wiſe conuenient.

But notwithſtanding al this, certaine of our companie not being herewith ſatisfied, went to our Maſter to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine anſwere, that to cary them into any place, it was not the beſt way nor the profite of their Maſters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they paſſed the Cape, but a fewe men would goe the voyage. All theſe things conſidered, we all paſued, and determined at the laſt, that euery man ſhould take out of the hulks ſo much as he could wel beſtow for neceſſaries, and the next morning to conclude what ſhould be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs 14. tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinneſſe.

The Frenchmens goods ſeazed, in the time of the warre vpon the loſſe of Cales.

More we tooke out one hogſhead of Aquauitæ.

Sixe cakes of roſſen.

A ſmall halſer for tyes: and certaine cheſſenuts.

The Chriſtopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hogſhead.

A quantitie of Aquauitæ.

Shall lines.

Cheſſenuts.

Sixe double baſes with their chambers. And their men broke vp the hulks cheſtes, and tooke out their Compaſſes, and running glaſſes, the ſounding leade and line, and candles: and caſt ſome of their beefe ouer boord, and ſpoiled them ſo much, that of very pitie we gaue them a Compaſſe, a running glaſſe, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ſhip, we gaue them againe, and ſome money alſo of that which William Crompton tooke for the ranſome of a poore Frenchman, who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bourdeux, they were not able to ſet him a ſhoare againe by reaſon of the foule weather.

The Tyger alſo tooke out of the ſmaller hulke, 6. or 7. tunnes of wine, one hogſhead of Aquauitæ; and certaine roſſen, and two Baſes he tooke out of the great hulke.

The 1. day of Februarie in the morning, we all came together againe ſauing W. Crompton, who ſent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we ſhould take. *Februarie.*

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to carrie them into England, which thing neither wee nor our Master would agree vnto, because we thought it not good to vnman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the fraight of that which we had taken, and for their ordinance, rossen, Aquauitæ, chessenuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bil of their hands, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 3. day in the morning we found a great leake in the sternme of our ship, and in one houre pumped 400. strokes, and besides we found that our boltsprete and foremaste were both sprong, that wee coulde not well beare any sailes vpon them, and finding our selues to be 24. leagues or thereabout North from Cape finister, wee bare with the Tyger and shewed the Master that wee would runne South to runne vnder the Cape to stoppe our leake, and fish our maستes, which Richard Packman agreed vnto: then we bare with the Christopher, and shewed them therof in like case, but the Master answered nothing thereto. Yet thinking that hee knowing our necessitie would haue followed vs, we ranne South to haue the Cape aboorde, and so did the Tyger, but the Christopher kept her course South and by West, and would not come neere vs, so that in the afternoone we were forced to goe roome with him againe, and refuse the going with the Cape, putting both our mast and ship in great danger, which with the helpe of the carpenters in 3. houres in smooth water might haue bene mended.

The 4. day in the morning the Tyger sprong the woolings of her boltsprete, and so was forced to take in her topsailes and mainesaile, and with her foresaile lay to the Westwarde to mende the same againe, and we followed her, but the Christopher did not.

The 5. day we reckoned our selues to be in the height of Cape S. Vincent.

The 7. day we met with the winde at South with gusts of raine, lightning, and thunder, and so continued all night following the winde, sometimes South, and sometimes Southsouthwest: but alwayes as soone as the gusts were done, the winde came againe to the Northeast. This night we were in the height of Porto Sancto.

The 10. day we reckoned our selues to be 25. leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about 9. of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to towe her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About 11. of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11. day when we came to the Island we perceiued that it was the Isle of Tenerif, and then in deede we had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12. leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde large, we agreed to goe with the Grand Canarie.

The 12. day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lyeth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordinance to salute the towne and the castle, the gouernour and captaines of the Island sent to vs which were the captaines of the shippes, requiring vs to come a shoare. And when we came to them they receiued vs very friendly, offering vs their owne Jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew vs: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboorde to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants Lyers in the Grand Canarie.

The 14. day came into the roade the Spanish fleete which was bounde to the Emperours Indies, which were in nomber nineteene saile, whereof 6. were shippes of 400. and 500. a piece, the rest were of 200. 150. and of 100. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordinance, and so wee did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight,) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him, and when I came to him hee receiued mee friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet I departed, and I being gone vnto the boate, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portingale which was my interpreter, to require mee to furle my flagge, declaring that he was Generall of the Emperours fleete. Which thing (being come aboord) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furle it, but kept it foorth still, certaine of the souldiers in the shippes, shotte diuers harquebush shotte about the shippe, and ouer the flagge: and at the same time there came certaine gentlemen aboorde our shippe to see her: to whome I said, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoote the best ordinance I had through their sides. And when they perceiued that I was offended they departed, and caused their men of warre

The Spanish West Indian fleete of 19. saile.

and

and ſouldiers to ſhoote no more, and afterwards they came to mee againe, and tolde me that they had puniſhed their men. That done, I ſhewed them the ſhippe and made them ſuch cheere as I coulde, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they ſent for mee to dine with them, and ſent me word that their General was very ſorie that any man ſhould require me to furle my flagge, and that it was without his conſent: and therefore hee requeſted mee not to thinke any vngentlenes to be in him, promiſing that no man of his ſhould miſdemeane himſelfe.

The 17. day we ſet ſaile in the roade of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

The 20. in the morning we had ſight of the coaſt of Barbarie, and running along the ſhoare we had ſight of the riuer del Oro, which lieth almoſt vnder the tropike of Cancer. Riuer del Oro.

The 21. day we found our ſelues to be in 20. degrees and a halfe, which is the height of Cape Blanke. The 25. we had ſight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

The 26. I tooke Franciſco and Francis Caſtelin with mee, and went into the pinneſſe, and ſo went to the Tiger which was neerer the ſhoare then the other ſhips, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ſhippes we ranne Weſt and by South, and Weſt Southweſt, vntill about 4. of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboorde the Cape, and then we ranne in South weſt, and beyond the Cape about 4. leagues we found a faire Iſland, and beſides that 2. or 3. Iſlands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers ſorts of ſea foule, and of pigeons, with other ſorts of land foules, and ſo many, that the whole Iſland was couered with the dunge thereof, and ſeemed ſo white as if the whole Iſland had bene of chalke, and within thoſe Iſlands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks 18. fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the baye, and vnderſtanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were deſirous to know, wee came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Chriſtopher ancred in like caſe: then we cauſed the pinneſſe to runne beyonde another Cape of land, to ſee if there were any place to trade in there. Frances Caſtelme. 4. Iſlands. A great trade of the Frenchemen at Cape Verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers ſkiffe, and went to the Iſland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboorde againe and tooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the Captaine of the Chriſtopher, and when I had talked with him, I founde him not willing to tarie there, neither was I deſirous to ſpend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Maſter of the Chriſtopher tolde me he would not tarie, being not bound for that place.

The 27. the Captaine of the Tyger and Edwarde Selman came to me, and Iohn Makeworth from the Chriſtopher, and then we agreed to take the pinneſſe, & to come along the ſhoare, becauſe that where we ridde no Negroes came to vs, and the night before our pinneſſe brought vs worde, that there was a very faire Iſland. And when I came beyond the point I found it ſo, and withal a goodly Bay, and we ſawe vpon the maine certaine Negroes which waued vs on ſhoare, and then we came to an ancre with the pinneſſe, & went a ſhoare with our cocke, and they ſhewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their captaine, if we would ſend a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we aſked them when any ſhippe had bene there, and ſome of them ſaid not in 8. moneths, others, in 6. moneths, and others in 4. and that they were Frenchmen. A faire Iſland where the French trade. Elephants teeth, muſke, and hides.

Then we perceiuing the Chriſtopher not willing to tarie, departed from them, & ſet ſaile with the pinneſſe & went aboord the Tyger. And I vnderſtoode of ſome contention betwixt the Maſter of the Minion, and the captaine of the Chriſtopher not worth the reporting.

The 10. day of March we fell with the coaſt of Guinea, 5. leagues to the Eaſtward of Cape de Monte, beſide a riuer called Rio de palmas. March.

The 11. we went to the ſhoare, & found one man that could ſpeake ſome Porteguiſe, who told vs that there were 3. French ſhips paſſed by: one of them 2. moneths paſt, & the other 1. moneth paſt. At this place I receiued 19. Elephants teeth, and 2. ounces and halfe a quarter of gold.

The 12. we ſet ſaile to goe to the riuer de Seſtos. The Riuer de Seſtos.

The 13. at night we fell with the ſame riuer.

The 14. day we ſent in our boates to take water, and romaged our ſhippes, and deliuered ſuch wares to the Chriſtopher and Tyger, as they had neede of.

The 15. we came together, and agreed to ſend the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to ſee what ſhe could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandize with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was borne in Lisbone, left there by a ſhip of Portingale which was burned the laſt yeere at this riuer in fighting with 3. Frenchmen: and hee tolde vs further, that two moneths paſt there were 3. Frenchmen at this place, and 6. weekes paſt there were two French ſhippes at the riuer, and 15. dayes paſt there was one. All which ſhippes were

gone towards the Mine. This day we tooke but fewe graines.

The 19. day considering that the Frenchmen were gone before vs, and that by reason of the vnwholsome ayres of this place 14. of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speede to goe to the Mina.

The 21. wee came to the riuer de Potos, where some of our boates went in for water, and I went in with our cocke, and tooke 12. small Elephants teeth.

The 23. day, after wee had taken as many teeth as we could get, about 9. of the clocke wee let saile to goe towards the Mina.

The 27. day being by my reckoning 20. leagues from the Cape Trespoints, our pinnesse broke one of the gudgions of her rudder, so that we were forced to tow her. This day also we called the Boteswaine before vs, and layd to his charge certaine matters, wherein he had misdemeaned himselfe: but vpon his submission & intreatie of pardon, and promise of better behauiour, we (desirous of peace and quietnes) forgaue him.

The 28. we mended our pinnesses rudder.

The 29. we ranne along the coast.

The 31. we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

Aprill 1558. The first of April we had sight of fiue saile of Portingals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which wee shoulde haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West Southwest: but this day with a flawe it kept all the day at the East, and East Southeast, so that the Portingals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs vntill night, and brought themselues all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shotte of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came vp to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher by meanes of her boate, was about foure leagues to the leewards of vs. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three more of his companie, and when we were neere him, we spake to him, but he would not answere: then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about hee shotte at vs, and then we shot at him, and shotte him foure or fiue times through. They shot diuers times through our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnesse because it was night, kept out their sailes and would not meddle with them: after wee had thus fought together two houres or more, and would not lay him aboorde because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tiger and the pinnesse kept about and came to vs, and afterwards being neere the shoare, we 3. kept about and lay to the sea, and shotte off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

They discrie fiue saile of the Portingals.

The fight.

This night about twelue of the clocke being very little winde, and the Master of the Tiger a sleepe, by the euill worke of his men the shippe fell aboorde of vs, and with her sheare hookes cut our maine saile, and her boate being betwixt vs was broken and sunke, with certaine Marchandise in her, and the shippes wailes were broken with her outleger: yet in the ende we cleared her without any more hurt, but she was in hazard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that I tooke our boate and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed mee, that after the Portingals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night mette him, and shotte at him, and hee at them, and they shotte him through the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when wee had vnderstoode that they had bene with him as well as with vs, wee agreed altogether to seeke them (if wee might finde them,) and keepe a weather our places of trafique.

The 3. we ranne all day to the Southwest wards to seeke the Portingals, but coulde haue no sight of them, and halled into the shoare.

The fourth day when we had sight of land, we found that the currant had set vs thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we wondered at: for the first lande wee made, was Lagua. Then I caused our boate to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shoare and tooke our Negro with vs. And on shoare wee learned that there were foure French shippes vpon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is sixe leagues to the Westwarde of Lagua: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Lagua: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen.

Weamba, Perecow. Egrand.

When we had intelligence of these newes, we agreed to goe to ỹ Eastwards with the Frenchmen to put them from their trafique, and shotte off two or three pieces in our boates to cause the shippes to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the Frenchmen

men vnderſaile, halling off from Weamba to whome wee gaue chaſe, and agreed in the night for feare of ouerſhooting them, that the Minion ſhould firſt come to ancre, & after that about 3. houres, the Tyger and the Chriſtopher to beare along all night.

The 5. day we found 3. of the French ſhips at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ſhippe of 220. tunnes, another called the Ventereuſe or ſmal Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100. tunnes, both appertayning to Shawdet of Honfleur, the 3. was called the Mulet de Batville a ſhippe of 120. tunnes, and this ſhippe belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them we determined to lay the Admiral aboorde, the Chriſtopher the Vice-admiral, and the Tyger the ſmalleſt: but when we came neere them they waped, and the Chriſtopher being the headmoſt & the weathermoſt man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roeberge went ſo faſt that we coulde not fetche her. The firſt that wee came to was the Mulet, and her wee layd aboorde and entred our men, and tooke her, which ſhippe was the richeſt except the Admirall. For the Admirall had taken about 80. li. of gold, and the Roeberge had taken but 22. pound, and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knewe it very well: for they were all in conſort together and had bene vpon the coaſt of Mina 2. moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeberge had bene there before them with another ſhip of Diepe, and a Caruell which had beaten all the coaſt, and was departed one moneth before our arriuing there, & they 3. had taken about 700. li. of gold. The Engliſh boorde the Frenchmen.

As ſoone as we had layd the ſhip aboorde, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we ſet ſaile and gaue chaſe to the other 2. ſhips, & chaſed them al day and night, & the next day vntil 3. a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therefore ſeeing that we brought our ſelues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chace, & kept about againe to goe with the ſhoare.

The 7. day I ſent for the captaine, marchants & maſters of the other ſhips, and when they came we waped the gold which we had from the Frenchmen, which waped 50. li. and 5. ounces of gold, this done we agreed to put men out of euery ſhip into the priſe to keepe her. 50. pound of golde taken in the French priſe.

The 12. day we came to the further place of the Mine called Egrand, and being come to an ancre diſcharged all the marchants goods out of the priſe, and would haue ſold the ſhip with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but becauſe ſhe was leake they would not take her, but deſired vs to ſaue their liues in taking them into our owne ſhips: then we agreed to take out the victuals and ſinke the ſhippe, and deuide the men among our ſhips.

The 14. at night wee made an ende of diſcharging the priſe, and deuided all the Frenchmen except 4. which were ſicke and not able to helpe themſelues, which 4. both the Chriſtopher and the Tyger refuſed to take, leauing them in their ſhip alone in the night, ſo that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ſhip.

The 15. of April, mouing our companie for the voyage of Binnie, the moſt part of them all refuſed it. Binnie.

The 16. ſeeing the vnwillingnes of the companie to goe thither, we determined to ſpend as much time vpon the coaſt as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, & agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is 4. leagues off, & the Chriſtopher to goe to Weamba, which is 10. leagues to the wetherward of this place: and if any of them both ſhould haue ſight of more ſailes then they thought good to meddle withall, to come roome to their felowes, to wit, firſt the Chriſtopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

We remained in this place called Egrand vntil the laſt day of April in which time many of our men fel ſicke, and 6. of them died. And here we could haue no trafique with the Negroes but 3. or 4. dayes in the weeke, and all the reſt of the weeke they would not come at vs. We here loſt one ancre and broke a cable, and in the waying of another ancre ſome of our men were hurt. Our men die of ſickenes.

The 3. of May not hauing the pinneſſe ſent vs with cloth from the other ſhips as they promiſed we ſold French cloth, and gaue but 3. yards thereof to euery fuſſe. May.

The 5. day the Negroes departed, and tolde vs they would come to vs againe within 4. dayes, which we determined there to tarie, although we had diuers of our men ſicke.

The 8. day al our cloth in the Minion being ſold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tarie the ſale of the cloth taken in the priſe at this place or no: they anſwered, that in reſpect of the death of ſome of their men, and the preſent ſickines of 20. more, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ſhips, of whome they had heard nothing ſince the 27. of April: and yet they had our pinneſſe with them, onely to cary newes from one to another. Sickneſſe.

The 9. day we determined to depart heuce to our felowes, to ſee what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don Iohn.

The 10. day in the morning we ſet ſaile to ſeeke the Chriſtopher and the Tyger.

The 11. day the captaine of the Chriſtopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde ſmall doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12. William Crompton and I in our ſmall pinneſſe went to the Tyger and the Chriſtopher at Perenine.

The 13. we ſent away the Tyger to Egrande, becauſe we founde nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14. our great pinneſſe came to vs, and preſently we put cloth into her, and ſent her backe to Weamba where ſhe had bene before, and had taken there 10. li. of golde.

The 15. the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a ſhoare with our boates, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowre. The 19. day hauing ſet ſaile we came to an ancre before Mowre, and there we taried 2. dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The 21. we came to an ancre before Don Iohns towne.

The 22. we manned our boats and went to ſhoare, but the Negroes would not come at vs; then the Captaine of the Chriſtopher and I, tooke a Skiffe and 8. men with vs, and went and talked with the Negroes, and they ſaid that they would ſend a man to the great towne, where Don Iohn himſelfe laye, to aduertiſe him of our comming.

The great towne of Don Iohn.

The 23. we went a ſhoare againe, & the Negroes told vs that this day the marchants of Don Iohn would come downe: ſo we taried there vntill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negroes made vs ſignes to depart.

The 24. the captaine of the Chriſtopher tooke his boate & went to Mowre, and when he came thither certaine Negroes came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Almade, which he iudged came from the caſtle, & cauſed all the Negroes to depart from him: and when he ſaw they would come no more to him, he went a ſhoare and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negroes caſt ſtones at them, & would not ſuffer them to come vp to their towne. And when they ſaw that, they tooke certaine of their Almades, & put them to the ſea, & afterwards departed. The ſame morning I went a ſhoare at Don Iohns towne & tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negroes coulde come to me, which cauſed vs to iudge that the Portingals were in the towne. After this our boate came to vs well manned, and I ſent one man vp to the towne with a white flagge in his hand, but when he was come thither all the Negroes went away and would not ſpeake with him. Then I ſent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no caſe would come to vs. When we ſaw that, we tooke 12. goates and 14. hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinneſſe come frō Cormatin, which had taken there 2. li. 5. ounces of gold. Then after much adoe with the froward Mariners, we went thitherwards with our ſhip, & the Chriſtopher went to Mowre. The 25. day the Maſter of the Chriſtopher ſent his boate to the ſhoare for balaſte, and the Negroes would haue beaten the companie from the ſhoare, whereupon the companie reſiſted them, and ſlewe and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne and brake all their boates. The 26. day our pinneſſe came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken 2. li. 11. ounces of gold: and Iohn Shirife told vs that the Negroes of that place were very deſirous to haue a ſhip come backe againe to their towne. The 27. we wayed and went to Cormatin.

Cormatin.

A fight with the Negroes.

The 28. the Chriſtopher came to vs from Mowre, and taſſiqued there two dayes.

June. The ſecond day of June the Tiger came to vs from Egrande, and the pinneſſe from Weamba, and they two had taken about 50. li. of golde ſince they departed from vs.

The 4. day we departed from Cormatin to ply vp to Shamma, being not able to tarrie any longer vpon the coaſt for lacke of victuals, and ſpecially of drinke.

The 7. day we had ſight of 5. of the king of Portingals ſhips, which came to an ancre beſides the Caſtle.

The 8. day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about 2. li. of golde. This night the Chriſtopher and the pinneſſe came vp to vs, which had bene 3. dayes a ſterne of vs, and the Maſter of the pinneſſe tolde vs their extremitie for want of victuall, and therefore they deſired to be taken out of the pinneſſe, but we intreated them to goe to the pinneſſe againe, and gaue them beere, bread, porke and ſtockfiſh to victual them vntill ſuch time as we came to Shamma, that we might ſend her away with ſome of our Frenchmen.

The 10. day in the morning I tooke our ſmall pinneſſe, and the Captaine of the Chriſtopher with me, and manned her well and went to the caſtle to viewe the Portingals ſhips, and there we found one ſhip of about 300. tunne, and 4. caruels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ſhips which we found 7. leagues at ſea.

The 11. day in the morning we found our ſelues wel ſhot toward Shamma, and the Tiger with vs, but the Minion & the pinneſſe had not wayed that night, ſo that we were out of ſight of them:

and

and hauing brought our ſelues in the wether of the Portingals ſhips, we came to an anker to tarie for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion, and the pinneſſe came vp to vs, but could not fetch ſo farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they ankered about a league a wether the caſtle, and we waied in the Chriſtopher, and went roome with her.

The 12. day the Tyger came roome with vs, and ſhe and the Chriſtopher finding themſelues to ſtand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portingals ſhippes to haue fetched ſome of them forth: but our maiſter and companie would in no caſe conſent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ſhips being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuſe them, durſt not goe to them.

After this, by reaſon of the want of victuals in the pinneſſe, which could receiue no victuals from the other ſhips, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put 12. French men into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19. day the Tiger and Minion arriued at Shamma, and the Chriſtopher within two leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reaſon of the ſcantneſſe of the winde, which hath bene ſo ſcant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the windewards but twelue leagues, *Note.* which before we did in one day and a night.

The 20. day I tooke our pinneſſe, and went to the towne of Shamma to ſpeake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor ſo much as a hen to be bought, and all by reaſon of the accord which he had made with the Portingals, and I ſeeing that, departed peaceably from him.

The 21. I put ſuch things as we had into our ſmall pinneſſe, and tooke one merchant of our ſhip, and another of the Tyger, and ſent her to Hanta, to attempt, if ſhe could doe any thing there: that night they could do nothing but were promiſed to haue ſome golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22.) being come, we ſent our pinneſſe to Hanta againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negroes durſt traffike with vs, but intiſed vs from place to place, and all to no purpoſe.

This day we put away our pinneſſe, with fiue and twentie Frenchmen in her, and gaue them for their victuals,

They put the French men with victuals into the pinneſſe.

2. Dziefats of bread.
2. Tunne of beere and ſyder.
1. Hogſhead of wine.
15. Hogſheads of water.
1. Hogſhead of beefe.
2. Firkins of butter.
75. Stockefiſh.
1. Barrell of hony.

Of theſe 25. men, we ſet 15. at their raunſome, which 15. were taken in the Mulet: the others, ſome came to vs in a pinneſſe, and ſome from the ſhoare, and therefore we put them at no raunſome.

The pinneſſe with two baſes, and all her apparell, we ſet at fortie crownes. The names of the Frenchmen, which we put in her, were theſe, being all of them raunſomed.

Out of the Chriſtopher, we ſet theſe men.

Peter Huguille, of Battuille.
Robert Hauerte, of Roan.
Stephen Bennet, of Honfleur.
Michael Haguille, of Batuille.
Iohn Chapon, of Battuile.
Legier le Feuer, of Honfleur.
Barnardine Adam, of Blankuiſte.

Out of the Tyger, theſe.

Ricard de Mont, of Roan.
Peter Nefew, of Honfleur.

Out of the Minion, theſe.

Oliuer Bowchet, of Honfleur.
Thomas D'Orleance, of Honfleur.
Hubert Colyn, of Battuille.
Michael Vacree, of Honfleur.
Martyn le Buc, of Honfleur.

Martyr

Martyn Oſſeraye. All which were equally ranſomed for ſixe crownes a peece.

The 23. of June, our pinneſſe came to vs from Hanta, and told vs, that the Negroes had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpoſe.

Shamma burnt by the Engliſh.

The 24. we tooke our boate, and pinneſſe, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and becauſe the Captaine thereof was become ſubiect to the Portingals, we burned the towne, and our men ſeeking the ſpoile of ſuch trifles as were there, found a Portingals cheſt, wherein was ſome of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter ſent to him from the Caſtle, whereby we gathered, that the Portingall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward.

The 25. day, about three of the clocke at afternoone, we ſet ſaile, and put into the ſea, for our returne to England.

The laſt day of this moneth, wee fell with the ſhoare againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we ſet off. When we came to make the land, we found our ſelues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we ſet off,

The currant.

which came to paſſe, by reaſon of the extreame currant that runneth to the Eaſtward: when we perceiued our ſelues ſo abuſed, we agreed to caſt about againe, and to lye as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

July. S. Thomas Iſland.

The ſeuenth of July, we had ſight of the Iſle of S. Thomas, and thought to haue ſought the roade, to haue ankered there: but the next morning the winde came about, and wee kept our courſe.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Iſland of S. Thomas, and ſeeking the roade, were becalmed neere the Iſland, and with the currant were put neere the ſhoare, but could haue noe ground to anker: ſo that we were forced to hoiſe out our pinneſſe, and the other ſhippes their ſkiffes to towe from the Iſland, which did little good, but in the ende the winde put vs three leagues off the ſhoare.

The tenth day, the Chriſtopher, and the Tyger, caſt about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe ſeeke ſome ſhippes in the roade, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Iſland againe, and of putting our ſelues into the ſame danger that we were in the night before: but we ſhot off a peece, and put out two lights, and they anſwered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our courſe, & thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not ſee them, ſo that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no more.

But the 11. day, we altered our opinion, and courſe, and conſented to caſt about againe for the Iſland, to ſeeke our ſhippes, and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, we met with them.

Our men vnder the line.

The 13. we fell againe with the Iſland of S. Thomas, and the ſame night we found our ſelues directly vnder the line.

This Iſland is a very high Iſland, and being vpon the weſt ſide of it, you ſhall ſee a very high picke, which is very ſmal, and ſtreight, as it were the ſteeple of a Church, which picke lieth directly vnder the line, and at the ſame South ende of the Iſland, to the weſtward thereof, lieth a ſmall Iſland, about a mile from the great Iſland.

Auguſt.

The third of Auguſt, we departed from the Iſle of S. Thomas, and met the winde at the ſouthweſt.

The ſixt day, we found our ſelues in eight degrees.

The 12. day, we were in the height of Cape Verde.

The Iſland of ſalt.

The 22. day, we fell with one of the Iſles of Cape Verde, called the Iſle of Salt, and being informed by a Scottiſh man, that we tooke among the French men vpon the coaſt, that there were freſh victuals to be had, we came to an anker there.

The 23. day, in the morning, we manned our ſkiffe, and went a ſhoare, and found no houſes, but we ſawe foure men, which kept themſelues alwaies farre from vs, as for cattell, we could finde none, but great ſtore of goates, and they were ſo wild, that we could not take aboue three or foure of them: but there we had good ſtore of fiſhe, and vpon a ſmall Iſland, which lay by the ſame, we had great ſtore of ſea birds.

At night, the Chriſtopher brake her cable, and loſt an anker, ſo that ſhe could tary no longer, ſo we all waied, and ſet ſaile. Vpon the ſame Iſland, we left the Scottiſh men, which was the occaſion of our going alland at that place, but how he was left, we could not tell: but as we iudged, the people of the Iſland found him ſleeping, and ſo caried him away: for at night I went my ſelfe to the Iſland to ſeeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24. day, the Maſter of the Tyger came aboord vs, & told vs that his men were ſo weake, and the ſhippe ſo leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboue the water, and therefore requeſted

vs

vs to goe backe againe to the Iſland, that we might diſcharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to ſee if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both thoſe that were whole, and the ſicke alſo, and we found that in all the three ſhippes, were not aboue thirtie ſound men. The great inconuenience by late ſtaying vpon the coaſt of Guinie.

The 25. we had ſight of the Iſle of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Iſles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony, which foure Iſles lye the one from the other, Northweſt, and by Weſt, Southeaſt, and by Eaſt.

The 26. we came againe with the Iſland of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day, Philip Iones, the Maſter of the Chriſtopher, came aboord vs, who had bene aboord the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, becauſe ſhe was leake, and the Maſter very weake, and ſaid further, he had agreed with the Maſter and the company, that if the next day we could double the Iſland, we ſhould runne to the leeward of it, and there diſcharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Iſland of S. Vincent, and S. Anthonie, to ſee if we could diſcharge her.

The 27. ſeeing we could not double the Iſland, we put in betweene the foreſaid Iſlands, and went through them, but found no roade, and therefore taried for our fellowes, and by and by it fell calme, ſo that we were in hazard to fall aboord one of another, but God ſent vs a ſmall gale of wind, and we went before them, and left them a ſterne.

The 28. we were out of ſight of our company: but we kept about, and ſaw them againe, for they were becalmed vnder the Iland all night.

The third day of September, I went aboord the Tyger, with the Maſter, and merchants with me, to view the ſhippe, and men: and we found the ſhippe very leake, and onely ſix labouring men in her, whereof one was the Maſter Gunner: ſo that we ſeeing that they were not able to keepe the ſhippe, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could ſaue, and then to put the ſhip away. September.

The fift day, we went to diſcharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillerie, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp, 25. degrees by North the line. The Tyger giuen vp.

The 27. we had ſight of two of the Iſles of the Azores, S. Marie, and S. Michael.

The 28. day, running along by S. Michael, we had ſight of diuers ſmall caruels, but we could ſpeake with none of them. In the night, about twelue of the clocke, we ſaw a ſhippe, but ſhe would not come roome with vs.

The third day of October, we had ſight of another ſaile, and bare roome with her, to haue knowen ſome newes of England: but the weakenes of our ſhippe, and men, cauſed vs to leaue her, and keepe our courſe. October.

The fourth of October, we found our ſelues to be 41. degrees and a halfe from the line.

The fift day, the weather was very teule with winde, and raine.

The ſixt day, the Chriſtopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they alſo were ſo weake, that they were not able to keepe the ſea, and we being weak alſo, we agreed to go for Vigo, being a place which many Engliſh men frequent.

The 10. day, the Chriſtopher went roome with the Cape, but we hauing a merrie winde for England, and fearing the danger of enemies, which ordinarily lye about the Cape: beſides, not knowing the ſtate of our Countrey, and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was litle hope of friendſhip at their hands, conſidering the voyage that we had made, and we alſo being ſo weake, that by force and violence, we could come by nothing, and doubting alſo that the King of Portingall knowing of our being there, might worke ſome way with the counſell of Spayne, to trouble vs: and further, conſidering that if we did put in with any harbour, we ſhould not be able to come out againe, til we ſent for more men into England, which would be a great charge and loſſe of time, and meanes of many dangers: All theſe things pondered, we agreed to ſhoote off two peeces of ordinance, to warne the Chriſtopher, and then we went our courſe for England: ſhe hearing our peeces, followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning, it was thicke, and we could not ſee her in the afternoone nether, ſo that we ſuſpected, that either ſhe was gone with Spayne, or els that ſhe had put foorth more ſailes then we in the night, and was ſhot a head of vs, ſo that then we put foorth our topſailes, and went our courſe with England.

At the time when the Chriſtopher left vs, we were within 120. leagues of England, and 45. leagues Northweſt, and by Weſt, from Cape Finiſter: and at the ſame time, in our ſhips we had not aboue ſixe marriners, and ſixe merchants in health, which was but a weake companie for ſuch a ſhippe, to ſeeke a forren harbor.

The

Extreame weakenes of our men.

The 16. day, about six of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the West south-west, and west, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, foresaile, and sprest saile, & were forced to lye a hulling, until the eighteeneth day, and then we made ready an olde course of a foresaile, and put it to the yarde, and therewith finding our selues far shot into the Sleeue, we bare with our owne coast, but that foresaile continued not aboue two howres, before it was blowen from the yarde with a freat, and then we were forced to lie a hull againe, until the nineteenth day of October, in the morning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foreyard, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Isle of Wight, where we arriued the 20. of October, in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares, that are most desired in *Guinie, betwixt Sierra Liona, and the furthest* place of the Myne.

Manils of brasse, and some of leade.
Basons of diuers sortes, but the most latton.
Pots of course tinne, of a quarte, and more.
Some coines of yron.
Margarets, and certaine other sleight beades.
Some blewe Coyrall.
Some horse tailes.
Linnen cloth principally.
Basons of Flanders.
Some redde cloth of a lowe price, and some kersie.
Kettels of Duchland with brasen handles.
Some great brasse basons grauen, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboords.
Some great basons of pewter, and ewres grauen.
Some lauers, such as be for water.
Great knines of a lowe price.
Sleight Flanders caskets.
Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
Great pinnes.
Course French couerings.
Packing sheetes good store.
Swordes, daggers, frise mantels, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, axe heads, hammers, short peeces of yron, sleight bels, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

The first voyage of Robert Baker to Guinie, with the Minion, *and Primrose, set out in October, 1562. by Sir VVilliam Garrard,* Sir William Chester, M. Thomas Lodge, Anthony Hickman, & Edward Castelin.

As men whose heads be fraught
with care, haue seldom rest:
(For through the head the body strait
with sorowes is opprest:)
So I that late on bed
lay wake, for that the watch
Pursued mine eye, and causde my hed
no sleepe at all to catch:
To thinke vpon my chaunce
which hath me now betide,
To lie a prisoner here in France,
for raunsome where I bide:
And feeling still such thoughts
so thicke in head to ruine,
As in the sommer day the moats
doe fall into the Sunne,
To walke then vp I rose,
fansie to put to flight:
And thus a while I doe purpose
to passe away the night.
Morpheus I perceiu'd
had small regarde of me,
Therefore I should be but deceiu'd
on bed longer to lie.
And thus without delay
rising as voide of sleepe,
I horned Cynthia sawe streight way
in at my grate to peepe:
Who passing on her way,
eke knowing well my case,
How I in darke dungeon there lay
alwaies looking for grace:

The God of sleepe.

The Moone.

To

To me then walking tho
in darke withouten light,
She wipte her face, and ſtraight did ſhow
the beſt countnance ſhe might:
Aſtonneth eke my head
and ſenſes for a ſpace,
And olde fanſies away now fled
ſhe putteth new in place.
Then leaning in my grate
wherein full bright ſhe ſhinde,
And viewing her thus on her gate
ſhe mazeth ſtreight my minde:
And makes me thinke anon
how oft in Ginnie lande
She was my frend, when I haue gone
all night vpon the ſande,
Walking and watching eke
leaſt any boate or ſhip
At any time, while we had ſlept
perhaps by vs might ſlip.
And ſtreight with ardent fire
my head inflameth ſhee,
Eke me inſpires with whole deſire
to put in memorie,
Thoſe daungers I haue bid
and Laberinth that I
Haue paſt without the clue of threede,
eke harder ieopardie.
I then gin take in hand
ſtraight way to put in rime,
Such trauell, as in Ginnie lande
I haue paſt in my time.
But hauing writte a while
I fall faint by the way,
And eke at night I lothe that ſtile
which I haue writte that day.
And thinke my doings then
vnworthy fame, to be
Set forth in print before all men,
for euery one to ſee.
Eke with diſpaire therefore
my pen I caſt away,
And did intende this neuer more
hereafter to aſſay.
My fellow priſoner then
ſir Edward Gages ſonne
Willes me to take againe my pen
and ende that I begonne.
By this our friends (ſayth he)
ſhall right well vnderſtande
And knowe the great trauels that we
haue paſt in Heathen lande.
Take pen therefore againe
in hande, I you require,
And thinke (ſaith he) thereof no paine
to graū it this my deſire.
Then once againe my hed
my hand a worke doth fette:

Sir Edward Gages ſonne, whoſe name was George Gage.

But firſt I fall vpon my bed
and there deepe ſighes I fette,
To ſee that this to talke
is giuen me ſilly wight:
And of Minerua helpe I aſke
that ſhe me teach aright.
Helpe now without delay,
helpe, helpe, ye Muſes nine,
O Cleo, and Calliope,
ſhewe me how to define
In condigne ſtile and phraſe
eche thing in euery line,
To you I giue loe all the praiſe
the trauell only mine.
Giue eare then ye that long
to know of my eſtate,
Which am in France in priſon ſtrong
as I wrote home of late:
Againſt all lawe or right
as I doe thinke in deede,
Sith that the warre is ended quite,
and peace is well agreed.
Yet leaſt perchaunce you might
much maruell, how that I
Into a Frenchmans powre ſhould light
in priſon here to lie:
Giue nowe attentiue heede,
a ſtraunge tale gin I tell,
How I this yeare haue bene beſteede,
ſcaping the gates of hell,
More harde I thinke truly,
in more daunger of life,
Than olde Orpheus did when he
through hell did ſeeke his wife,
Whoſe muſike ſo did ſounde
in pleaſant play of ſtring,
That Cerberus that helliſh hounde
(who as the Poets ſing
Hauing three huge heads great,
which doe continually
Still breath out firy flames of heate
moſt horrible to ſee)
Did giue him leaue to paſſe
in at the gates of Hell:
Of which gate he chiefe porter was
the Poets thus me tell,
And how he paſt alone
through great king Plutos Court
Yea ferried ouer with Charon
and yet he did no hurt.
Well to my purpoſe now,
in Hell what hurt had hee?
Perchance he might ſtrange ſights inow
and vgly ſpirits there ſee:
Perhaps eke Tantalus,
there making of his mone,
Who ſtaru'd always: and Syſiphus
ſtill rolling vp the ſtone.

The warre at Newe hauen.

Caron paſſenger of Hell.

Yet

Yet Orpheus passed by,
and went still on his way,
There was no torment came him nigh
or heate to make him stay.
And I a Gods name woulde
at hazarde play my life
In Guinie lande, to seeke for golde,
as Orpheus sought his wife.
At which saide lande of Guinie
His first voyage 1562. I was eke once before,
And scapt the death as narowly
as Orpheus did and more.
Which first ill lucke will I
recite, then iudge you plaine,
If Ioue plagued me not now rightly
this yeare to goe againe.
The other yeere before
when Neptune vs had brought
Safely vnto that burning shore,
for which so long we sought,
One day when shippe was fast
in sea at anker holde,
The sailes vpfirl'd, all businesse past
the boteswaine then I tolde,
That he forthwith shoulde see
the small pinnesse well manne,
Eke all things therin prest to be
that we shoulde haue a lande,
And gunner see that ye
want not bowe, pike, or bill,
Your ordinance well primed be
with linstocks burning still.
With merchandize a shore,
we hied to traffike then,
Making the sea some vs before,
by force of nine good men.
And rowing long, at last
a riuer we espie,
In at the which we bare full fast
to see what there might be.
And entring in, we see
a number of blacke soules,
Whose likelinesse seem'd men to be,
but all as blacke as coles.
Their Captaine comes to me
as naked as my naile,
Not hauing witte or honestie
to couer once his taile.
By which I doe here gesse
and gather by the way,
That he from man and manlinesse
was voide and cleane astray.
And sitting in a trough,
a boate made of a logge,
The very same wherein you know
we vse to serue a hogge,
Aloofe he staide at first,
put water to his cheeke,
A signe that he would not vs trust
vnlesse we did the like.
That signe we did likewise,
to put him out of feare,
And shewd him much braue marchandise
to make him come vs neare.
The wilde man then did come,
by signes nowe crieth the fiend
Of those gay things to giue him some
and I should be his friend.
I traffikt there that time
for such things as they had,
At night to ship I caried him,
where I with clothes him clad,
Yea, made him there good cheere,
and he by signes againe
Tolde vs that he would fraight vs then
after a day or twaine.
And eene thus as we were
in talke, looking about,
Our boate he sawe with wares that there
was tied at sterne without:
Which boate he viewing still,
as then well stuft with ware,
We thinking he had ment no ill,
had thereof little care.
And the next morne, againe
we caried him a shore,
Eke bartred there that day with them
as we had done before.
But when Phœbus began
somewhat for to draw neare
To Icarus his Court, the some
of Dedalus most deare,
(Whose chaunce it is to dwell
amids the Ocean flood,
Because that he obseru'd not well
his fathers counsell good)
We then with saile and ore
to ship began to hie,
That we might fetch aboorde, before
the day had lost his eye.
To ship we come at last
which rid foure leagues from shore
Refresht vs after trauaile past,
taken that day before.
Then, as it was our guise,
our boate at sterne we tie,
Eke therein leaue our marchandise,
as they were wont to be.
With troughes then two or three
this Captaine comes by night
Aboord our boate, where he with wares
himselfe now fraighteth quight.
The watch nowe hearing this,
the boate they hal'd vp fast:
But gone was all the marchandise,
and they escapte and past.

The theft of the Negroes.

The

The next morne then by day
again we went to shore,
Amends to haue for that which they
had stolne the night before.
But all in vaine was it,
our signes were now too bad,
They would not vnderstand a whit
of any thing they had.
A conflict betweene the Negros & our men.
But as though they had wrong
for to reuenged be,
As we row'd downe the streame along
after comes hee and hee.
A hundred boats come fro
the fiercemost towne I say,
At least meets vs as many mo
before, to make vs stay.
In euery boat two men,
and great long targets twaine:
Most of their darts had long strings then
to picke and pull againe.
Now gunners to your charge,
giue fier all arow,
Ech slaue for feare forsakes his barge,
and ducks in water low.
We downe the streame amaine
do row to get the sea,
They ouertake vs soone againe,
and let vs of our way.
Then did the slaues draw neere,
with dart and target thicke,
With diuelish fired eyes they peere
where they their darts may sticke.
Now Mariners do push
with right good will the pike,
The haile shot of the harque bush
the naked slaue doth strike.
Through targe and body right
that downe he falleth dead
His fellow then in heauie plight,
doth swimme away afraid.
To bathe in brutish bloud,
then fleeth the graygoose wing,
The halberders at hand be good,
and hew that all doth ring.
Yet gunner play thy part,
make haile shot walke againe,
And fellowes row with like good heart
that we may get the maine.
Our arrowes all now spent,
the Negros gan approch:
But pikes in hand already bent
the blacke beast fast doth broch.
Their captaine being wood,
a villaine long and large,
With pois'ned dart in hand doth shroud
himselfe vnder his targe.
And hard aboord he comes
to enter in our boat,
Our maisters mate, his pike eftsoones
strikes through his targe and throat.
The captaine now past charge
of this brutish blacke gard,
His pike he halde backe which in targe
alas was fixed hard:
And wresting it with might,
to pull it forth in hast,
A deadly dart strikes him too right
and in his flesh sticks fast,
He stands still like a man,
and shrinkes not once therfore,
But strikes him with his owne dart then
which shot at him before.
Then prese they on, and shake
their darts on euery side,
Which in our flesh doth light, and make
both deadly wounds and wide.
The gunner in that stound
with two darts strooke at last,
Shrinks not yet though the double wound
with streames of bloud out brast.
And eke the maisters mate,
of stomacke bolde and stout,
For all his wound receiu'd of late,
yet stirred not a foot.
But kept his standing still,
till that a deathfull dart
Did strike him through the ribs so ill,
that scarce it miss his hart.
The dart out hal'd quickly,
his guts came out withall,
And so great streames of bloud that he
for faintnesse downe gan fall.
The Negros seeing this,
how he for dead doth lie,
Who erst so valiant prou'd i wis,
they gladly shout and crie:
And then do minde as there
to enter in his place,
They thinke so many wounded were
the rest would yeld for grace.
We then stand by the pike,
and foure row on our boat,
Their darts among vs fast they strike
that few were free I wot.
In legge and eke in thigh,
some wounded eke in th'arme,
Yea many darts stucke vs hard by,
that miss and did no harme.
By little thus at last,
in great danger of life
We got the sea, and almost past
the danger erst so rife.
Then gin they all retire
sith all their darts were spent
They had nought to reuenge their ire,
and thus away they went.

Our boat to ship doth roe,
where two oares make soft way
Sixe of vs nine were wounded so,
the seuenth for dead there lay.
Lo,heare howcruelly
the fiends ment vs to kill,
Causeless you see,if they truly
on vs might had their will.
And yet we gaue before
much merchandise away,
Among those slaues,thinking therfore
to haue friendship for aye.
And Orpheus past I wot
the passage quietly,
Among the soules in Charons boat,
and yet to say truly
I neuer read that he
paid for his passage there,
Who past and repast for to see
if that his wife there were.
Nor yet that he paid ought,
or any bribe there gaue
To any office,while he sought
his wife againe to haue.
Whereby I surely gesse
these men with whom that we
Haue had to do,are fiends more fierce
then those in hell that be.
Well we now scaping thus
the danger I haue tolde,
Aboord we come,where few of vs
could stand now being colde.
Our wounds now being drest,
to meat went they that list,
But I desired rather rest,
for this in minde I wist.
That if I might get once
a sleepe that were full sound,
I should not feele my weary bones
nor yet my smarting wound.
And lying long aloft
vpon my bed in paine,
Unto Morpheus call'd I oft
that he would not disdaine
To heare me then poore wight,
but send me helpe with speed
That I might haue good rest this night
of which I had great need.
Me thought then by and by,
there hung a heauie waight,
At ech eye lid,which clos'd mine eye,
and eke my head was straight.
And being streight a sleepe,
I fell into a sweauen,
That of my wound I tooke no keepe
I dreamd'd I was in heauen.
Where as me thought I see
god Mars in armor bright,

Sixe of our men wounded

His arming sword naked holdes he
in hand,ready to fight.
Castor and Pollux there
all complet stand him by,
Least if that Mars conuinced were
they might reuenged be.
Then came marching along
the great blacke smith Vulcan,
Hauing a staffe of yron strong,
and thus at last began:
O Mars,thou God of might,
what is the cause that thou
Hast chaleng'd me with thee to fight:
lo present am I now.
Wherfore if that thou hast
any great grudge to me,
Before this day be spent and past
it shall reuenged be.
Then spake god Mars and said,
for that thou churlish wight,
Thy brutish blacke people hast made
with those white men to fight
Which cal'd on me for aid,
I bid thee warre for this.
Then answered Vulcan straight and said
that that coast sure was his.
And therefore he would still
his blacke burnt men defend,
And if he might, all other kill
which to that coast did wend,
Yea thus (said he) in boast
that we his men had slaine,
And ere that we should passe this coast
he would vs kill againe.
Now marcheth Mars amaine
and fiercely gins to fight,
The sturdie smith strikes free againe
whose blowes dint where they light.
But Iupiter that sat
in his great royall throne
Hearing this noise maruell'd thereat,
and streight way sendeth one
To know the cause thereof:
but hearing them in fight,
Commandeth them for to leaue off
by vertue of his might,
And of Vulcan demands
the cause: then answered he,
O mightie Ioue whose power commands
and rules all things that be,
Who at a word hast power
all things to destroy cleane,
And in the moment of an houre,
canst them restore againe,
The same God licence me
to speake now here my minde:
It is not,Ioue,vnknowne to thee,
how that I was assign'd,

And

And pointed king of moſt
of all the Ginnie land,
A people lo is on my coaſt
which doth me now withſtand.
They do my people ſtrike,
they do this day them kill,
To whom I minde to do the like
if I may haue my will.
Then Iupiter beſpake:
O Vulcan then ſaid he,
Let this thy rage and anger ſlake
for this time preſently,
But if at any time
theſe men chance there againe,
Doe as thou liſt, the charge is thine
I will not meddle then.
I know them well (ſaid he)
theſe men need not to ſeeke,
They haue ſo fruitfull a countrey
that there is none the like.
But if they can not be
therewith content, but ſtill
Will ſeeke for golde ſo couetouſly,
worke then with them thy will.
And therewith ſtraight doth ſend
a purſuiuant in poſt,
To whom (ſaith he) ſee that thou wend
vnto the windie coaſt,
To Eolus, the king
command him thus from me,
That he ſtraight way without lingring
do ſet at libertie,
His ſeruant Zephirus,
which now is lockt ſo low,
Eke that he do command him thus,
that he ſtraight way do go
To Vulcans coaſt in haſt, One ſhippe.
a ſhip where he ſhall finde,
Which ſhip he muſt with gentle blaſt
and eke with moderate winde,
Conduct ſafe to that coaſt
which Albion was hight,
And that no ſtormes do them withſtand
by day or eke by night.
I ſleeping all this ſpace,
as it were in a trance,
The noiſe of them that hal'd apace
did waken me by chance.
Then looking out to know
what winde did blow in ſkie,
The maiſter ſtraight came to me tho
and thus ſaid by and by.
All our ill lucke is paſt,
we haue a merie winde,
I hope England, if this winde laſt,
yet once againe to finde.
When this I vnderſtand,
to Ioue I vowed then,
For ſwearing cleane the Ginnie land
for comming there againe.
And paſſing on in poſt
with fauorable windes,
We all arriu'd on Englands coaſt
with paſſing cheerefull mindes.

The ſecond voyage to Guinie, and the riuer of Selto, ſet out *in the Moneth of Nouember 1563, by Sir VVilliam Gerrard, Sir* William Cheſter, Sir Thomas Lodge, Maiſter Beniamin Goſton, Maiſter William Winter, Maiſter Lionell Ducket, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Caſtelin, with two ſhips, the one called the Iohn Baptiſt, wherein went for Maiſter, Laurence Rondell: and the other the Marlin, wherein went alſo for Maiſter, Robert Reuell, hauing for Factors, Robert Baker, Iuſtinian Goodwine, Iames Gleidell, and George Gage: and written in verſe by the foreſaid Robert Baker.

YOu heard before, that home I got
from Ginnie at the laſt,
But by and by, I quite forgot
the ſorrowes I had paſt.
And ſhips rigged alſo,
with ſpeed to ſhip againe,
I being then requir'd to go,
did not denie them plaine,
But granted them to go,
vnhappie fooliſh wight,
When they command, eke there to do
the beſt ſeruice I might.
In fine, to go our way
now ſerueth time and tide,
We hauing nothing vs to ſtay,
what ſhould we longer bide?
The hempen band with helpe
of Mariners doth threat
To wey and reare that ſlouthfull whelpe The anker.
vp from his mothers teat.
The Maiſter then gan cheere
with ſiluer whiſtle blaſt
His Mariners, which at the Ieere
are laboring wondrous faſt.
Some other then againe,
the mainyard vp to hoiſe,
The hard haler doth hale a maine,
while other at a trice
Cut ſaile without delay:
the reſt that be below,
Both ſheats abaft do hale ſtraitway
and boleins all let go.

The Helme a Mariner
in hand then strait way tooke,
The Pilot eke what course to stir
within his card did looke.
Againe with siluer blast,
the Maister doth not faile,
To cause his mates forthwith in hast
abroad to put more saile.
We then launch from the shore,
sith warre we knew it right,
And kept in sea aloofe therefore
two dayes and eke a night.
And, as it is the guise,
to toppe a man we send,
Who straight a saile or two espies,
with whom we then do wend.
Aloofe would some with one,
and roomeward would the rest:
But with the tallest ship we gone,
whom we thinke to be best.
At last, in comming neere
as captaines vse to do,
I hale them, and of whence they were
I did desire to know:
Of France when they had said,
we weaued them a maine,
But they nothing therewith dismaid
did like to vs againe.
We then our selues aduant
through hope of purchase here,
Amaine say we, ye iolly gallant
or you shall buie it dere.
To arme the maine top tho
the boatswaine goeth eke,
His mate to the foretop also
makes hast to do the like.
To top both stones and darts
good fellowes hoise apace:
The quarter maisters with glad hearts
do know ech one his place.
Our topsailes strike we tho
and fit our sailes to fight,
Our bulwarke at maine mast also
is made likewise aright.
Upon our poope eke then
right subtilly we lay
Pouder, to blow vp all such men,
as enter theraway.
Our Trumpetter aloft
now sounds the feats of war,
The brasen pieces roring oft
fling forth both chaine and bar.
Some on the yardes againe
do weaue with naked swoord,
And crying loud to them amaine
they bid vs come aboord.
To bath hir feet in bloud
the graigoose fleeth in hast:
And Mariners as Lions wood,
do crie aboord as fast.
Now stirie Faulkons flie
right greedie of their pray,
And kils at first stone dead truely
ech thing within their way.
Alarme ye now my mates I say,
see that ye nothing lacke,
At euery loope then gins straightway
a harquebush to cracke.
Their saile to burne, we shoot
our arrowes of wilde fire,
And pikes burning therewith about
lads tosse with like desire.
Eke straightway forth for wine
the steward call I then,
With fiery spice enough therein
I drinke vnto my men,
And then euen with a woord
our line pot prest to fall,
This iolly gallant we clap aboord
and enter him withall.
Their nettings now gan teare
with dint of heauie stone,
And some mens heads witnesse did beare
who neuer could make mone.
The harquebush acroke
which hie on top doth lie,
Discharg'd full of hailshot doth smoke
to kill his enemie.
Which in his enemies top
doth fight, there it to keepe,
Yet he at last a deadly lope
is made from thence to lepe.
Then entreth one withall
into this Frenchmans top,
Who cuts ech rope, and makes to fall
his pard, withouten stop.
Then Mariners belowe,
as careleslie of the pike,
Do hew, and kill still as they goe,
and force not where they strike.
And still the trumpets sound
with pleasant blast doth cheare
Ech Mariner, so in that stound
that they nothing did feare.
The Maister then also,
his mates to cheare in fight,
His Whistle chearefully doth blow,
whereby strait euery wight
So fierce begins to be,
that Frenchmen gin to sloe,
And English men as right worthy
do catch for pillage tho.
What would you more I say
but tell the truth alway:
We vide our matters so this day
we caried him away,

Unto

Unto a Port in Spaine,
which sure is call'd the Groine,
Whereas we for French lading plaine
receiued readie coine.
Well thus this good lucke past,
we through salt Seas did scoure,
To Ginney coast eke come at last,
O that vnhappie houre.
My hand alas for feare
now shakes, of this to write,
Mine eye almost full fraught with teare,
eke lets me to indite.
What should I here recite
the miserie I had,
When none of you will scarce credit
that ere it was so bad:
Well, yet I would assay
to tell it, if I might,
But O Minerua, helpe me aye,
my wits attond be quite.
Yea helpe, ye muses nine,
let no thought me withstand,
Aid me this thing well to define,
which here I take in hand.
Well, thus it fortuned tho,
in Ginney now arriu'd,
Nine men in boat to shore we go,
where we traffike espide,
And parting at midday
from ship, on good intent
In hope of traffike there I say
to shore away we went.
Our ships then riding fast
in sea at anker bight,
We minded to dispatch in hast,
eke to returne that night.
But being hard by land,
there suddenly doth rise
A mightie winde, where with it raind
and thundred, in such wise,
That we by shore did ride,
where we best Port might finde,
Our ships we thinke from anker slide,
a trice before the winde.
This night Vulcan begins
on vs reueng'd to be,
And thunderbolts about he flings
most terrible to see,
Admixt with fierie flame
which cracks about our eares,
And thus gins he to play his game,
as now to him appeares.
He Eolus hath feed
herein to be his friend,
And all the whirling windes with speed
among vs doth he send.
Thus hard by shore we lay,
this wet and weary night,
But on next morne and all the day
of ship we had no sight.
For Vulcan all this night
from fierie forge so fast
Sent thunder bolts with such great light,
that when the night was past,
The next day there remaind
so great smoke all about,
Much like a mist, eke there with raine,
that we were wet throughout.
And thus in smoke minded he
to part vs from our ship:
Thus nere a one ech other see,
and so haue we the slip.
Our ships then backe againe,
thinking we were behinde,
Do saile by shore a day or twaine
in hope there vs to finde.
And we the contrary,
do row along the shore
Forward, thinking our ships to be
still sailing vs before.
They sailing thus two dayes or three,
and could not finde vs than,
Do thinke that in that foule night we
were drowned euery man.
Our ship then newes doth beare,
when she to England wends
That we nine surely drowned were,
and thus doth tell our frends:
While we thus being lost,
aliue in miserie
Do row in hope yet on this coast,
our ships to finde truly.
Well thus one day we spent,
the next and third likewise,
But all in vaine was our intent,
no man a saile espies:
Three dayes be now cleane past
since any of vs nine,
Of any kinde of food hath tast,
and thus gan we to pine,
Till at the last bare need
bids vs hale in with land,
That we might get some root or weed
our hunger to withstand:
And being come to shore,
with Negros we intreat,
That for our wares which we had there
they would giue vs to eat.
Then fetch they vs of roots,
and such things as they had,
We gaue to them our wares to boote
and were thereof right glad.
To sea go we againe,
in hope along the shore
To finde our ships, yet thinking plaine
that they had bene before.

And thus with saile and oze
twelue dayes we went hard by
The strange vncomfortable shoze
where we nothing espie,
But all thicke woods and bush
and mightie wildernesse,
Out of the which oft times do rush
strange beasts both wilde and fierse,
Whereof oft times we see,
at going downe of Sunne,
Diuers descend in companie,
and to the sea they come.
Where as vpon the sand
they lie, and chew the cud:
Sometime in water eke they stand
and wallow in the floud.
The Elephant we see,
a great vnweldie beast,
With water fils his troonke right hie
and blowes it on the rest.
The Hart I saw likewise
delighted in the soile,
The wilde Boze eke after his guise
with snout in earth doth moile.
A great strange beast also,
the Antelope I weene
I there did see, and many mo,
which erst I haue not seene.
And oftentimes we see
a man a shoze oz twaine,
Who strait bzings out his Almadie
and rowes to vs a maine.
Here let we anker fall,
of wares a shew we make,
We bid him choose among them all,
what wares that he will take
To bzing to vs some fish,
and fresh water therefoze,
Oz else of meat some daintie dish,
which their cookes dzesse a shoze.
They bzing vs by and by
great roots and beries eke,
Which grow vpon the high palme tree,
such meat as they do like.
We dzinke eke of their wine
much like our whey to see:
Which is the sappe as I haue seene
that runnes out of a tree.
Thus do they bzing ech thing
which they thinke to be good,
Sometime wilde hony combes they bzing
which they finde in the wood,
With roots and baggage eke
our cozps we thus sustaine
From famine, though it be so weake,
that death was figurde plaine
In euery ioynt, foz lacke
of sustenance and rest,
That still we thinke our hearts would
with sozowes so oppzest. (bzeake
We now alongst the coast
haue sailed so many a mile,
That sure we be our ships be lost,
what should we do this while?
In Heathen land we be,
impossible it is
That we should fetch our owne countrey
in such a boat as this.
We now gan to perceiue
that we had ouerpast
The Melegete coast so much,
that we were come at last
Unto the coast of Myne,
foz Niegros came aboozd
With weights to poise their golde so fine,
yea speaking euery woozd
In Portugesse right well
demanding traffike there,
If we had any wares to sell,
and where our ships then were?
We answered them againe, Two ships.
we had two ships at sea,
The which would come traffike with thē
we thought within a day.
The cause why we thus said,
was hope to be well vsde:
But seeing this, as men dismaid
away we went, and musde
Whither our ships were gone,
what way were best foz vs:
Shall we here perish now saith one?
no, let vs not do thus:
We see all hope is past
our ships to finde againe,
And here our liues do shozten fast
in miserie and paine:
Foz why the raging heat
of Sunne, being so extreme,
Consumes our flesh away in sweat,
as dayly it is seene.
The Ternados againe
so often in a weeke,
With great lightnings, thunder and raine
with such abundance eke,
Doe so beat vs by night,
that we sleepe not at all,
Whereby our strength is vaded quite,
no man an oze can hale.
How hard liue we, alas?
three whole dayes oft be past,
Ere we poore men (a heauy case)
of any thing doe tast.
These twentie dayes ye see,
we haue sit still ech one,
Which we do of necessitie,
foz place to walke is none.

Our

Our legs now vs deceiue,
ſwolne euery ioint withall,
With this diſeaſe, which, by your leaue,
the Scruuie men doe call,
We cannot long endure
in this caſe as we be,
To leaue our boat I am right ſure,
compeld we muſt agree.
Three wayes for vs there is,
and this is my requeſt,
That we may of theſe three deuiſe,
to chooſe thereof the beſt.
The Caſtle of the Mine
is not farre hence, we know,
To morrow morne we there may be,
if thither you will goe.
There Portingals do lie,
and chriſtened men they be:
If we dare truſt their curteſie,
the worſt is hanging glee.
Our miſerie may make
them pitie vs the more,
Nine ſuch yong men great pains would take
for life to hale an ore.
Their Gallies may perhaps
lacke ſuch yong men as we,
And thus it may fall in our laps,
all Galeyſlaues to be,
During our life, and this
we ſhall be ſure to haue,
Although we row, ſuch meate as is
the allowance of a ſlaue.
But here we rowe and ſterue,
our miſery is ſo ſore:
The ſlaue with meat inough they ſerue,
that he may teare his ore.
If this you will not like,
the next way is to goe:
Unto the Negros, and to ſeeke
what friendſhip they will ſhew.
But what fauour would ye
of theſe men looke to haue:
Who beaſtly ſauage people be,
farre worſe then any ſlaue:
If Cannibals they be
in kind, we doe not know,
But if they be, then welcome we,
to pot ſtraight way we goe.
They naked goe likewiſe,
for ſhame we cannot ſo:
We cannot liue after their guiſe,
thus naked for to go.
By rootes and leaues they liue,
as beaſts doe in the wood:
Among theſe heathen who can thriue,
with this ſo wilde a food:
The piercing heate againe,
that ſcorcheth with ſuch ſtrength,
Piercing our naked fleſh with paine,
will vs conſume at length.
The third and laſt is this,
(if thoſe two you refuſe)
To die in miſerable wiſe,
here in the boate you chuſe.
And this iudge by the way,
more truſt is to be giuen,
Unto the Portingals alway,
ſith they be chriſtned men,
Then to theſe brutiſh ſort,
which beaſtly are ye ſee:
Who of our death will make a ſport,
if Canibals they be.
We all with one conſent,
now death deſpiſing plaine:
(Sith if we die as innocent,
the more it is our gaine)
Our ſayle we hoyſe in haſt,
with ſpeed we mind to go
Unto the caſtell, now not paſt
a twentie leagues vs fro.
And ſayling all this day,
we ſpied late in the night,
As we paſt by thus on our way,
vpon the ſhore a light.
Then ſayd our Boateſwaine thus,
by this great light a ſhore,
Trafique there ſeemes, will you let vs
anker this night therefore,
And trie if we may get,
this next morning by day,
Some kind of food for vs to eate,
and then to goe our way?
We anker there that night,
the next morning to ſhore:
And in the place, where we the light
did ſee the night before,
A watch houſe now there ſtood,
vpon a rocke without:
Hard by a great blacke croſſe of wood,
which putteth vs in doubt,
What place that this ſhould be,
and looking to the ſhore,
A Caſtell there we gan eſpie,
this made vs doubt the more.
Wherein we ſaw did ſtand
a Portingall or twaine:
Who held a white flag in his hand,
and waued vs amaine.
Our fleſh as fraile now ſhakes,
whereby we gan retire,
And he at vs a ſhot then makes,
a Negro giuing fire.
A piece diſcharged thus,
the hilling pellet lights,
I thinke within a yard of vs.
but none of vs it hits.

We

We wisht then we had there
a good ship, eke or twaine,
But helplesse now, we rowe a shore
to know th'end of our paine.
The neerer that we went
to them vnto the shore,
To yeld our selues, as first we ment
they still did shoot the more.
Now Canons loud gan rore,
and Culuerins now crackt,
The Castell eke it thundred sore,
as though the wals weere sackt.
Some shot doth light hard by,
some ouer vs againe:
But though the shot so thicke doth flie,
yet rowe we in a maine,
That now so neere we be
vnto the castell wall,
That none of them at vs we see,
can make a shot at all.
We ment a land to goe,
their curtesie to trie:
But from the wal great stones they throw,
and therewith by and by,
The Negros marching downe,
in battell ray do come,
With dart and target from the towne,
and follow all a dromme.
A bowe in hand some hent,
with pois'ned arrow prest,
To strike therewith they be full bent,
a pined English brest.
But stones come downe so fast
on vs on euery side,
We thinke our boats bottom would brast
if long we thus abide.
And arrowes flie so thicke,
hissing at euery eare,
Which both in clothes and flesh do sticke,
that we, as men past feare,
Cry now, Launch, launch in hast,
hale of the boate a maine:
Foure men in banke let them sit fast
and rowe to sea againe.
The other fiue like men,
do manfully in hand,
Take vp each kind of weapon then,
these wolues here to withstand.
A harquebush takes one,
another bends his bowe,
Among the slaues then downe fals one,
and other hurt I trowe.
At those Portingals then shoot we,
vpon the Fort which stand,
In long fine white shirts as we see,
and lintstocks in their hand.
And of these shirts so white
we painted some full red,
Striking their open corps in sight,
with dint of arrow head.
For we sawe they had there
no Gallies vs to take,
Where threatnings thē could vs not feare
or make vs once to shake.
Then Canons loud gan rore,
and pellets flie about,
And each man haleth hard his ore
and mooued not a foote.
Yea, though the poulder sent
the pellets thicke away,
Yet spite of them cleane through we went
at last, and got the sea.
And pieces charging fast,
they shot after vs so,
That wonder was it how we past
the furie of our foe.
The pined arme felt not
as now, the heauie ore:
With foure such ores was neuer boat,
I thinke, row'd so before.
To seaward scaping so,
three Negroes we see there,
Came rowing after vs to know,
what countrey men we were:
We answered Englishmen,
and that thither we came,
With wares to trafique there with them,
if they had meant the same.
They Portuguse doe speake
right naturall iwis:
And of our ship to know they seeke,
how big and where she is.
We answered them againe
we had two ships at sea,
Right well appointed full of men,
that streight would take their way
Along the coast for gold,
they tary but for vs,
Which came with wares there to haue sold
but that they vs'd vs thus.
Then gan they vs to pray,
if we lackt any thing,
To anker there all that whole day,
and they to vs would bring
All things that we doe want,
they sory say they be:
But we their words yet trusting scant,
refuse their curtesie.
We aske them of this hold
what place that it should be,
Then they againe thus straight vs told
that Portingals there lie.
And how that point they sayd,
which there hard by we see,
Was one of Cape three points, that lay
the Westernmost of three. Cape three points.

Withou ten

Without en further ſpeech,
we hoiſe our ſaile to ſea:
Minding a friendlier place to ſeech,
and thus we part our way.
We mind truly to prooue
the Portingals no more:
But now t'aſſay rather what loue
Negros will ſhew a ſhore.
We then with ſaile and ore,
went backe againe in haſt:
A thirtie leagues I thinke, and more
from thence where we were chaſt.
And here we anker fall,
aboord the Negros come:
We gaue gay things vnto them all,
and thus their hearts we wonne.
At laſt aboord comes one,
that was the Kings chiefe ſonne:
To whom by ſignes I made great mone,
how that I was vndone,
Had loſt our ſhips, and eke
were almoſt ſtaru'd for meate,
And knew not where our ſhips to ſeeke,
or any thing to eate.
I offred him our wares,
and bid him take them all:
But he perceiuing now the teares,
which from our eyes did fall,
Had great pitie on vs,
and ſayd he would haue nought,
But ſtreight by ſignes he will'd vs then,
that we ſhould take no thought.
As one whom God had ſent,
and kept for vs in ſtore,
To know in haſt away he went,
the Kings pleaſure on ſhore.
And came foorthwith againe,
yea, bade vs come a land:
Whereof God knowes we were ful faine,
when this we vnderſtand.
Each man bankes to his ore,
to hale the boate a land:
Where as we ſee vpon the ſhore,
fiue hundred Negros ſtand.
Our men rowing in a maine,
the billow went ſo hie,
That ſtraight a waue ouerwhelms vs
and there in ſea we lie. (cleane
The Negros by and by,
came ſwimming vs to ſaue:
And brought vs all to land quickly,
not one durſt play the knaue.
The Kings ſonne after this,
a ſtout and valiant man,
In whom I thinke Nature iwis,
hath wrought all that ſhe can,
He then I ſay commaunds
them ſtraight to ſaue our boate,
To worke forthwith goe many hands,
and bring the ſame a floate.
Some ſwimme to ſaue an ore,
ſome diue for things be loſt:
I thinke there helpt to hale a ſhore,
fiue hundred men almoſt.
Our boate thus halde vp drie,
all things ſtreight way were brought
The which we miſt or could eſpie,
no man that durſt keepe ought.
Then vs they led away,
knowing we wanted meate,
And gaue to vs, euen ſuch as they
themſelues do daily eate.
Was neuer Owle in wood
halfe ſo much wondered at,
As we were then poore men, alas,
which there among them ſat.
We feared yet our part,
and wiſht a moneth were paſt,
For each man there went with his dart,
which made vs oft agaſt.
We lay vpon the ground,
with them there all that night:
But fearing ſtill a deadly wound,
we could not ſleepe a whit.
Two dayes thus paſt we well,
no man vs offred wrong:
The cauſe thereof I giue you tell,
they thought this them among:
Our ſhips had beene at ſea,
and would come there before
Two dayes, to fetch vs thence away,
and giue them wares good ſtore.
But when they thus heare tell
how that our ſhips be loſt,
And that we know not very well,
when ſhips will come to coaſt:
They then waxe wearie ſtreight,
and they which did before
At ſundry times giue vs to eate,
did giue vs now no more.
Our lowance wart ſo ſmall,
that neuer nine I geſſe,
Were ſeru'd the like, yet ſtill withall,
it waxed leſſe and leſſe.
Some run now in the wood,
and there for rootes do ſeeke,
Baſe meat would here be counted good,
too bad that we miſlike.
Our clothes now rot with ſweat,
and from our backs do fall,
Saue that whom nature wils for ſhame,
we couer nought at all.
One runs to ſeeke for clay
to faſhion ſtraight a pot,
And hardens it in Sunne all day:
another faileth not

To

To fetch home wood for night,
and eke for fire sought,
That we our roots and things seeth might
if any home were brought.
The rest the wood doth seeke,
eke euery bush and tree
For berries and such baggage like,
which should seeme meate to bee.
Our fingers serue in steed,
both of pickaxe and spade,
To dig and pull vp euery weed,
that grew within the shade.
Eke digd for rootes the ground,
and searcht on euery brier
For berries, which if we had found,
then streight way to the fire:
Where we rost some of those,
the rest seeth in a pot,
And of this banket nought we lose,
nor fragment resteth not.
The night as beasts we lie
the bare hard earth vpon,
And round by vs a great fire light
to keepe wild beasts vs from.
But what should I recite,
or couet to declare
My sorowes past, or eke t'endite
of my hard Ginnie fare?
I cease here to enlarge
my miserie in that land,
A toy in head doth now me charge,
as here to hold my hand.
In fine, what would ye more,
the heat did so exceed,
That wanting cloths it scorcht so sore,
no man could it abide.
The countrey eke so wilde,
and vnhealthfull withall,
That hungry stomacks neuer fill'd,
doth cause faint bodies fall.
Our men fall sicke apace,
and cherishing haue none:
That now of nine, within short space
we be left three alone.
Alas, what great agast
to vs three liuing yet,
Was it to see, that death so fast
away our fellowes fet?
And then to Ioue on hie
we call for helpe and grace,
And him beseech vnfainedly,
to fetch vs from this place.
From this wild heathen land,
to Christendome againe,
Or else to lay on vs his hand,
and rid vs from our paine.
Least that we ouerpresst
with too much miserie,
Perhaps as weake breake our behest
which we owe God on high.
And least we liuing here
among this heathen, might
Perchance for need do that which were
right hainous in his sight.
Well, to my purpose then,
when we to Ioue thus crie,
To helpe vs hence poore silly men
from this our miserie.
He hearing vs at length,
how we to him doe call,
He helps vs with his wonted strength,
and straight thither withall,
A French ship sends at last,
with whom we three go hence:
But six in earth there lie full fast,
and neuer like come thence.
This Frenchman as I say,
through salt and surging seas,
Vs brought from Ginnie land, away
to France, the Lord we praise,
And warre he proues it plaine
when we entred his ship,
A prisner therefore I remaine,
and hence I cannot slip
Till that my ransome be
agreed vpon, and paid,
Which being leuied yet so hie,
no agreement can be made.
And such is lo my chance,
the meane time to abide
A prisner for ransome in France,
till God send time and tide.
From whence this idle rime
to England I doe send:
And thus till I haue further time,
this Tragedie I end. R. Baker.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall, called the Castel of Comfort, the May Flower, and the George, and a Pinnesse also. Written by Walter Wren.

THe 10. day of December in the yeere aboue sayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12. day we were thwart of Vshant.

The 15. day in the morning being Sunday, we had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portingall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The

The 18. day we met with a French ship, of whom we made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: so we followed our course to the Islands of the Canaries.

The 25. day in the morning we fell with a smal Island called Porto Santo, and within 3. houres we had sight of another Island called Madera, which is 6. leagues from Porto Santo,

The said 25. day being the day of the Natiuitie, we hoised out our boate, and set Maister Edward Fenner Captaine of the May Flower aboord vs being in the George, with the Maister whose name was Robert Courtise, and others of the sayd ship, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent vs.

The 28. day we fell with an Island called Tenerif, which is 27. leagues from the said Island, and on the East side thereof we came to an anker in fortie fadome water, within a base shotte of the shore, in a little Baie, wherein were three or foure small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a little Towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we road in the sayd Baie, we might see an Island called the grand Canarie, which was 6. or 7. leagues from vs.

The 29. day the May Flower for that she could not set into the road where we were at an anker, by reason the wind was off the shore, & because she bare roomer from the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anker in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces, which caused her to come roome with vs, and came at last to an anker by vs. And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed Captaine of the May Flower, wrote a letter a shore, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to vnderstand the pretence of the shooting of the sayd ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courtise master of the May Flower, and Walter Wren, were appointed to deliuer the same a land at the three or foure houses, to be conueied to the foresayd towne, and so went with sixe men in the boate, and rowed to the shore as neere as they might, for setting the boate on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shore.

The people stood in number 30. persons, with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to them that they had a letter, which they would very gladly haue conueied vnto the towne, shewing that they would traffique with them as merchants, desiring their helpe for the conueiance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, & we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the sayd Walter answered them, that they would not come a land, vntil they had answere of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vnraied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swamme to the boate, whom we receiued. And he saluted vs, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answere, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Island to traffique for wines and other things necessarie for vs, doe heare mind to stay vntill she come.

Concerning our letter, he made vs answere that he would with all diligence cary it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and so the sayd Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and also gaue him foure royals of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answere of it, he tooke his leaue, and swamme againe a shore, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and vnderstood our meaning, some of them threw vp their hats, and the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very curteous signes, alwayes desiring that the boate would come a land, but we resaluting thē rowed backe againe aboord.

The 30. day the Gouernours brother of Santa Cruz, came aboord the May Flower, with sixe or seuen Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we might come a shore and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine intertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance for a farewell, and bestowed vpon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Gouernours brother promised our Capitaine that he should haue sufficient pledges the morow following, which was not done, whereupon we grew suspicious, and went not that day a shore.

The first day of Januarie, our Captaine sent Nicholas Day, and Iohn Sumpter a shore, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them. Januarie.

In the sayd Island is a marueilous high hill called the Pike, which is a farre off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knowen that euer any man could go vp to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28. degrees which is as hote in Januarie, as it is in England at Midsommer, yet is the top of the said hill Winter, and Sommer seldome without snow.

In

In this Iland about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz, is a citie called Anagona.

The third day we departed about the Westerne point of the Iland, about 12. or 14. leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right against the house of one Petro de Souses, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5. day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7. dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Iland called Gomera, whereupon we set saple presently to seeke him.

They meete their Admirall againe.

The 6. day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we finde our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd roade we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a ship of the Coppersmiths of London, which the Portingals had trecherously surprised in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our General and merchants bought in the said towne for our prouision, 14. buts of wine, which cost 15. ducats a butt, which were offered vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif, for 8, 9, and 10. ducats.

The 9. day we departed from this road to an other Baie, about 3. leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: and so the 10. day we set saile to wards Cape Blanke, which is on the coast of Ginnie.

The 12. day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35. leagues from Cape Blanke. But hauing no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blanke, and at the fall of the land we sounded, and had 16. fadome water two leagues from the shore. The land is very lowe, and white sand. Upon the fall of the sayd coast, beware how you borow in 12. or 10. fadome, for within 2. or 3. casts of the lead you may be on ground.

A good caueat.

The 17. day, we set saple from Cape Blanke, directing our course South and by East, and South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16. leagues, and about 6. leagues from the shore. The sayd land seemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of ships vnder saple, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammoks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the sayd land till we were within 3. leagues of the shore, and then we sounded, and found 28. fadome water, black oase. This day we saw much fish in sundry sculs swimming with their noses with the brimme of the water.

Cape Verde.

Passing along this coast, we might see two small round hils, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great store of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high, as the said two hils.

The 19. day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a road fast by the Westermost side of two hils, in 10. fadome of water, where you may ride in fiue or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the wind off the shore. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the Captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curtise the master, and dined aboord of vs, being in the George, wherein was Captaine Iohn Heywood, and Iohn Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe aland, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsell of William Bats, both Captaine and merchants and diuers of the company went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: so that he would needes giue the venter, without the consent of the rest, to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shore, where, we being in the ship might see a great company of Negroes naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as fell out afterwards.

The foolish rashnesse of Wil. Bats, perswading the company to land vnarmed.

There went a shore the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20. persons or thereabouts, as master George Fenner the Generall, his brother master Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, Iohn Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, Iohn Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, Iohn Tomson, and others.

At their comming to the shore there were 100. Negroes or vpward, with their bowes and arrowes: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, and according to the vse of the countrey, the one demanded pledges of the other, and they were content to deliuer 3. of their Negros for 5. of our men. Our 5. mens names were these, Iohn Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomson, and Ioh. Curtise: these were deliuered them, and we receiued 3. Negroes into our Admirals skiffe.

Cpuet, muske, gold & graines, the commodities of Cape Verde.

Our men being a shore among the Negroes, began to talke with them, declaring what ware and merchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese and other things. The Negroes answered againe, they had cpuet, muske, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and merchants very well. Then the Negroes desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our merchants were content, and forthwith sent aboord one of the boates for part of their merchandize,

and

and in the meane time while the boate went to the ſhip, our fiue men were walking on the ſhoare with the Negroes, and our Generall and Marchants ſtayed in the other boate by the ſea ſide, hauing the 3. Negroes with them.

Our boate then came againe, and brought yron and other marchandize, with bread, wine, and cheeſe, which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negroes (which were the pledges) made themſelues ſicke, deſiring to goe aſhoare, promiſing to ſende other two for them. Captaine Hayward perceiuing that our men had let the Negroes come a ſhoare, aſked what they meant, (and doubting the worſt) began to draw toward the boate, and two or three of the Negroes followed him. And when he came to the boate they began to ſtay him, and he made ſignes vnto them that he would fet the them more drinke and bread: notwithſtanding, when hee was entring into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches, and would haue ſtayed him, but hee ſprange from him and leapt into the boate. And as ſoone as hee was in, one of the Negroes a ſhoare began to blowe a pipe, and preſently the other Negro that was in our boate, ſitting on the boates ſide, and Maſter Wormes ſword by him, ſuddenly drewe the ſworde out of the ſcaberde and caſt himſelfe into the ſea, and ſwomme a ſhoare: and preſently the Negroes layde handes on our men that were on ſhoare, and tooke three of them with great violence, and toare all their apparell from their backes, and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them ſhotte ſo thicke at our men in our boates, that they coulde ſcarſe ſet hande to any Oare to rowe from the ſhoare, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poyſoned arrowes: and the poyſon is vncurable if the arrowe enter within the ſkinne and drawe bloud, and except the poyſon be preſently ſuckt out, or the place where any man is hurt, be furthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes, and within three houres after they be hurt or pricked, whereſoeuer it be, although but at the litle toe, yet it ſtriketh vp to the heart, and taketh away the ſtomacke, and cauſeth the partie marueilouſly to vomit, being able to brooke neither meate nor drinke.

The Negroes treacherie.

The Negroes hauing vſed our men with ſuch cruelty, whoſe names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and Iohn Tomſon, ledde them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water ſide, or there about.

The 20. day we ſent too lande a boate or ſkiffe wherein were eight perſons, and one of them was the foreſaid Iohn Tomſon and our interpreter, which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negroes which ſpake good French:) they carried with them two harquebuſſes, two targets, and a mantell.

The cauſe of ſending them was to learne what raunſome they demaunded for Batts and Day, whome they detained. And when they came to the ſhoare, and tolde the Negroes what they deſired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them looſe amongſt fourtie or fiftie of them. And being come within a ſtones caſt of the ſea ſide, William Batts brake from them, and ranne as faſt as hee coulde into the ſea towardes the boate, and hee was not ſo ſoone in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his footing fayling him in the ſande being ſoft: ſo that the Negroes came and fell on him and tooke him, and hailed him, that wee thought they had torne him in pieces. For they toare againe all the apparell from his backe, ſo that ſome of them caried our men againe to the towne, and the reſt ſhotte at vs with their poyſoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the ſmall of the legge, who being come aboorde, (for all that our Surgeons coulde doe) wee thought hee would haue died.

The danger of poyſoned arrowes.

Our Generall (notwithſtanding all this villanie,) ſent againe to them, and offered them any thing that they deſired for the raunſome of our men, but they woulde not deliuer them: giuing vs this anſwere. That there was in the foreſayde roade three weekes before wee came, an Engliſh ſhippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or ſende them againe, wee ſhoulde not haue our men, although wee would giue our three ſhippes with their furniture.

The anſwere of the Negroes.

The 21. day a French ſhippe of the burden of foureſcore tunnes, (or there abouts,) came to the place where we were, being bounde to traffique at the Cape: we tolde them of the detayning of our two men by the Negroes: and ſeeing that theſe Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negroes, we wiſhed them to ſee whether they coulde procure them againe of the Negroes, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promiſed the Frenchmen 100. li. to obtaine them. So we committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negroes arrowes, foure died, and one to ſaue his life, had his arme cut off. Androwes that was laſt of all hurt, laye lame not able to helpe himſelfe

onely two recouered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of thoſe that wee loſt, and ſet ſaile.

The 26. day betweene Cape Verde, and Bona viſta, we ſaw many flying fiſhes of the bignes of herrings, whereof two flew into our boate, which we towed at our ſterne.

Bona viſta. The 28. day we fel with an Iſland called Bona viſta, which is from Cape Verde 86. leagues. The Northſide of the ſaide Iſlande is full of white ſandie hilles, and dales, and ſomewhat high lande.

The ſaide day we came to an ancre within the Weſtermoſt point, about a league within the point, and found in our ſounding faire ſande in tenne foote water, but you may goe neere till you be in fiue or ſixe fadom, for the ground is faire.

As ſoone as we were at an ancre, our Generall ſent his pinneſſe a land, and founde fiue or ſixe ſmall houſes, but the people were fledde into the mountaines: and the next day hee ſent a ſhoare againe, and mette with 2. Portingals, who willingly went aboorde with his men, and at their comming he welcommed them, although they were but poore and ſimple, & gaue eche of them a paire of ſhoes, and ſo ſet them a ſhoare againe.

The 30. day we waied and ſailed into a bay within a ſmall Iſland about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers ſorts of fiſh. The foreſaide Iſlande lyeth in ſixteene degrees. And if you meane to ancre in the ſaid bay, you may borrow in foure or fiue fadome of the Southermoſt point of the ſaide Iſland, which you may ſee when you ride in the roade. But beware of the middle of the bay, for there lyeth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is three fadom water ouer them.

A good admonition.

The laſt day of Januarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a ſhoare in the baye to the houſes, where he found twelue Portingals. In all the Iſland there were not aboue 30. perſons, which were baniſhed men for a time, ſome for more yeeres, ſome for leſſe, and amongſt them there was one ſimple man which was their captaine.

Baniſhed Portingals.

They liue vpon goates fleſh, cockes, hennes, and freſh water: other victuals they haue none, ſauing fiſh, which they eſteeme not, neither haue they any boates to take them.

They reported that this Iſlande was giuen by the king of Portingall, to one of his Gentlemen, who hath let it forth to rent for one hundreth ducates a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goates ſkinnes. For by their ſpeaches there hath bene ſent forth of the ſaide Iſland into Portingale 40000. ſkinnes in one yeere.

Great ſtore of goates.

We were to theſe men marueilouſly welcome, and to their powers very well intertained, and they gaue vs the fleſh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and tooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountaines vpon their aſſes.

They haue there great ſtore of the oyle of Tortoyſes, which Tortoyſe is a fiſh which ſwimmeth in the ſea, with a ſhell on his backe as broade as a target. It raineth not in this Iſland but in three moneths of the yeere, from the middeſt of July to the middeſt of October, and it is here alwayes very hotte. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reaſon of the heate and drought they haue died.

Februarie. The 3. of Februarie wee departed from this Iſland, and the ſame day fell with another Iſland

The Iſle of Maiyo. called the Iſle of Maiyo, which is 14. leagues from the other Iſland: there is in the middeſt of the way betweene theſe 2. Iſlands a danger which is alwayes to be ſeene.

S. Iago. Wee ancred in the Northweſt ſide of the ſaide Iſle in a faire bay, of eight fadoms water and faire ſande, but here wee ſtaied not, but the fourth day waied and ſailed to another Iſland called S. Iago, which lyeth off the ſaid Iſlande of Maiyo Eaſt and by South, and about fiue leagues one from the other. Being come within the Weſtermoſt point, wee ſawe a faire roade, and a ſmall towne by the water ſide, and alſo a fort or platforme by it: there wee purpoſed to come to ancre, and our Marchants to make ſome ſale. But before we came within their ſhotte, they let flie at vs two pieces, whereupon wee went roomer and ſailed along the ſhoare two or three leagues from the roade, where we found a ſmall bay and two or three ſmall houſes, where we came to an ancre in 14. fadom faire ground.

Within an houre after we had ancred, we might ſee diuers horſemen and footemen on the land right againſt vs riding, and running to and fro.

The next day being the fift of Februarie, a great companie of their horſemen and footemen appeared on the ſhoare ſide, vnto whome our Generall ſent, to vnderſtande whether they would quietly traſique with them: And they ſent him worde againe, deſiring that they might ſpeake with him, promiſing that if he came to traſique as a marchant, he ſhould be welcome, and alſo that he ſhould haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reaſon demaunde.

When

When this anſwere was brought vnto our Generall, he was very glad thereof, and the whole companie, and preſently (with as much ſpeede as he could) hee cauſed his boates to be made readie: but doubting the villanie of the Portingals, armed his boates, putting a double baſe in the head of his pinneſſe, and two ſingle baſes in the head of his Skiffe, and ſo ſent to the May floure and the George, and willed them in like ſort to man their two boates.

Theſe boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entred into his ſkiffe, and with the reſt rowed to the ſhoare where were threeſcore horſemen or more, and two hundreth footemen readie to receiue them. Our Generall marueiled that they came in ſo great a nomber and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce ſent to them to knowe their pleaſure: and they anſwered them with many faire promiſes and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchants to trafique with him, declaring alſo that their Captaine was comming to ſpeake with him; and therefore deſired our Generall to come and ſpeake with him himſelfe.

With this anſwere the boate returned, and then our Generall cauſed his pinneſſe to rowe to them, and as he came neere the ſhoare, they came in a great companie with much obeyſance, opening their handes, and armes abroade, bowing themſelues with their bonnets off, with as much humble ſalutations outwardly as they might: earneſtly deſiring our Generall and Marchants to come a lande to them, whereunto hee would not agree, without ſufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promiſed to ſende two gages to our Generals contentment, promiſing freſh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were ſuch as they liked: and therefore deſired our Generall and Marchants to ſende them a ſhoare in writing, the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to perfourme, looking for their anſwere the morowe following. And being gone a litle from the ſhoare, hee cauſed his baſes, curriers, and harquabuſſes to be ſhotte off, and our ſhippes in like caſe ſhotte off fiue or ſixe pieces of great ordinance, and ſo came aboorde to prepare the note. The Portingals moſt of them departed, ſauing thoſe that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or fiue a clocke in the after noone was ſent, and it was receiued. But all the purpoſes of the Portingals, were villanouſly to betray vs (as ſhall appeare hereafter,) although we meant in trueth and honeſtie, friendly to trafique with them.

The treaſon of the Portingals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Weſtwards of vs, and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point laſt by the ſea ſide, where they had certaine Caruels or ſhippes, and alſo two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the ſpeede that they might) made readie foure Caruels, and both the Brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furniſhed them both with men and ordinance, as much as they could carrie, and as ſoone as it was night, they came rowing and ſailing towards vs: ſo that the land being high, and the weather ſomewhat cloudie or myſtie, and they comming all the way cloſe vnder the ſhoare, wee could not ſee them till they were right againſt one of our ſhippes called the May floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May floure roade neerer them then the other two by a baſe ſhotte, ſo that they made a ſure accompt either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watche (litle thinking of ſuch villanous treacheries after ſo many faire wordes,) were ſinging and playing one with the other, and made ſuch a noyſe, that (being but a ſmall gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the ſhoare: ſo that we ſuppoſed that they made accompt that wee had eſpied them, which in deede we had not, neither had any one piece of ordinance primed, or any other thing in a readineſſe.

They came ſo neere vs that they were within gunſhot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to ſee a light, & then looking out ſpied the 4. ſhips, and ſuddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and foorthwith they ſhotte at vs all the great ordinance that they had, and their harquebuſſes, and curriers, and ſo lighted certaine tronks or pieces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voyce (as well they on the ſhoare as they in the ſhippes) gaue a great ſhoute, and ſo continued hallowing with great noyces, ſtill approching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. Wee (with all the ſpeede that wee might) made readie one piece of ordinance and ſhotte at them, which cauſed them ſomewhat to ſtaye, ſo they recharged their ordinance and ſhotte at vs freſhly againe, and while they ſhotte this ſecond time at vs, wee had made readie three pieces which wee ſhotte at them, but they approched ſtill ſo neere, that at laſt wee might haue ſhotte a ſheaffe arrowe to them. Whereupon wee hauing a gale of winde off the ſhoare, hoyſed our foreſayle, and cut our cable at the hawſe, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and ſhooting at vs, and ſometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall ſhotte

one ſuch piece at them that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traiterous villaines, and although they thus ſuddenly ſhot all their ſhot at vs, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Iſle of Fuego.

But ſeeing the villanie of theſe men, we thought it beſt to ſtay there no longer, but immediatly ſet ſaile towards an Iſland called Fuego, 12. leagues from the ſaide Iſland of S. Iago. At which Iſland of Fuego we came to an ancre the 11. day of this moneth, againſt a white chappell in the Weſt ende of the ſaid Iſland, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the vttermoſt point of the ſaid Iſland.

In this Iſland is a marueilous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about 3. yeeres paſt, the whole Iſland was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mille.

About a league from the ſaid chappel to the Weſtward, is a goodly ſpring of freſh water, where we had as much as wee would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine ſeede that they call Mill, and certaine peaſon like Guinie peaſon, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good ſtore of rother beaſtes and goates. Their marchandize is cotton which groweth there.

Cotton in Fuego.

The inhabitants are Portingals, which haue commandement frō the king to trafique neither with Engliſhmen nor Frenchmen for victual or any other thing, except they be forced ſo to doe.

The Iſle of Braua.

There lieth off this Iſland, another called Ilha Braua, which is not paſſing two leagues ouer, it hath good ſtore of goates and many trees, but there are not paſſing three or foure perſons dwelling in it.

They returne. March.

The 25. day of Februarie we departed towards the Iſlands of Azores, and on the 23. day of March we had ſight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might ſee another Iſland to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying 2. leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27. we came to an ancre in Cueruo ouer againſt a village of about twelue ſimple houſes: but in the night by a gale of winde, which cauſed vs to drawe our ancre after vs, we hoyſed ſaile and went to the aforeſaid Iſland of Flores, where wee ſawe ſtrange ſtreames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reaſon of the great abundance of raine that had ſuddenly fallen.

The 29. day we came againe to Cueruo and caſt ancre, but a ſtorme aroſe and continued ſeuen or eight houres together, ſo that wee let ſlippe a cable and ancre, and after the ſtorme was alayed wee came againe thinking to haue recouered the ſame, but the Portingals had either taken it, or ſpoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and ancre was better worth then 40. li. So that we accompt our ſelues much beholding to the honeſt Portingals.

April.

The 18. day of April wee tooke in water at the Iſland of Flores, and hauing ancred, our cable was fretted in ſunder with a rocke and ſo burſt, where wee loſt that cable and ancre alſo, and ſo departed to our coaſt.

Then wee ſet ſaile to an Iſlande named Faiall, about the which lie three other Iſlands, the one called Pico, the other S. George, and the other Gracioſa, which wee had ſight of on the 28. day.

The 29. we came to an ancre in the Southweſt ſide of Fayal in a faire bay, and 22. fadom water gainſt a litle towne, where we had both freſh water and freſh victual. In this Iſland by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene woad, which by their ſpeaches is farre better then the woade of S. Michael, or of Terçera.

Woade.

May.

The eight day of May we came to Tercera, where we mette with a Portingal ſhippe, and being deſtitute of a cable and ancre, our Generall cauſed vs to keepe her companie, to ſee if ſhee could conueniently ſpare vs any. The next morning we might ſee bearing with vs a great ſhippe and two Caruels, which wee iudged to bee of the king of Portingals Armado, and ſo they were, whereupon wee prepared our ſelues for our defence. The ſaide ſhippe was one of the kings Gallialſes, about the burden of foure hundreth tunnes, with about three hundreth men in her, the ſhippe being well appointed with braſſe pieces both great and ſmall, and ſome of them ſo bigge, that their ſhotte was as great as a mans head, the other two Caruels were alſo very warlike and well appointed, both with men and munition.

A Portingal Galliaſſe of 400. tunnes.

A fight betweene one Engliſh ſhip, and 7. Portingals.

As ſoone as they were within ſhotte of vs, they waued vs amaine with their ſworde, wee keeping our courſe, the greateſt ſhippe ſhot at vs freely, and the caruell alſo, and wee prepared our ſelues, and made all things cleare for our ſafegard as neere as we could. Then the great ſhippe ſhot at vs all her broad ſide, & her foure greateſt pieces that laye in her ſterne, and therewith hurt ſome of our men, and wee did the beſt wee could with our ſhotte to requite it. At laſt two other

Caruels

Caruels came off the ſhoare, and two other pinneſſes full of men, and deliuered them aboorde the great ſhippe, and ſo went backe againe with two men in a piece of them. The ſhippe and the Caruels gaue vs the firſt day three fights, and when the night was come, they left off ſhooting, yet notwithſtanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time wee had as much as wee coulde doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to ſtrengthen our bulwarkes, putting our truſt in God, and reſoluing our ſelues rather to die in our defenſe, then to bee taken by ſuch wretches.

The next day being the 10. of May in the morning, there were come to ayde the ſaide Portingals, 4. great Armados or Caruels more which made ſeuen, of which 4. three of them were at the leaſt 100. tunnes apiece, the other not ſo bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All theſe together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Caruels came to lay vs aboorde (as we iudged) for they had prepared their falſe nettings, and all things for that purpoſe, ſo that the Gallias came vp in our larboord ſide, and the Caruel in our ſtarboord ſide.

Our Captaine and Maſter perceiuing their pretence, cauſed our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with croſſebarres, chaineſhotte, and hailſhot: ſo the ſhippe and Caruell came vp, and as ſoone as they were right in our ſides, they ſhotte at vs as much ordinance as they coulde, thinking to haue layde vs preſently aboorde: whereupon wee gaue them ſuch a heate with both our ſides, that they were both glad to fall aſterne vs, and ſo pauſed the ſpace of two or three houres being a very ſmall gale of winde.

Then came vp the other fiue and ſhot all at vs, and ſo fel all aſterne vs, and then went to counſell together.

Then our ſmall barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great ſpace. And as the Portingall ſhippes and Caruels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall aſterne of vs, and ſo to come vp againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reaſon of the litle winde, it was ſo long before ſhe could fill her ſailes againe, that both the ſhippe and Caruels were come vp to vs, and ſhe falling in among them, made reaſonable ſhift with them, but they got a head of her, ſo that ſhe could not fetch vs: then 5. of the Caruels folowed her, but we ſawe ſhee defended her ſelfe againſt them all.

Then came the great ſhippe and the Caruell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May floure our other conſort, being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof, and halde all that day cloſe by the winde, but coulde not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In theſe many fights it coulde not otherwiſe bee, but needes ſome of our men muſt be ſlaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much ſpoyled: yet for all this wee did our beſt indeuour to repaire all things, and to ſtand to it to the death, with our aſſured truſt in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May floure came vp to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and ſpoyles, and wiſhed them if they coulde ſpare halfe a doſen freſh men, to hoyſe out their boate and ſende them to him, but they coulde not ſpare any, and ſo bare away againe. Which when our enemies ſawe in the next morning, that we were one from another, they came vp to vs againe and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to ſinke vs: but although our companie was but ſmall, yet leaſt they ſhoulde ſee vs any whit diſmayde, when they hallowed wee hallowed alſo as faſt as they, and waued to them to come and boorde vs if they durſt, but that they woulde not, ſeeing vs ſtill ſo couragious, and hauing giuen vs that day 4. fights, at night they forſooke vs with ſhame, as they came to vs at the firſt with pride.

The 7. Portingals depart with ſhame from one Engliſh ſhipp.

They had made in our ſhippe ſome leakes with their ſhotte which we againe ſtopped with all ſpeede, and that being done, we tooke ſome reſt after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May floure came to vs, and brought vs ſixe men in her boate, which did vs much pleaſure, and we ſent to them ſome of our hurt men.

Then we directed our courſe for our owne countrey, and by the ſecond day of June wee were neere to our owne coaſt, and ſounded being thwart the Lyzard. June.

The thirde day we had ſight of a ſhippe which was a Portingall, who bare with vs, and at his comming to vs (the weather being calme,) our Captaine cauſed him to hoyſe foorth his boate to come aboorde to ſpeake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demaunded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bounde, and they made anſwere that their lading was Suger and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants ſhewed

them 5. Negroes that wee had, and aſked them whether they would buy them, which they were very deſirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40. cheſtes of Suger, which cheſtes were ſmall hauing not aboue 26. loaues in a piece: ſo they with their boate did fetch fiue of the cheſts, and deliuered them, and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, wee might ſee bearing with vs, a great ſhippe and a ſmall, which our Captaine ſuppoſed to be men of warre or Rouers, and then willed the Portingals to carie their ſuger to their ſhippe againe, purpoſing to make our ſelues readie for our defence. But the Portingals earneſtly intreated our Captaine not ſo to forſake them, and promiſed him (if he would ſafegard them.) to giue him aboue the bargaine 10. cheſts of ſuger: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portingal not being good of ſaile, we ſpared our topſailes for her; ſo at laſt the foreſaide ſhip bare with vs, and (ſeeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and ſeeing vs not about to flie a lot from them, forſooke vs alſo.

A Portingal ſhip (notwithſtanding all their vilanies) defended by our men from Rouers.

The 5. day of June wee had ſight of the Start, and about noone wee were thwart of the bay of Lime, and ſo ſounded, and had 35. fadom water.

The ſixt day wee came in at the Needles, and ſo came to an ancre vnder the Iſle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence ſailed to Southhampton, where wee made an ende of this voyage.

The worthie enterpriſe of Iohn Fox an Engliſhman in deliuering 266. *Chriſtians out of the captiuitie of* the Turkes at Alexandria, the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.

AMong our Marchants here in England it is a common voyage, to trafique into Spaine: whereunto a ſhippe, being called The three halfe Moones, manned with eight and thirtie men, and well fenſed with Munitions, the better to encounter their enemies withal, & hauing winde & tide, ſet from Portſmouth 1563. and bended her iourney towarde Siuill a Citie in Spaine, intending there to trafique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued themſelues to be beſet round about with eight Gallies of the Turks, in ſuch wiſe, that there was no way for them to flie or eſcape away, but that either they muſt yeelde or elſe bee ſunke. Which the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his companie, exhorting them valiantly to ſhewe their manhoode, ſhewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requeſting them alſo not to faint in ſeeing ſuch a heape of their enemies readie to deuoure them; putting them in minde alſo, that if it were Gods pleaſure to giue them into their enemies handes, it was not they, that ought to ſhewe one diſpleaſant looke or countenance there againſt; but to take it patiently, and not to preſcribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the Citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themſelues vnder his mercie. And againe, if it were his minde and good will to ſhewe his mightie power by them, if their enemies were tenne times ſo many, they were not able to ſtande in their handes; putting them likewiſe in minde of the olde and auncient worthineſſe of their Countreymen, who in the hardeſt extremities haue alwayes moſt preuailed and gone away conquerours, yea, and where it hath bene almoſt impoſſible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantneſſe of our countreymen; and ſuch hath bene the mightie power of our God.

With ſuch other like incouragements, exhorting them to behaue themſelues manfully, they fell all on their knees making their Prayers briefly vnto God: who being all riſen vp againe, perceiued their enemies by their ſignes and defiances bent to the ſpoyle, whoſe mercie was nothing elſe but crueltie; wherupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then ſtoode vp one Groue the Maſter, being a comely man, with his ſworde and target, holding them vp in defiance againſt his enemies. So likewiſe ſtoode vp the owner, the Maſters mate, Boteſwaine, Purſer and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewiſe ſounded vp the drummes, trumpets and flutes, which would haue incouraged any man, had hee neuer ſo little heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge Iohn Fox the gunner in the diſpoſing of his pieces in order to the beſt effect; and ſending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewiſe beſtowed their pieces thyſe as faſt toward the Chriſtians. But ſhortly they drewe neere, ſo that the bowmen fell to their charge in ſending forth their arrowes ſo thicke amongſt the Gallies, & alſo in doubling their ſhot ſo ſore vpon the Gallies, that there were twiſe ſo many of the Turkes ſlaine, as the number of the Chriſtians were in all. But the Turkes diſcharged twiſe as faſt againſt the Chriſtians, & ſo long,

that

that the ſhip was very ſore ſtriken & bruiſed vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made the more haſte to come aboord the ſhippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it deerely with the loſſe of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and boorded they were, where they found ſo hot a ſkirmiſh, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feaſt. For the Engliſhmen ſhewed themſelues men in deede, in working manfully with their browne bils, and holbards: where the owner, maſter, boteſwaine, and their company ſtoode to it ſo luſtily, that the Turkes were halfe diſmaied. But chiefly the boateſwaine ſhewed himſelf valiant aboue the reſt: for he fared amongſt the Turkes like a wood Lyon: for there was none of them that either could or durſt ſtand in his face: till at the laſt there came a ſhot from the Turkes, which brake his whiſtle a ſunder, and ſmote him on the breaſt, ſo that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good comfort, incouraging them likewiſe to winne praiſe by death, rather then to liue captiues in miſerie and ſhame. Which they hearing, in deede intended to haue done, as it appeared by their ſkirmiſh: but the preaſe and ſtore of the Turkes was ſo great, that they were not able long to endure, but were ſo ouerpreſſed, that they could not weild their weapons: by reaſon wherof, they muſt needs be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the Maſters mate, who ſhunke from the ſkirmiſh, like a notable coward, eſteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the preſent example of his fellowes, nor hauing reſpect to the miſeries, whereunto he ſhould be put. But in fine, ſo it was, that the Turks were victors, wherof they had no great cauſe to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to ſee theſe Infidels ſo violently intreating the Chriſtians, not hauing any reſpect of their manhood which they had taſted of, nor yet reſpecting their owne ſtate, how they might haue met with ſuch a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorſe hereof, or any thing els doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Chriſtians muſt needes to the gallies, to ſerue in newe offices: and they were no ſooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and torne from their backes, and they ſet to the oares.

The valour & death of their Boatſwaine.

I will make no mention of their miſeries, being now vnder their enemies raging ſtripes. I thinke there is no man wil iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloden of ſtripes, and not peſtered with too much heate, and alſo with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpoſe, which is, to ſhew the ende of thoſe, being in meere miſerie, which continually doe call on God with a ſtedfaſt hope, that he will deliuer them, and with a ſure faith, that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very penſible with ſtrong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe cuſtomably bring their gallies on ſhoare euery yeere, in the winter ſeaſon, and there doe trimme them, and lay them vp againſt the ſpring time. In which roade there is a priſon, wherein the captiues & ſuch priſoners as ſerue in the gallies, are put for all that time, vntill the ſeas be calme and paſſable for the gallies, euery priſoner being moſt grieuouſly laden with yrons on their legges, to their great paine, and ſore diſabling of them to any labour taking. Into which priſon were theſe Chriſtians put, and faſt warded all the winter ſeaſon. But ere it was long, the Maſter and the owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the reſt abiding ſtill by the miſerie, while that they were all, through reaſon of their ill vſage and worſe fare, miſerably ſtarued: ſauing one Iohn Fox, who (as ſome men can abide harder and more miſerie, then other ſome can, ſo can ſome likewiſe make more ſhift, and worke more deuiſes to helpe their ſtate and liuing, then other ſome can doe) being ſomewhat ſkilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reaſon thereof made great ſhift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Inſomuch, till at the laſt, God ſent him fauour in the ſight of the keeper of the priſon, ſo that he had leaue to goe in and out to the roade, at his pleaſure, paying a certaine ſtipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his legge: which libertie likewiſe, ſire more had vpon like ſufferance: who by reaſon of their long impriſonment, not being feared or ſuſpected to ſtart aſide, or that they would worke the Turkes any miſchiefe, had libertie to goe in and out at the ſaid roade, in ſuch manner, as this Iohn Fox did, with yrons on their legges, and to returne againe at night.

The Engliſh men carried priſoners vnto an hauen neere Alexandria.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the winter ſeaſon, the Gallies happily comming to their accuſtomed harborow, and being diſcharged of all their maſtes, ſailes, and other ſuch furnitures as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Maiſters and mariners of them being then neſted in their owne homes: there remained in the priſon of the ſaid road two hundred threeſcore and eight Chriſtian priſoners, who had beene taken by the Turkes force, and were of ſixteene ſundry nations. Among which there were three Engliſhmen, whereof one was named Iohn Fox of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portſmouth in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Eſſex. Which Iohn Fox

hauing

hauing bene thirteene or foureteene yeeres vnder their gentle entreatance, & being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weied with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himselfe thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be alwaies scourging his children, and neuer ceasling to pray him to further his pretended enterprise, if that it should redound to his glory.

Not farre from the roade, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine Victualing house, which one Peter Vnticaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the roade. This Peter Vnticaro was a Spaniard borne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner aboue thirtie yeeres, and neuer practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: vntill that nowe this Iohn Foxe vsing much thither, they brake one to another their minds, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this Iohn Fox at length opening vnto this Vnticaro the deuise which he would faine put in practise, made priuie one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter, at such times as they could compasse to meete together: insomuch, that at seuen weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded howe the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them thereto: who making fiue more priuie to this their deuise, whome they thought that they might safely trust, determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other sixe, appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and howe and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who thereunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same Iohn Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man should be ready discharged of his prons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

The last of December.

Ianuarie.

On the next day at night, this saide Iohn Fox, and his sixe other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their deuise, sent Peter Vnticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whome this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

In the meane season, the other seuen had prouided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steede of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyse, straightway suspected the matter: and returning backeward, Iohn Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped foorth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, sayde, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldest seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and nowe thou shalt knowe what thou hast deserued at my handes: wherewith he lift vp his bright shining sword of ten yeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as therewithall his head claue asunder, so that he fell starke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stoode with the keeper: who came presently foorth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were sixe warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there? quoth Fox & his company, all friends. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for quoth Fox, my maisters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaued themselues in deede, that they had dispatched these sixe quickly. Then Iohn Fox, intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keies of the fortresse and prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckets, which this Peter Vnticaro, and two more, opening, stuffed themselues so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which Iohn Fox would not

once

once touch, and ſaide, that it was his and their libertie which he ſought for, to the honour of his God, and not to make a marte of the wicked treaſure of the Infidels. Yet did theſe words ſinke nothing into their ſtomakes, they did it for a good intent: ſo did Saule ſaue the fatteſt Oxen, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to ſerue their owne turne. But neither did Saule ſcape the wrath of God therefore, neither had theſe that thing which they deſired ſo, and did thirſt after. Such is Gods iuſtice. He that they put their truſt in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies, (he I ſay) could ſupply their want of neceſſaries.

Nowe theſe eight, being armed with ſuch weapons, as they thought well of, thinking themſelues ſufficient champions to encounter a ſtronger enemie, and comming vnto the priſon, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called foorth all the priſoners, whom he ſet, ſome to ramming vp the gate, ſome to the dreſſing vp of a certaine gallie, which was the beſt in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto ſome caried maſtes, ſailes, oares, and other ſuch furniture, as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the priſon were certaine warders, whome Iohn Fox and his company ſlewe: in the killing of whome, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the priſon: vnto whome Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they found a hot ſkirmiſh. For ſome of them were there ſlaine, ſome wounded, and ſome but ſcarred, and not hurt. As Iohn Fox was thrise ſhot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnticaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckets, were ſlaine, as not able to weild themſelues, being ſo pettered with the weight and vneaſie carying of the wicked and prophane treaſure: and alſo diuers Chriſtians were aſwell hurt about that ſkirmiſh, as Turkes ſlaine.

Amongſt the Turkes was one thruſt thorowe, who (let vs not ſay that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the priſon wall, and made ſuch a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there ſcattering ſtoode a houſe or two) came and dawed him, ſo that they vnderſtoode the caſe, how that the priſoners were paying their ranſomes: wherewith they raiſed both Alexandria, which lay on the weſt ſide of the roade, and a Caſtle which was at the Cities end, nert to the roade, and alſo an other Fortreſſe which lay on the North ſide of the roade: ſo that nowe they had no way to eſcape, but one, which by mans reaſon (the two holdes lying ſo vpon the mouth of the roade) might ſeeme impoſſible to be a way for them. So was the red ſea impoſſible for the Iſraelites to paſſe through, the hils and rockes lay ſo on the one ſide, and their enemies compaſſed them on the other. So was it impoſſible, that the wals of Iericho ſhould fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wiſedome, pollicie, or helpe ſet or put thereunto. Such impoſſibilities can our God make poſſible. He that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel aſunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold ỹ roring canons of this helliſh force? He that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Duen, from the three children, that praiſed his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blaſtes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with luſtie ſouldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are faine to ſtand to their tackling, in ſetting to euery man his hand, ſome to the carying in of victuals, ſome munitions, ſome oares, and ſome one thing, ſome another, but moſt are keeping their enemie from the wall of the roade. But to be ſhort, there was no time miſpent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill beſtowed, or in vaine. So that in ſhort time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haſte, hoyſſing vp the ſailes luſtily, yeelding themſelues to his mercie and grace, in whoſe hands is both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on flote, and out of the ſafetie of the roade: nowe haue the two Caſtles full power vpon the gally, now is there no remedie but ſinke: how can it be auoided? the canons let flee from both ſides, and the gally is euen in the middeſt, and betweene them both. What man can deuiſe to ſaue it? there is no man, but would thinke it muſt needes be ſinke.

There was not one of them that feared the ſhotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once ſcarred or touched, with fiue and fortie ſhot, which came from the Caſtles. Here did God hold foorth his buckler, he ſhieldeth nowe this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermoſt. Now commeth his ſpeciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them paſt all helpe, then commeth he himſelfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his preſent remedie moſt ready preſt. For they ſaile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a ſhot, and are quickly out of the Turkiſh canons reach. Then might they ſee them comming downe by heapes to the water ſide, in companies like vnto ſwarmes of bees, making ſhew to come after them with gallies, in buſkling themſelues to dreſſe vp the gallies, which would be a ſwift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, maſtes, ſailes, gables, nor any thing els ready in

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any gally. But yet they are carying them into them,some into one gally,and some into an other, so that,being such a confusion amongst them,without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to ouertake them: beside that,there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough,and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased thereat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake neuer a word for dulnes,much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoeuer it is,he is very much to blame,to suffer them to receiue such a gibe.But howsoeuer their God behaued himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God in deede,and that he was the onely liuing God: for the seas were swift vnder his faithfull,which made the enemies agast to behold them,a skilfuller Pylot leades them,and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners,Pylote,nor any skilfull Master,that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast,Iohn Fox called to them all,willing them to be thankfull vnto almightie God for their deliuerie,and most humbly to fall downe vpon their knees,beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into an other daunger, sithe hee had mokte mightily deliuered them from so great a thraldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oares,in helping one another,when they were wearied,and with great labour striuing to come to some Christian land,as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so diuers, one while driuing them this way,an other while that way,so that they were now in a newe mase, thinking that God had forsaken them,and left them to a greater danger.And forasmuch as there were no victuals nowe left in the gallie,it might haue bene a cause to them, (if they had bene the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God,who had deliuered them out of Ægypt,was such a louing and mercifull God, as that he would not suffer them to be confounded,in whome he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soeuer they sustained,they knew it was but for their farther triall, and also (in putting them in minde of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselues therefore.Hauing (I say) no victuals in the gally,it might seeme,one miserie continually to fal vpon an others necke: but to be briefe,the famine grew to be so great, that in 28. daies, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons,to the astonishment of all the rest.

Extremitie of famine.

So it fell out,that vpon the 29. day,after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie,and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there,while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde,wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewell, and hung it vp for a monument.

Iohn Fox his sword,kept as a monument in Gallipoli.

When they thought good,hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sailed along the coast, till they arriued at Tarento,where they solde their gallie, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiuing so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians,and scoured the seas,where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night,as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, fearing least they should haue bene met with.And then they came a foote to Naples,where they departed asunder,euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome,where he was well entertained of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope,who rewarded him liberally,and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who for this his moste worthy enterprise, gaue him in fee twenty pence a day. From whence,being desirous to come into his owne countrey,he came thither at such time as he conueniently could,which was in the yeere of our Lorde God,1579. Who being come into England,went vnto the Court,and shewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth,in thraldome and bondage,extended to him their liberalitie,to helpe to maintaine him now in age,to their right honour,and to the incouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for Iohn Fox,and his companie, made *by the Prior,and the brethren of Gallipoli,where they first landed.*

WE the Prior,& Fathers of the Couēt of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers do testifie,that vpon ỹ 29. of Ianuary last past,1577. there came in

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to the ſaid citie a certaine gallie from Alexandria,taken from the Turkes, with two hundreth fiftie and eight Chriſtians,whereof was principal,Maſter Iohn Fox,an Engliſh man,a gunner, and one of the chiefeſt that did accompliſh that great worke, whereby ſo many Chriſtians haue recouered their liberties.In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earneſt requeſt to the ſame Iohn Fox,he hath left here an olde ſword, wherewith he ſlewe the keeper of the priſon: which ſword we doe as a monument and memoriall of ſo worthie a deede,hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent houſe.And for becauſe all things aforeſaid, are ſuch as we will teſtifie to be true,as they are orderly paſſed, and haue therefore good credite,that ſo much as is aboue expreſſed is true,and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforeſaid, haue ratified and ſubſcribed theſe preſents.Yeuen in Gallipoly,the third of Feb.1577.

I Frier Vincent Barba, Prior of the ſame place,confirme the premiſes, as they are aboue written.
I Frier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly,Subprior,confirme as much.
I Frier Anthony Celleler of Galls, confirme as aforeſaid.
I Frier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue ſaid.
I Frier Frauncis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Biſhop of Rome his letters,in the behalfe of *Iohn Fox.*

BE it knowen vnto all men,to whome this writing ſhal come,that the bringer hereof Iohn Fox Engliſhman,a Gunner,after he had ſerued captiue in the Turks gallies,by the ſpace of foureteene yeeres,at length,thorow God his helpe,taking good opportunitie, the third of Ianuarie laſt paſt,ſlew the keeper of the priſon,(whom he firſt ſtroke on the face)together with foure and twentie other Turkes,by the aſſiſtance of his fellow priſoners: and with 266. Chriſtians,(of whoſe libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence, arriued firſt at Gallipoly in Candie,and afterwards at Tarento in Apulia: the written teſtimony and credite of which things,as alſo of others, the ſame Iohn Fox hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Eaſter eue,he came to Rome,and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spaniſh Court,hoping there to obtaine ſome reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore diſtreſſed man humbly beſeecheth,and we in his behalfe,do in the bowels of Chriſt,deſire you, that taking compaſſion of his former captiuitie,and preſent penurie, you doe not onely ſuffer him freely to paſſe throughout all your cities and townes,but alſo ſuccour him with your charitable almes,the reward whereof, you ſhall hereafter moſt aſſuredly receiue,which we hope you will affoord to him, whome with tender affection of pitie, wee commend vnto you. At Rome,the xx. of Aprill. 1577.

Thomas Grolos Engliſhman,Biſhop of Aſtraphen.
Richard Stileun Prior Angliæ.
Andreas Ludouicus,Regiſter to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credite of the premiſes,haue ſet my ſeale to theſe preſents. At Rome,the day and yeere aboue written.
Mauricius Clement,the gouernour and keeper of the Engliſh Hoſpitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the *placing of Iohn Fox in the office of a Gunner,&c.*

TO the illuſtrious Prince,Veſpaſian Gonſaga Colonna,our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valentia,hauing conſideration, that Iohn Fox Engliſhman,hath ſerued vs,and was one of the moſt principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie,which they haue brought to Tarento,wherein were two hundred,fiftie and eight Chriſtian captiues.We licence him to practiſe,and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained,that he goe to our ſaid Realme,there to ſerue in the ſaid office in the Gallies,which by our commaundement are lately made. And we doe commaund,that you cauſe to be paied to him eight duckets pay a moneth,for the time that he ſhall ſerue in the ſaide Gallies as a Gunner,or till we can otherwiſe prouide for him, the ſaid eight duckets monethly of the money

which

which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regarde of those which come with him. From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

Verses written by A. M. to the curteous Readers, who was present at Rome, when Iohn Fox receiued his letters of the Pope.

Leauing at large all fables vainely vsde,
all trifling toyes that doe no truthe import:
Loe here how the'nd (at length) though long de-
vnfoldeth plaine a true and rare report: (fusd
To glad those minds, who seek their cõtries welth
by profered paines t'en'vrge his happy helth.
At Rome I was, when Fox did there ariue:
therefore I may sufficiently expresse
What gallant ioy his deedes did there reuiue
in the harts of those which heard his valiantnes.
And how the Pope did recompence his paines,
and letters gaue to moue his greater gaines.

I was at Rome in the English house, when Fox was there, and receiued his letters.

But yet I know that many doe misdoubt,
that those his paines are fables and vntrue:
Not onely I in this will beare him out,
but diuerse more that did his pattents view.
And vnto those so boldely I dare say: (wray.
that naught but trueth Iohn Fox doth here be-
Besides heer's one was slaue with him in thrall,
lately returnd into our native land:
This witnes can this matter perfect all,
what needeth more? for witnes he may stand.
And thus I ende, vnfolding what I knowe:
the other man more larger proofe can showe.

Honos alit artes. A. M.

The ambassage of Master Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne *Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her Highnes, to Mully Abdelmelech*, Emperour of Maroccus, and King of Fes, and Sus: in the yeere 1577. written by himselfe.

Wap.

Edmund Hogan, being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Maiestie, to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my companie, and seruants from London, the two and twentie day of Aprill, 1577. being imbarked in the good shippe, called the Gallion of London, and arriued in Asafi, a port of Barbarie, the one and twentie day of Maye, next following. Immediately I sent Leonell Edgerton a shoare, with my letters, directed to Iohn Williams, and Iohn Bampton, who dispatched a Trottero to Maroccus, to know the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

Master Hogan his arriuall at Asafi in Barbarie.

They with all speede, gaue the King vnderstanding of it, who being glad thereof, speeded the next day certaine Captaines, with souldiers, and tents, with other prouision, to Asafi: so that vpon Whitsonday at night, the said Captaines, with Iohn Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lyon, and the kings officers, came late to Asafi.

In the meane time, I remained a boord, & caused some of the goods to be discharged for lightning of the shippe, and I wrote in my letters, that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kinges pleasure.

The 22. day, being Saturday, the Makespeede arriued into the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27. day, being Whitsonday, came aboord the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderstand, how much the King reioyced of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie, and how that for my safe conduite to the Court he had sent foure Captaines, and 100. souldiers well appointed, with a horse furnished, which he vsed himselfe to ride on, with al other furniture accordingly: they wished me also to come on land, in ỳ best order I could, as wel for my selfe, as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of 10. men, whereof three were trumpetters.

The

The ſhips being foure, appointed themſelues in the beſt order they could, for the beſt ſhew, and ſhot off all their ordinance, to the value of twentie Marks in powder.

At my comming a ſhoare, I found all the ſouldiers well appointed on horſeback, the Captaines, and the Gouernour of the towne ſtanding as neere the water ſide as they could, with a Jennet of the kings, and receiued me from the boate, declaring how glad his maieſtie was of my ſafe arriuall, comming from the Queenes maieſtie my maiſtreſſe, and that he had ſent them to attend vpon me, being his pleaſure that I ſhould tary there on ſhore, fiue or ſixe dayes for my refreſhing.

So being mounted vpon the Jennet, they conducted mee through the towne into a faire fielde vpon the Sea ſide, where was a tent prouided for me, and all the ground ſpread with Turkie carpets, and the Caſtle diſcharged a peale of ordinaunce, and all things neceſſarie were brought into my tent, where I both tooke my table, and lodged, and had other conuenient tentes for my ſeruaunts.

The ſouldiors enuironed the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I ſought my ſpeedier diſpatch.

On the Wedneſday towardes night, I tooke my horſe and trauailed ten miles to the firſt place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and ſo trauailed till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till 4. and ſo trauailed as long as day light would ſuffer, about 26. miles that day.

In Barbarie they haue no Innes, but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

The next day being Friday, I trauailed in like order, but eight and twentie miles at the leaſt, and by a Riuer beyng about ſixe miles within ſight of the Citie of Moroccus wee pitched our tents.

Immediately after came all our Engliſh merchaunts, and the French on horſeback to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with fiftie men, and diuers mules laden with victuall and banket, for my ſupper, declaring vnto me how glad the king ſhewed himſelfe to heare of the Queenes maieſtie, and that his pleaſure was I ſhould be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Chriſtian the like: and deſired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, becauſe he would that all the Chriſtians, as alſo his nobilitie, ſhould meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

The ſingular humanitie of the king to our Ambaſſador.

About ſeuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and Engliſh merchants, and a great number of ſouldiours, I paſſed towardes the Citie, and by that time I had trauailed two miles, there met me all the Chriſtians of the Spaniardes and Portingals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commaundement, then of any good wils of themſelues: for ſome of them although they ſpeake me faire, hung downe their heads like dogs, and eſpecially the Portingals, and I countenanced them accordingly.

The Spaniards and Portingals were commanded by the king in pain of death, to meete the Engliſh Ambaſſador.

So I paſſed on till I came within two Engliſh miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, ſhewing mee that the king was ſo glad of my comming, that hee could not deuiſe to doe too much, to ſhewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Maieſtie, and her Realme.

His counſailers mette me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footemen and guard were placed on both ſides of my horſe, and ſo brought me to the kings palace.

The king ſate in his chaire with his counſaile about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and, according to his order giuen vnto mee before, I there declared my meſſage in Spaniſh, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Maieſties letters, and all that I ſpake at that preſent in Spaniſh, hee cauſed one of his Elchies to declare the ſame to the Moores preſent in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he anſwered me againe in Spaniſh, yeelding to the Queenes Maieſtie great thankes, and offering himſelfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commaundement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counſailers to conduct mee to my lodging, not beyng farre from the Court.

The houſe was faire after the faſhion of that countrey, being daily well furniſhed with all kind of victuall at the kings charge.

The ſame night hee ſent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him aboue the ſpace of two howers, where I throughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Maieſtie, finding him conformable, willing to pleaſure, and not to vrge her Maieſtie with any demaundes, more then conueniently ſhee might willingly conſent vnto, hee knowyng that out of his countrey, the Realme of England might be better ſerued with lackes, then hee in compariſon from vs.

The king of Spain sought to disgrace the Queene and her Ambassadour.

Further he gaue mee to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes Maiestie of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue any credite or intertainment, albeit (sayd he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Inquisition, that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Therefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how little account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes maiestie of England.

Hee shall not come to my presence as you haue done, and shall daily: for I minde to accept of you, as my companion, and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentie dayes after hee hath done his message.

After the end of this speach, I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as hee tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court, to a palace, where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of Barbarie sent into England for Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankefully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to prouide them, and that I did not doubt, but vpon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good entertainment with prouision of victuall, and to liue according to their law and conscience, wherein he vrgeth none to the contrary.

I find him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament, as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others, because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of idoles, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift bestowed vpon our Ambassadour.

The same night being the first of June, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue so good liking of me, ẏ he tooke from his girdle, a short dagger, being set with 200. stones, rubies, and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted, returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday and our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the Munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, & Muslke.

Likewise on the Tuesday by three of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a silke bed, complaining of a sore leg: yet after long conference hee walked into an other Orchard, whereas hauing a faire banketting house, and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboord the gallie, and tooke me with him, and passed the space of two or three howers, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he sayd) he had exercised himselfe eighteene yeeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his horses and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his sore legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

June.

The 13. of June at sixe of the clocke at night, I had againe audience with the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission, as for the well dealing with her merchants for their traffique here in these partes, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiestie and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subiects may with good securitie enter into his portes and dominions, as well in trade of merchaundise, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies, to bring in prises, and to make sales as occasion should serue, or els to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

The offers of the king to our English merchants.

Likewise for all English shippes that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, and thorow the Streicts into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and merchants with their goods, might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turkes dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would write to the Turke, and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vsing of our ships and goods.

Also that hereafter no Englishmen, that by any meanes may be taken captiues, shall bee solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiestie accepting of these his offers, was pleased to confirme the intercourse, and trade of our merchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of merchandize, so as he required nothing contrary to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the christian princes her neighbors.

A good prouiso.

The

The ſame night I preſented the king with the caſe of combes, and deſired his maieſtie to haue ſpeciall regard that the ſhips might be laden backe againe, for that I found litle ſtore of Salt peter in readineſſe in Iohn Bamptons hands. He anſwered me that I ſhould haue all the aſſiſtance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue ſome ſtore in his houſe there, as alſo that the Mountayners had made much in a readineſſe: I requeſted that he would ſend downe, which he promiſed to doe.

The eighteene day I was with him againe, and ſo continued there till night, and he ſhewed me his houſe with paſtime in ducking with water Spaniels, and baiting buls with his Engliſh dogges.

At this time I mooued him againe for the ſending downe to Sus, which he graunted to doe, and the 24. day there departed Alcayde Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company, the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammet, and Alcayde Shauan, and the Uiceroy.

The 23. day the king ſent me out of Morocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcayde Mamoute, and the 24. at night I came to the court to ſee a Morris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promiſed me audience the next day being Tueſday, but he put it off till Thurſday: and the Thurſday at night I was ſent for to the king after ſupper, and then he ſent Alcayde Rodwan, and Alcayde Gowry to conferre with me, but after a litle talke I deſired to be brought to the king for my diſpatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bils of Iohn Bamptons which he had made for prouiſion of Salt peter, alſo two bils for the quiet traffique of our Engliſh merchants, and bils for ſugers to be made by the Iewes, as well for the debts paſt, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Alſo I mooued him againe for the Saltpeter, and other diſpatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaydes. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaydes could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcayde Rodwan fell ſicke, ſo on Sunday we made meanes to the king, and that afternoone I was ſent for to conferre vpon the bargaine, with the Alcaydes and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote a letter to the king for my diſpatch, and the ſame afternoone I was called againe to the court, and referred all things to the king, accepting his offer of Saltpeter.

That night againe the king had me into his gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thurſday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals groſſe of Salt peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto me to my lodging, ſhewing me that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers cauſes.

The Sunday night late, being the 7. of July, I got the king to forgiue all to Iohn Bampton, and the king promiſed me to ſpeake againe with me vpon Munday. July.

Vpon Tueſday I wrote to him againe for my diſpatch, and then he ſent Fray Lewes to me, and ſayd that he had order to write.

Vpon Wedneſday I wrote againe, and hee ſent mee worde that vpon Thurſday I ſhould come and bee diſpatched, ſo that I ſhould depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of July.

So the Friday after according to the kings order and appointment, I went to court, and whereas motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demands which I had preferred, they were all graunted, and likewiſe the priuiledges which were on the behalfe of our Engliſh merchants requeſted, were with great fauour and readineſſe yeelded vnto. And whereas the Iewes there reſident, were to our men in certaine round ſummes indebted, the Emperors pleaſure and commaundement was, that they ſhould without further excuſe or delay, pay and diſcharge the ſame. And thus at length I was diſmiſſed with great honor and ſpeciall countenance, ſuch as hath not ordinarily bene ſhewed to other Ambaſſadors of the Chriſtians.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maieſtie and the Emperor, I had letters from him to ſatiſfie her highneſſe therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his courte, as I had for my repaire at my firſt landing, I embarked my ſelfe with my forelayde company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her maieſties Courte, and ended my Ambaſſage to her highneſſe good liking, with relation of my ſeruice performed.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall Citie of all the East *Indies, by one Thomas Steuens an Englishman, and sent to his father, M. Thomas Steuens, An.* 1579.

AFter most humble commendations: These shall be to craue your daily blessing, with like commendations vnto my mother, and with all, to certifie you of my being, according to your will and my dutie. I wrote vnto you taking my iourney from Italie to Portingall, which letters I thinke are come to your handes, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neuertheless in one word I may conclude, if I doe but name, obedience. I came to Lisbone toward the ende of March, eight dayes before the departure of the ships, so late that if they had not bene staied about some weightie matters, they had bene long gone before our comming: in so much that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings prouision and ours also might not be in vayne. Neuertheless, our sudden comming tooke place, and the 4. of Aprill, fiue shippes departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiours, there were a great number of children which in the seas beare out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting forth from the porte, I neede not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinaunce, you may easily imagine it, considering that they goe in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth, we came to the sight of Porto Sancto neere vnto Madera, where an English ship set vpon ours, (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ships had laied out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English ship was very faire and great, which I was sory to see so ill occupied, for she went rouing about, so that wee sawe her againe at the Canarian Isles, vnto the which we came the 13. of the said moneth, and good laisure wee had to wonder at the high mountaine of the Island Tenerif, for wee wandered betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such euill weather wee had vntill the 14. of May, that they dispaired to compasse the Cape of Good Hope that peere. Neuertheless, taking our voiage betweene Guinea, and the Islands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portingals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the 6. degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which partes they suffered so many inconueniences of heates, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselues happy when they haue passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudie, full of thunder and lightning, and raine so vnwholesome, that if the water stand a little while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meate which is hanged vp, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cockes combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the coulour much fairer which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in coulour and bignesse, and beareth vnderneath in the water, strings, which saueth it from turning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the 6. degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then 30. dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The 30. of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as wel as we could to passe the promontorie, but in all that gulfe, and in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the experteſt mariners wondred at it. And in places where are alwayes woont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those ships which be the greatest of all other, and cannot goe without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other ships, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoyse vp, and saile excellent well, vnlesse the waters be too too furious, which seldome happened in our nauigation. You shall vnderstand, that being passed the line, they cannot straight way goe the next way to the promontorie: but according to the wind, they draw alwaies as neere South as they can to put themselues in the latitude of the point, which is 35. degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the wind serued vs so, that at 30. degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontorie of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefore I shall tell you what helpes God prouided for these men. There is not a fowle that appeereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherfore, partly by their own experience, & pondering withal what space the ship is able to make with such a wind, & such direction,

and

and partly by the experience of others, whoſe bookes and nauigations they haue, they geſſe whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes ſure: but the greateſt and beſt induſtrie of all, is to marke the variation of the needle or compaſſe, which in the Meridian of the Iſland of S. Michael, which is one of the Aſores in the latitude of Lil bone is iuſt North, and thence ſwarueth towards the Eaſt ſo much, that betwixt the Meridian aforeſaid, and the point of Affrica it carieth 3. or 4. quarters of 32. And againe in ỳ point of Affrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in Engliſh the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place paſſed, it ſwarueth againe toward the Weſt, as it did before proportionally. As touching our firſt ſignes, the neerer we came to the people of Affrike, the more ſtrange kindes of Fowles appeared, inſomuch that when we came within no leſſe then 30. leagues (almoſt an 100. miles) and 600. miles as we thought from any Iſland, as good as 3000. fowles of ſundry kindes folowed our ſhip: ſome of them ſo great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained 7. ſpans, as the mariners ſaid. A marueilous thing to ſee how God prouided, ſo ỳ in ſo wide a ſea theſe fowles are all fat, & nothing wanteth them. The Portingals haue named thẽ all according to ſome proprietie which they haue: ſome they cal Rushtailes, becauſe their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long & ſmal like a ruſh, ſome forked tailes becauſe they be very broad and forked, ſome veluet ſleeues, becauſe they haue wings of the colour of veluet, & boweth them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwaies welcome, for he appeareth neereſt the Cape. I ſhould neuer make an end if I ſhould tell all particulars: but it ſhal ſuffiſe briefly to touch a few, which yet ſhalbe ſufficient, if you marke them, to giue occaſion to glorifie almightie God in his wonderful works, and ſuch varietie in his creatures. And to ſpeake ſomewhat of fiſhes in all places of calme, eſpecially in the burning Zone, neere ỳ line (for without we neuer ſaw any) there waited on our ſhip fiſhes as long as a man, which they cal Tuberones, they come to eate ſuch things as from the ſhip fall into the ſea, not refuſing men themſelues if they light vpon them. And if they find any meat tied in the ſea, they take it for theirs. Theſe haue waiting on them 6. or 7. ſmal fiſhes (which neuer depart) with gardes blew and greene round about their bodies, like comely ſeruing men: and they go two or three before him, and ſome on euery ſide. Moreouer, they haue other fiſhes which cleaue alwayes vnto their bodie, and ſeeme to take ſuch ſuperfluities as grow about them, and they are ſaid to enter into their bodies alſo to purge them if they neede. The mariners in time paſt haue eaten of them, but ſince they haue ſeene them eate men, their ſtomacks abhorre them. Neuertheleſſe, they draw thẽ vp with great hookes, and kil of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fiſh as big almoſt as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. Theſe haue two enemies, the one in the ſea, the other in the aire. In the ſea the fiſh which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon foloweth them with great ſwiftnes to take them. This poore fiſh not being able to ſwim faſt, for he hath no finnes, but ſwimmeth with mouing of his taile, ſhutting his wings, lifteth himſelfe aboue the water, and flieth not very high: The Albocore ſeeing that, although he haue no wings, yet giueth he a great leape out of the water, and ſometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himſelfe vnder the water going that way on as faſt as he flieth. And when the fiſh being weary of the aire, or thinking himſelf out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but ſomtimes his other enemie the ſea Crow, catcheth him before he falleth. With theſe and like ſights, but alwayes making our ſupplications to God for good weather and ſaluation of the ſhip, we came at length vnto the point, ſo famous and feared of all mẽ: but we found there no tempeſt, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerſeene: for whereas commonly all other neuer come within ſight of land, but ſeeing ſigns ordinarie, and finding bottome, go their way ſure and ſafe, he thinking himſelfe to haue wind at will, ſhot ſo nigh the land, that the wind turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs ſo neere the land, that the ſhip ſtood in leſſe then 14. fadoms of water, no more then fiue miles from the Cape, which is called Las Agulias, and there we ſtoode as vtterly caſt away: for vnder vs were rockes of maine ſtone ſo ſharp, and cutting, that no anker could hold the ſhip, the ſhore ſo euill that nothing could take land, and the land it ſelfe ſo full of Tigers, and people that are ſauage, and killers of all ſtrangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conſcience. Notwithſtanding, after we had loſt ankers, hoiſing vp the ſailes for to get the ſhip a coaſt in ſome ſafer place, or when it ſhould pleaſe God, it pleaſed his mercy ſuddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our ſailes with winde from the land, and ſo we eſcaped thanks be to God. And the day folowing, being in the place where they are alwayes woont to catch fiſh, we alſo fell a fiſhing, and ſo many they tooke, that they ſerued all the ſhip for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled vp a currall of great bigneſſe and price. For there they ſay (as we ſawe by experience) that the currals doe grow in the maner of ſtalkes vpon the rockes in the bottome, and waxe hard and red. The

The variation of the compaſſe.

Signes about the Cape of Bona Speranſa.

Fiſhes on the ſea coaſt of Affrica.

Mott.

Curran.

day of perill was the 29. of July. And you shall vnderstand that the Cape passed, there bee two wayes to India: one within the Isle of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they refresh themselues at Mosambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more, land in Goa. The other is without the Isle S. Laurence, which they take when they set foorth so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foresayd Mosambique, and then they goe heauily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummes waxe great and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legs swell, and all the body becommeth sore, and so benummed, that they cannot stirre hand nor foote, and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into fluxes and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chaunce to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fiftie sicke, there died not past 27. which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet thankes be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be, to his honour and seruice. This way is full of priuie rocks and quick sandes, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found botome vntill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree, or somewhat more, we sawe crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden, but this was no signe of land. After, about the 11. degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof wee caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did eate nothing els, and they serued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meate nor almost any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing so long that it drewe neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in fiue, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birdes, which were a kind of Hawkes, whereof they ioyed much, thinking that they had bene of India, but in deede they were of Arabia, as wee found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotera, an Isle in the mouth of the red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the North-east or Northnortheast, whereupon vnwillingly they bare vp toward the East, and thus we went ten dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceiued their errour: for they had directed their course before, alwayes Northeast, coueting to multiplie degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran Northwest, had drawen vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this wind, which at length waxed larger, and restored vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceiue the most part of the gouernours, and some be so litle curious, contenting themselues with ordinarie experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarue, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land, were certaine fowles which they knew to bee of India: the second, boughes of palmes & sedges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by ꝑ name of a coine of mony, as broad, and as round as a groat, wonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like vnto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serue, they see land, which we did to our great ioy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those partes) and victuals began to faple vs. And to Goa we came the 24. of October, there being receiued with passing great charitie. The people be tawnie, but not disfigured in their lippes and noses, as the Moores and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, go naked, sauing an apron of a spanne long, and as much in bredth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke themselues as well as we with all our trimming. Of the fruits and trees that be here, I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not seene tree here, whose like I haue seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portingall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruite called Cocos. And this shal suffise for this time. If God send me my health, I shall haue opportunitie to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue, and thus I wish your most prosperous health. From Goa the 10. of Nouember. 1579.

Two wayes beyond the Cape of Good Hope.

They commonly saile from Lisbone to Goa in fiue moneths.

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signs of land.

They arriued at Goa the 24. of October.

Your louing Sonne

Thomas Steuens.

The

The letters ſent from the Imperiall Muſulmanlike highneſſe *of Zuldan Murad Chan, to the ſacred regall Maieſtie of Elizabeth* Queene of England, the fifteenth of March 1579, conteining the grant of the firſt priuileges.

IN greatneſſe and glorie moſt renowmed Elizabeth, moſt ſacred Queene, and noble prince of the moſt mightie worſhippers of Ieſus, moſt wiſe gouernor of the cauſes and affaires of the people and familie of Nazareth, cloud of moſt pleaſant raine, and ſweeteſt fountaine of noblenelle and vertue, ladie and heire of the perpetuall happineſſe and glorie of the noble Realme of England, (whom all ſorres ſeeke vnto and ſubmit themſelues) we wiſh moſt proſperous ſucceſſe and happie ends to all your actions, and doe offer vnto you ſuch pleaſures and curteſies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as beſt beſeemeth vs) our former ſalutations.

In moſt friendly maner we giue you to vnderſtand, that a certeine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie, commending vnto vs from you all kindneſſe, curteſie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highneſſe would vouchſafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto ‖ two other merchants of your kingdome to reſort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be ſuffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like ſort to make their returne.

‖ Theſe two were Sir Edward Oſborne and maiſter Rich. Staper.

Our ſtately Court and Countrey hath beene euer open for the acceſſe both of our enemies and friends. But becauſe we are informed that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kinde of louing affection towards vs, ſo much the rather ſhall the ſame our Countrey be alwayes open to ſuch of your ſubiects, as by way of merchandize ſhall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aid and ſuccor any of them that are or ſhall be willing to eſteeme of our friendſhip, fauor, and aſſiſtance: but will reckon it ſome part of our duetie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And foraſmuch as our Imperiall highneſſe is giuen to vnderſtand that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie doth excell in bountie and curteſie, we therefore haue ſent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and trauellers by ſea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie ſeafaring men, all condemned perſons, and officers of ports and cuſtomes, ſtraightly charging and commanding them, that ſuch foreſaid perſons as ſhall reſort hither by ſea from the Realme of England, either with great or ſmall veſſels to trade by way of merchandize, may lawfully come to our Imperiall dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man ſhall dare to moleſt or trouble them. And if in like ſort they ſhall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horſebacke, no man ſhall at any time withſtand or hinder them: but as our familiars and confederates, the French, Uenetians, Polonians, and the ‖ king of Germanie, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, and to returne againe into their owne countries, in like ſort the merchants of your moſt excellent Regall Maieſties kingdome, ſhall haue ſafe conduct and leaue to repaire hither to our Imperiall dominions, and ſo to returne againe into their owne Country: ſtreightly charging that they be ſuffered to vſe and trade all kinde of merchandize as any other Chriſtians do, without let or diſturbance of any.

‖ He calleth the Germaine emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore when theſe our Imperiall letters ſhall be brought to your moſt excellent Regal Maieſtie, it ſhall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanitie and familiaritie towards your moſt excellent Maieſtie, that you likewiſe bethinke your ſelfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendſhippe towardes vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nouriſh by all good meanes this kindneſſe and friendſhip: and that like libertie may be granted by your highneſſe to our ſubiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by ſea with their ſhips, or by land with their wagons or horſes, and to returne home againe: and that your moſt excellent Regall Maieſtie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendſhip towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the dore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke demandeth like priuileges for his ſubiects in the Queenes dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Conſtantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our moſt holy prophet Mahomet ‖ 937.

‖ With vs the yeere 1579.

The

The answere of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Maister *Richard Stanley.*

ELIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnici cœli, terræq; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falsò profitentium Idololatrias inuictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, inuictissimóque principi Sultan Murad Chan, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperijq; orientis Monarchę supra omnes soli & supremo, salutem, & multos cum rerum optimarũ affluentia fœlices, & fortunatos annos. Augustissime & inuictissime Cæsar, accepimus inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimo quinto Martij currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmq; clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini, a quodam subdito nostro Guilielmo Harebrowno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ ciuitate Constantinopoli commorante offerebantur, literæ profectionis pro se & socijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditioneſq; Imperio vestro subiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeq; reuersionis veniæ potestatisq; humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Cæsarea celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt. Neq; id solùm, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaq; augustissima Cæsarea clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei socijsq; suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, vti videtur, solùm opinione, quam de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collatum tam gratè tamq; beneuolè accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proq; ea quam nobis inseuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auspicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorrentes ab ingratitudinis omni vel minima suspitione, docuitq; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis nos sineremus vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Propterea q; animum nostrum in præsentiarum, vestræ celsitudini emetimur, benè sentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficij huius in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ: longè vberiorem, & ampliorem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ testificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident vt possimus, & à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eaq; suis ipsorum precibus, sine vlla interceſſione nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditioneſq; Imperio vestro subiectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras, eundi & redeundi, atq; inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confœderatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atq; adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita vnquam aut donata fuit, celsitudinem vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniuersos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatáque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius, quò eiusdem donatio latiùs patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minùs pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & aliorum principũ ditiones egent, tam humanis vsibus commodæ tamq; necessarię, nulla gens vt sit, quæ eis carere queat, propterea q; longissimis, difficillimisq; itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Carius autem distrahunt alijs, quo ex labore suo quisq; victũ & quæstũ quæritat, adeo vt in earũ acquisitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus sit. Vtilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras profectione: onus minuetur, profectionis quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscetur, par, æquaq; mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint, ad regna dominiaq; nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudini vestræ pollicemur, tam amplam lateq; patentem fore, quàm est vlla à confœderatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet, Romanorum, Gallorum, Pollonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis vllo vnquam tempore concessa & donata. Qua in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ inuictissima Cæsarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, facietq; vt acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nè habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstitaq; securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscunq; ad dominia sua, terra, mariq; proficiscentes, indeq; reuertẽtes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcúnque subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quę

Deus

Deus opt. max. in regna dominiaq; noſtra contulit commoda (quæ tam ſingularia ſunt, omnium vt principum animos pelliceant ad amicitiam, ſummęq; neceſſitudinis coniunctionem vobiſcum contrahendam, ſtabiliendámque quo liberius tantis ſummi Dei beneficijs fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) noſtri ſubditi ad regna dominiáque Celſitudinis veſtræ aduehant tã affluenter tamq; cumulate, vt vtriq; incommodo prædicto neceſſitatis & oneris pleniſſimè ſuccurratur. Facit prætereà ſingularis iſta Celſitudinis veſtrę in nos Gentémque noſtram ſummæ beneuolentiæ ſignificatio ac fides, vt eandem in cauſam quorundam ſubditorum noſtrorum, qui captiui triremibus veſtris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemúſque, vt quoniam nullo in celſitudinem veſtram peccato ſuo, ſiuè arma in eam ferendo, ſiuè iniquiùs præter fas & ius gentium ſe gerendo in ſuos ſubditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, ſoluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro ſua fide & obſequio inſeruientes, cauſam vberiorem præbeant veſtræ Celſitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui ſolus, & ſupra omnia & omnes eſt acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, ſuíque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falſos Deos Zelotes, præcabimur, vt veſtram inuictiſſimam Cæſaream Celſitudinem, omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ ſola & ſummè iure merito habentur deſideratiſſima.

Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem noſtram Londinum, quintodecimo Menſis Octobris, Anno Ieſu Chriſti Saluatoris noſtri 1579, Regni verò noſtri viceſimo primo.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ELizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, Frame and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mightie defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Chriſtians, and falſelie profeſſe the name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible prince, Zuldan Murad Chan, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, ſole and aboue all, and moſt ſouereigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empyre, greeting, and many happy and fortunate yeeres, with abundance of the beſt things.

Moſt Imperiall and moſt inuincible Emperor, we haue receiued the letters of your mightie highneſſe written to vs from Conſtantinople the fifteenth day of March this preſent yeere, whereby we vnderſtand how gratiouſly, and how fauorably the humble petitions of one William Harebowne a ſubiect of ours, reſident in the Imperiall citie of your highneſſe preſented vnto your Maieſtie for the obteining of acceſſe for him and two other merchants more of his company our ſubiects alſo, to come with merchandizes both by ſea & land, to the countries and territories ſubiect to your gouernement, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were accepted of your moſt inuincible Imperiall highneſſe, and not that onelie, but with an extraordinarie ſpeed and worthie your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his companie in regard onely (as it ſeemeth) of that opinion which your highneſſe conceiued of vs and our amitie: which ſingular benefit done to our aforeſaid ſubiects, we take ſo thankefully, and in ſo good part (yeelding for the ſame our greateſt thankes to your highneſſe) that we will neuer giue occaſion to your ſaid highneſſe (according as time, and the reſpect of our affayres will permit) once to thinke ſo great a pleaſure beſtowed vpon an vngratefull prince. For the almighty God, by whõ, and by whoſe grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodneſſe of nature, that we deteſt & abhorre the leaſt ſuſpition of ingratitude, & hath taught vs not to ſuffer our ſelues to be ouermatched with the good demerits of other princes. And therefore at this time we do extend our good minde vnto your highnes, by well conceiuing, and publiſhing alſo abroad, how much we repute our ſelfe bound in an euerlaſting remembrance for this good pleaſure to our ſubiects, meaning to yeeld a much more large and plentifull teſtification of our thankefulneſſe, when time conuenient ſhall fall out, and the ſame ſhall be looked for at our hands.

But whereas that grant which was giuen to a few of our ſubiects, and at their onelie requeſt without any interceſſion of ours, ſtandeth in as free a libertie of comming and going to and from all the lands and kingdomes ſubiect to your maieſtie, both by land and ſea with merchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your imperiall highneſſe confederates, as namelie to the French, the Polonians, the Uenetians, as alſo to the ſubiectes of the king of the Romans, we deſire of your highneſſe that the commendation of ſuch ſingular curteſie may not be ſo narrowlie reſtrained to two or three men onely, but may be inlarged to all our ſubiects in generall, that thereby your highneſſe goodneſſe may appeare the more notable, by reaſon of the granting of the ſame to a greater number of perſons. The beſtowing of which ſo ſingular a benefit your highneſſe ſhall ſo much the leſſe repent you of, by how much the more fit & neceſſarie for the vſe of man thoſe commodities are,

wherewith

where with our kingdoms do abound, and the kingdomes of other princes do want, so there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they sell them much deerer to others, because euery man seeketh to make profit by his labor: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profit wilbe increased to the subiects of your highnesse by this free accesse of a few of our subiectes to your dominions, as also the losse and burden wilbe eased, by the permission of generall accesse to all our people. And furthermore we will grant as equall and as free a libertie to the subiects of your higuesse with vs for the vse of traffike, when they will, and as often as they will, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdoms. Which libertie we promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subiects by the aforesaid princes your confederates, as namely the king of the Romans, of France, of Poleland, and the common wealth of Uenice. In which matter, if your most inuincible imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that we may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it wilbe granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other side will giue order, that those commodities which almightie God hath bestowed vpon our kingdoms (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawen to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie & good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to inioy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdoms and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniences of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certeine of our subiects, who are deteined as slaues and captiues in your gallies, for whome we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that miserie, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselues contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towards vs, according to their duetie: which thing shall yeeld much more abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuere reuenger of all idolatrie, and is ielous of his honor against the false gods of the nations) to adorne your most inuincible imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely & deseruedly are accounted most worthie of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, neere to our citie of London, the fiue and twentith day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauior 1579, and of our reigne the one and twentith.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, and *league of the Great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect* of traffike, dated in Iune 1580.

IMmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibúsque verbis & nunquam finienda, innumerabiliue clementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimíque vniuersitatum creatoris, princeps temporum præsentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus sceptra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum, prouinciarumue & vrbium ciuitatumue distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus diuinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramariæ & Diabekiruan & Dulkadiriæ, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypri diuitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Affricæ & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæué Europæ, Budę, & Temesnar, & regnorum transalpinorum & his similium permultorum princeps Cæsarué sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Chan, filius principis Zelim Chan, qui fuit Zoleiman Chan, qui fuit Zelim Chan, qui fuit Paiezid Chan, qui fuit Mehemed Chan, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Chan, hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitiæ significamus & manifestamus, quòd in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit fœliciſſimus)

ad

ad noſtrã excelſam,& iuſtitiæ plenã,fulgidiſſimámue portã,quę omnibus principibus mũdi eſt refugium & requies,per egregium Gulielmũ Harebronũ literas miſit ſuas,quibus ſua maieſtas ſignificauit,quod tempore pręterito,quidã ſubditi ſui veniſſent ad noſtrã portam excelſam, & ſuam obedientiã erga eam demonſtrauiſſent, & ob eam cauſam illis quoq; ad noſtras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poſcerẽt, venia & poteſtas fuiſſet data:& quòd in locis & hoſpitijs eorũ per mare & terrã nemo auderet impedire & illis damnũ facere, mandatũ Cęſareum fuiſſet datũ : & quòd hanc noſtrã gratiã,quã paucis hominibus ſuæ maieſtatis demonſtrauiſſemus,vniuerſis ſuis ſubditis concederemus,petebat.Quare,quemadmodum cũ ſereniſſimis beneuolentiã & obedientiã,ſeruitiáue ſua demõſtrantibus erga noſtrã portã excelſam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt ſunt rex Gallorũ, Veneti,& rex Polonorũ & cæteri) pacẽ & fœdus ſanctiſſimũ pepigimus:ſic etiã cũ præfata Regina amicitiã cuſtodiendã,pacẽ & fœdus cõiunximus.Illius igitur homines,& vniuerſi mercatores,ſine aliquo impedimento cũ ſuis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas pacificè & ſecurè veniant,& ſuã exerceant mercaturã,maneant in ſuis ſtatibus,& ſecũdũ ſuos mores negocientur.Et adhęc,ſua maieſtas ſignificabat ex hominibus ſuis aliquos iamdudũ captos fuiſſe, & in captiuitate detineri,& quòd hi dimitterentur petebat,& quòd ſicut alijs principibus nobiſcũ confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæſarea ſuper fœdus ſanctiſſimũ dediſſemus,ſic præfatæ quoq; Reginę priuilegiũ & mandata Cæſarea vt daremus,noſtrę Cęſareę celcitudini placeret.Quare ſecundùm noſtram beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata ſuæ maieſtatis apud nos grata fuere:Et hoc noſtrũ priuilegium iuſtitijs plenum dedimus maieſtati ſuæ:Et Beglerbegis,Zanziacbegis famulis noſtris,& Kazijs,id eſt,iudicibus,& omnibus teloniatoribus omnium locorum,portuũ,& vadorũ firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte præfatæ reginæ fœdus,& pax,& eorũ conditiones articuliq;(vt conuenit) cuſtodiuntur & ſeruãtur,noſtrę quoq; Cæſareæ celſitudinis mandata ſunt:

Fœdus Turcici Imperatoris cum Regina initum.

Articuli huius priuilegij.

1 Vt præfatę Reginę homines,& ſubditi eius quibuſuis rebus & mercibus,oneribus & ſuppellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, ſecurè & pacificè ad noſtras ditiones Cæſareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, ſed ſecurè & ſine aliquo impedimẽto negocientur,& in ſuis ſtatibus & conditionibus permaneant.

2 Item,ſi præfati homines & mercatores in ſuis rectis vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur,ſine aliqua tergiuerſatione dimittantur,liberentúr que.

3 Item, ſi naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore,& ſine impedimento veniant,& diſcedant in ſua loca.

4 Item, ſi in tempeſtatibus maris naues eorum eſſent in periculo & auxilio ópus eſſet illis, naues noſtræ Cæſareæ celſitudinis, earúmque homines, & aliorum naues hominéſque ſtatim auxilium & opem ferant illis,mandamus.

5 Item,ſi edulia ſuis pecunijs emere voluerint,nemo reſiſtat illis,ſed ſine impedimento edulia (emant.

6 Itẽ,ſi infortuniũ maris naues eorũ in terrã proiecerit,Begi & iudices,& cæteri noſtri ſubditi ſint auxilio illis,merces & res eorũ quę remanſerint iterũ reddãtur illis,& nemo impediat illos.

7 Item,ſi præfatæ reginæ homines,eorũ interpretes,& mercatores,ſiue per terram,ſiue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad noſtras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in perſonis,& rebus eorum,pecoribúſque,ne noceant illis.

8 Item,ſi aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ære alieno eſſet obſtrictus, inueneríque non poſſit, ratione debitorum alterius nullius niſi eſſet fideiuſſor, capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item,ſi Anglus teſtamẽtum fecerit, & ſua bona cuicunq; legauerit,illi dentur bona illius, & ſi ſine teſtamento moreretur, conſul eorum cuicunq; ſociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari,illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item,ſi Angli,& ad Angliam pertinentium locorũ mercatores & interpretes,in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiuſſionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicẽ veniant, & in librum inſcribi faciant negotium, & ſi voluerint, literas quoq; accepiant à iudice, propterea quòd ſi aliquid inciderit, videant librum & literas, & ſecundùm tenorẽ eorũ perficiantur negocia eorũ ſuſpecta : ſi autem neq; in librũ inſcriberentur, neq; literas haberent, iudex falſa teſtimonia non admittat,ſed ſecundùm iuſtitiam legem adminiſtrans non ſinat illos impediri.

11 Item, ſi aliquis diceret quod iſti Chriſtiani noſtræ fidei Muzulmanicæ maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint,in hoc negotio etiam & alijs, teſtes falſi minimè admittantur.

12 Item,ſi aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraret,& fugiens non poſſit inueniri,nullus niſi eſſet fideiuſſor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item,ſi aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & conſul eorũ peteret illud,examinetur diligenter mancipium,& ſi inuentum fuerit Anglicum,accipiatur,& reddatur Anglis.

14 Item

14 Item,ſi aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ,ſiue ſit vxoratus,ſiue ſit ſine vxore,non ſoluat cenſum.

15 Item,ſi in Alexandria,in Damaſco,in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali,in Aegypti portubus & in alijs omnibus locis, vbicunq; voluerint facere Conſules, faciant: Et iterũ ſi voluerint eos mutare, & in loca priorũ conſulum alios locare,liberè faciant,& nemo illis reſiſtat.

16 Item,ſi illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abeſſet, donec veniret interpres,expectetur,& interim nemo illos impediat.

17 Item,ſi Angli inter ſe aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad ſuos conſules ire,nemo reſiſtat illis,ſed liberè veniant ad Conſules ſuos,vt ſecundùm mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item,ſi poſt tempus aut datum huius priuilegij,piratæ,aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint,& trans mare vel cis mare venderint, ſecundùm iuſtitiam examinetur: & ſi Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam aſſumpſerit, liberè dimittatur: ſi autem adhuc eſſet Chriſtianus,Anglis reddatur, & emptores ſuam pecuniam ab illo petant,à quo emerant.

19 Item, ſi noſtræ Cæſareæ Celſitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenerint naues Anglicas merces portantes,nemo impediat illas, imò amicè tractentur,& nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis,Venetis,& cæteris nobiſcum confœderatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegijs dedimus, & conceſſimus, ſimili modo his quóque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegijs dedimus & conceſſimus, & contra legem diuinam,& hoc priuilegium,nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item,ſi naues magnæ, & paruæ in itinere & loco vbi ſtant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedire,ſed potiùs auxilio ſint illis.

21 Item, ſi latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiúmque merces, magna diligentia quærantur latrones & fures,& ſeueriſſimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziarbegi, Capitanei noſtri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes ſerui Capitaneorum,& Iudices, & Teloniatores,& Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti,& liberi Reiz,omnes iſti præfati, ſecundùm tenorem huius priuilegij, tenoréque articulorum eius,omnia facere teneantur,& debeant. Et donec hoc in priuilegio deſcriptum fœdus,& pax illius Maieſtatis ex parte ſanctè ſeruabitur, & cuſtodietur, ex parte etiam noſtra Cæſarea cuſtodiri,& obſeruari mandamus.

Datum Conſtantinopoli, anno noſtri prophetæ Sanctiſſimi 988, in principio menſis Iunij, anno autem Ieſu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the moſt mightie *and Muſulmanlike Emperour Zuldan Murad Chan, granted at the requeſt* of Elizabeth by the grace of the moſt mightie God, and only Creator of heauen & earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the ſaid princes and their ſubiects.

THE moſt ſacred Muſulmanlike Emperor, by the infinite & exceeding great power, by the euerlaſting and woonderfull clemencie, and by the vnſpeakable helpe of the moſt mighty and moſt holy God,creator of all things,to be worſhipped and feared with all pureneſſe of minde, and reuerence of ſpeech, The prince of theſe preſent times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue ſceptors to the potentates of the whole world, the ſhadow of the diuine mercy and grace,the diſtributer of many kingdoms, prouinces,townes & cities, Prince, and moſt ſacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to ſay,of Gods houſe,of Medina, of the moſt glorious and bleſſed Ieruſalem,of the moſt fertile Egypt, Iemen, and Iouan,Eden & Chanaan,of Samos the peaceable,and of Hebes,of Jabza,and Pazra,of Zeruzub and Halepia,of Caramaria and Diabekiruan,of Dulkadiria, of Babylon,and of all the three Arabias, of the Euzians & Georgians,of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdoms of Aſia,of Dzakior, of the tracts of the White and Blacke ſea, of Grecia and Meſopotamia, of Affrica & Goleta, of Algeris, and of Tripolis in the Weſt, of the moſt choiſe and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeſuar, and of the kingdoms beyond the Alps, and many others ſuch like, moſt mightie Murad Chan, the ſonne of the Emperor Zelim Chan, which was the ſonne of Zoleiman Chan, which was the ſonne of Zelim Chan, which was the ſonne of Baizid Chan, which was the ſonne of Mehemed Chan, &c.

We moſt mightie prince Murad Chan,in token of our imperiall friendſhip,do ſignifie & declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France,& Ireland,the moſt honorable Queene of Chriſtendome

Chriſtendome (to whoſe marchants wee wiſh happie ſucceſſe) ſent her letters by her worthy ſeruant William Harebrowne, vnto our ſtately and moſt magnificent Porche replenished with iuſtice, which is a refuge and Sanctuarie to all the princes of the worlde, by which letters her Maieſtie ſignified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her ſubiects had repaired to our ſaide ſtately Porche, and had ſhewed their obedience to the ſame, and for that cauſe had deſired that leaue and libertie might alſo be graunted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques ſake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperial commaundement might be giuen, that no man ſhould preſume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or paſſages by ſea or land, and whereas ſhe requeſted that we would graunt to all her ſubiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entred into amitie, and moſt holy league with the moſt excellent kings and princes our confederats, ſhewing their deuotion, and obedience or ſeruices towards our ſtately Porch (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) ſo alſo we haue contracted an inuiolable amitie, peace and league with the aforeſaid Queene. Therefore we giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and ſafely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandiſe and goods without any impeachment, to exerciſe their traffique, to vſe their owne cuſtomes, and to buy and ſell according to the faſhions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maieſtie ſignified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken priſoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee ſet at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other princes our confederats, priuiledges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our moſt inuiolable league with them, ſo it woulde pleaſe our Imperiall Maieſtie to graunt and confirme the like priuiledges, and princely decrees to the aforeſayde Queene.

Wherefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingraffed diſpoſition, the requeſts of her Maieſtie were accepted of vs, and wee haue graunted vnto her Maieſtie this priuiledge of ours agreeable to reaſon & equitie. And we ſtraightly cõmaunde all our Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs our ſeruants, and our Reyz, that is to ſay, our Iudges, and all our cuſtomers in all places, hauens and paſſages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obſerued on the behalfe of the aforeſaid Queene, 1 Our Imperiall commaundement and pleaſure is, that the people and ſubiectes of the ſame Queene, may ſafely and ſecurely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandiſe, and ladings, and other commodities by ſea, in great and ſmall veſſels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man ſhall hurt them, but they may buy and ſell without any hinderance, and obſerue the cuſtomes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforeſaid people and marchants ſhalbe at any time in the courſe of their iourneis, and dealings by any meanes taken, they ſhall bee deliuered and inlarged, without any excuſe or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ſhips purpoſe to ariue in any of our ports and hauens, it ſhalbe lawfull for them ſo to doe in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it ſhall happen that any of their ſhips in tempeſtuous weather ſhall bee in danger of loſſe and periſhing, and thereupon ſhall ſtand in neede of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ſhips be readie to helpe and ſuccour them.

5 Item, if they ſhalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no perſon ſhall withſtande them, but they ſhall buy the ſame without any diſturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any caſualtie their ſhippes ſhall bee driuen on ſhoare in perill of ſhipwracke, our Beges and Iudges, and other our ſubiects ſhall ſuccour them, and ſuch wares, and goods of theirs as ſhall bee recouered from the loſſe, ſhall bee reſtored to them, and no man ſhall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforeſaide Queene, their interpreters and marchants, ſhall for traffique ſake, either by lande or ſea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and cuſtome, they ſhall haue quiet paſſage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the ſea, and ſhippes, nor any kinde of perſons, ſhall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way moleſt them.

8 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall growe in debt, and ſo owe money to any other man, and thereupon doeth abſent himſelfe that hee can not be founde, let no man arreſt or apprehend him for any other mans debt, except he be the creditour.

9 Item, if any Engliſhman ſhall make his will and teſtament, to whome ſoeuer by the ſame hee ſhall giue his goods, the partie ſhall haue them accordingly, and if hee die inteſtate,

he to whom the Consull or gouernour of the societie shall say the goods of the dead are to be giuen, he shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England, shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let them goe to the Iudge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they will, let them also take letters of the Iudge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenor thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such thinges be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Iudge, yet he shal admit no false witnes, but shall execute the lawe according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians shall speake any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and shall slander the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon can not bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his suretie.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if he be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restored to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwell or traffique, whether he be married or vnmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunes, Tripolis in ꝑ West, the port townes of Ægypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselues Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any time, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them doe so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any time absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question be stayed and differred till his comming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shal arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begunne, may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuiledge, any pirats or other free gouernors of ships trading the sea, shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the sea, or on this side of the sea, the matter shalbe examined according to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he will still remaine a Christian, let him then be restored to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall demaunde their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnes shall at any time goe foorth to sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall vse them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as we haue giuen and graunted articles, and priuiledges, to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also we haue giuen the like to the English: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuiledge, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, be stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theeues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theeues and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

21 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaues and seruants of Captaines vsing the sea, and our Iudges, customers and gouernours of shippes called Reiz, and free Reiz, all these according to the tenor of this priuiledge and articles, shalbe bounde to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and obserue this league and holy peace, expressed in this priuiledge, we also for our Imperial part, doe charge and commaunde the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophete, in the beginning of the moneth of June, And in the yeere of IESVS, the 1580.

Her

Her Maieſties letters to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581.

promiſing redreſſe of the diſorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the Leuant.

ELizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, Fraunce and Irelande moſt ſacred Queene, and of the moſt Chriſtian faith, againſt all the prophaners of his moſt holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the moſt renowned and Emperious Cæſar, Sultan Murad Chan, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the Eaſt Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whoſoeuer, moſt fortunate peeres with the ſucceſſe of all true happineſſe. As with very great deſire we wiſh and embrace the loue and amitie of forreine Princes, and in the ſame by all good dueties and meanes wee ſeeke to be confirmed: ſo to vs there may be nothing more grieuous and diſliking, then that any thing ſhould happen through the default of our ſubiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into ſuſpicion: Although wee are not ignorant howe many good princes by the like miſaduenture be abuſed, where the doings of the ſubiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But ſuch matters of importance and ſo wel approued we may not omit: ſuch is to vs the ſacred eſtimation of our honour, and of our Chriſtian profeſſion, as we would the ſame ſhould appeare aſwell in the concluding of our promiſes and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the ſame.

The matter which by theſe our letters we ſpecially beholde, is a moſt iniurious and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderſtanding, that ſhould bee done vnto certaine of your ſubiects by certaine of our ſubiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all ſeueritie vpon their apprehenſion they are to be awarded for the ſame. And as the deede in it ſelfe is moſt wicked, ſo is it much more intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credite of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the eſtimation of our worde faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which ſo great a diſorder if wee ſhould not manifeſt our hatred towards ſo wicked and euill diſpoſed perſons, wee might not onely moſt iuſtly be reproued in the iudgement of all ſuch as truely fauour Iuſtice, but alſo of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no leſſe be condemned. That therefore conſidered, which of our parts is ordained in this cauſe which may be to the good liking of your highneſſe, wee are moſt eſpecially to requeſt of your Imperiall Maieſtie, that through the default and diſorder of a ſort of euill and wicked diſpoſed perſons, you will not withdraw we your gratious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the trafique of our ſubiects, which by vertue of your highneſſe ſufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions and countreis, or that either in their perſons or goods they be preiudiced their trauayling by land or by water, promiſing vnto your greatneſſe moſt faithfully, that the goods whereof your ſubiects by great wrong and violence haue bene ſpoyled, ſhall wholie againe be reſtored, if either by the liues or poſſeſſions of the robbers it may any way be brought to paſſe: And that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue ſpeciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie, ſhall be ſuffered to commit any the like wrongs or iniuries.

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roe, robbed certaine Grecians in the Leuante.

Neither they which haue committed theſe euil parts, had any power vnder your highneſſe ſafeconduit graunted vnto our ſubiects, but from ſome other ſafeconduit, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any perſon within the gouernment of Marſeils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the trueth of our dealing doeth vtterly abhorre. Notwithſtanding howſoeuer it be, wee will ſurely meaſure their euill proceedings with moſt ſharpe and iuſt correction, and that it ſhall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as alſo it ſhalbe an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefore that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunate happe had neuer chaunced, and that the ſinguler affection of our ſubiects towardes your Imperiall Maieſtie vowed, and dayly more and more deſired, might be conſerued and defended, wee thereunto doe make our humble ſuite vnto your greatneſſe: And for ſo great goodneſſe towards vs and our people graunted, doe moſt humbly pray vnto the Almightie creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your moſt renowmed Maieſtie in all happineſſe and proſperitie.

Dated at our palace of Greenewich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuiledges graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osburne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, in the yeere 1581.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our officers, ministers, and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as els where vnder our obeysance, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whome these our letters shall be seene, shewed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued subiects Edward Osburne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our saide Citie marchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to be taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea, to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffique into the landes, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, not heretofore in the memorie of any man now liuing knowen to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the marchants or any subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the saide Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of marchandise to be vsed, and continued by our subiects within his saide dominions, whereby there is good and apparant hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may be done for the peace of Christendome, and releife of many Christians that be or may happen to be in thraldome or necessitie vnder the saide Grand Signior, his vassals or subiects, and also good, and profitable vent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundrie other great benefites to the aduauncement of our honour, and dignitie royal, the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme, Knowe yee that hereupon, wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our subiects in their good enterprises for the aduancement of the common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our saide trustie, and welbeloued subiects Edward Osburne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London esquire, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London marchants, their executours, and administratours, and to the executours and administratours of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen borne, not exceeding the nomber of twelue, as they the saide Edward and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, in their societie by themselues, their seruants, factours or deputies, and to such others as shall be nominated according to the tenour of these our lecters patents, shall and may during the terme of seuen yeeres from the date of these patents, freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of marchandise into, and from the dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, forme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shalbe betweene them limitted and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of religion or faith, or other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shalbe lawfull to the said Edward and Richard their executors and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint or admit to be parteners and aduenturers with them the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the nomber of twelue (as afore is said) to traffique and vse the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to be appointed or admitted as parteners in the said trade or traffique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment or admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and traffique, during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres according to such limitation and agreement as is aforesaid, and that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executours and administratours, seruants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated or admitted, to be parteners or aduenturers in the saide trade, or so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselues for or about any the matters, causes, affaires or businesse of the said trade in any place or places for the same

ſame conuenient, from time to time during the ſaide terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions or elſewhere, and to make, ordeine, and conſtitute reaſonable lawes and ordinances, for the good gouernment of the ſaid companie, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the ſaide trade and trafique, not being contrarie or repugnant to the lawes, eſtatutes or cuſtomes of our Realme, and the ſame lawes or ordinances ſo made to put in vre, and execute accordingly, and at their pleaſures to reuoke the ſame lawes and ordinances, or any of them, as occaſion ſhall require.

And in conſideration that the ſaid Edward Oſburne hath bene the principall ſetter foorth and doer in the opening, & putting in vre of the ſaid trade, we do therfore eſpecially ordeine, conſtitute, and prouide by theſe patents, that the ſaid Edwarde Oſburne ſhall be gouernour of all ſuch as by vertue of theſe our letters patents, ſhall be parteners, aduenturers, or trafiquers in the ſaide trade, during the ſaide terme of ſeuen yeeres, if hee ſo long liue: And that if the ſaide Edward ſhall happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, the ſaid Richard Staper then liuing, then the ſaide Richarde Staper ſhall likewiſe be gouernour during the reſidue of the ſaid terme (if he ſo long liue) and that if the ſaid Edward and Richard ſhall both happen to deceaſe during the ſaid terme, then the partners or aduenturers for the time being, or the greateſt part of them, ſhall from time to time as neceſſitie ſhall require, chooſe and elect a gouernour of the ſaid companie.

Prouided alwayes, that if there ſhall happen any great or vrgent occaſion to remooue or diſplace any perſon that ſhall be gouernour of the ſaide fellowſhip, that then it ſhall, and may be lawfull for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, to remooue, and diſplace euery ſuch gouernour, and to place another of the ſaide fellowſhip in the ſame office, during ſuch time as ſuch perſon ſhould haue enioyed the ſame, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cauſe to the contrary.

And wee further for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executours and adminiſtratours, that nothing ſhall be done to be of force or validitie touching the ſaide trade or trafique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſaide Edward, during ſuch time as hee ſhall bee Gouernour as afore is ſaide. And after that time without the conſent of the Gouernour for the time being, and of the more part of the ſaide company.

And further, wee of our more ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, haue graunted, and by theſe patents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe graunt to the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, that they, the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, and the ſaide perſon and perſons, by them the ſaid Edward and Richard to be nominated, or appointed as afore is ſaid, together, with ſuch two other perſons, as wee our heires or ſucceſſors from time to time during the ſaide terme ſhall nominate, ſhall haue the whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vſe and priuilege of trading, and trafiquing, and vſing feate of marchandiſe, into, and from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there ſhall be no ſuch perſons ſo nominated or appointed by vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, that then the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and adminiſtrators, and ſuch perſons by them ſo to be appointed, ſhall haue the ſaide whole trade and trafique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vſe, and priuiledge of trading and trafiquing afore ſaid. And that they the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors and adminiſtrators, and alſo all ſuch as ſhal ſo be nominated or appointed to be partners or aduenturers in the ſaid trade, according to ſuch agreement as is aboue ſaide, and euery of them, their ſeruants, factours and deputies, ſhal haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and trafique into and from all and euery the ſaide dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occaſion of the ſaid trade, they ſhal happen to arriue or come, whether they be Chriſtiãs, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, & from all ſeas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coaſts & places, with their ſhips, barks, pinneſſes & other veſſels, and with ſuch mariners and men, as they wil lead with them or ſend for the ſaid trade, as they ſhal thinke good at their owne proper coſt & expenſes, any law, ſtatute, vſage, or matter whatſoeuer to the contrary notwithſtãding. And that it ſhalbe lawful for the ſaid, Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and to the perſons afore ſaid, and to & for the mariners and ſea men to be vſed & emploied in the ſaid trade and voyage to ſet and place in the tops of their ſhips & other veſſels the armes of England with the red croſſe ouer the ſame, as heretofore they haue vſed ẏ red croſſe, any matter or thing to the cõtray notwſtanding.

And we of our further royal fauor, & of our eſpecial grace, certaine knowledge & meere motion haue graunted, & by theſe preſents doe graunt to the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Tho. Smith, Richard Staper, & William Garret, their executors & adminiſtrators by theſe preſents, that the ſaid lands,

territoꝛies, and dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, oꝛ any of them, ſhall not be viſited, frequented, noꝛ haunted by way of marchandiſe by any other our ſubiects during the ſaide terme, contrary to the true meaning of theſe patents.

And by vertue of our high pꝛerogatiue roꝛall (which we will not haue argued oꝛ bꝛought in queſtion) we ſtraightly charge and commaunde, and pꝛohibite foꝛ vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, all our ſubiects (of what degree oꝛ qualitie ſoeuer they bee) that none of them directly, oꝛ indirectly, doe viſite, haunt, frequent oꝛ trade, trafique, oꝛ aduenture by way of marchandiſe into, oꝛ from any of the Dominions of the ſaide Grand Signior, oꝛ other places aboueſaide by water oꝛ by lande (other then the ſaide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executoꝛs oꝛ adminiſtratoꝛs, oꝛ ſuch as ſhalbe admitted, and nominated as is afoꝛeſaide,) without expꝛeſſe licence, agreement, and conſent of the ſaide Gouernour, and companie oꝛ the moꝛe part of them, whereof the ſaid Gouernour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of foꝛfeiture and loſſe, as well of the ſhip and ſhippes, with the furniture thereof, as alſo of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be of thoſe our ſubiects which ſhall attempt, oꝛ pꝛeſume to ſaile, trafique, oꝛ aduenture, to oꝛ from any the dominions, oꝛ places aboueſaid, contrary to the pꝛohibition afoꝛeſaid: the one halfe of the ſame foꝛfeiture to be to the vſe of vs our heires and ſucceſſoꝛs, and the other halfe to the vſe of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the ſaide companie, and further to ſuffer impꝛiſonment during our pleaſure, & ſuch other puniſhment as to vs, foꝛ ſo high contempt ſhall ſeeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace ſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condiſcended and graunted, and by theſe patents foꝛ vs our heires and ſucceſſoꝛs, doe condiſcend and graunt to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executoꝛs and adminiſtratoꝛs, that we our heires and ſucceſſoꝛs during the ſaid terme, will not graunt libertie, licence oꝛ power to any perſon oꝛ perſons whatſoeuer, contrary to the tenoꝛ of theſe our letters patents, to ſaile, paſſe, trade, oꝛ trafique into oꝛ from the ſaid dominions of the ſaid Grand Signior oꝛ any of them, without the conſent of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and ſuch as ſhalbe named oꝛ appointed as afoꝛe is ſaid, oꝛ the moſt of them. And that if at any time hereafter during ꝑ ſaid terme, the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, oꝛ the ſuruiuoꝛs of them, ſhall admit oꝛ nominate any of our ſubiects to be partners & aduenturers in the ſaid trade to the nomber of 12. oꝛ vnder as afoꝛe is ſaide, that then we our heires and ſucceſſoꝛs at the inſtance and petition of the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, oꝛ the ſuruiuoꝛs of them in our Chancerie to be made, and vpon the ſight of theſe pꝛeſents, wil graunt, and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, oꝛ to the ſuruiuoꝛs of them, & to ſuch perſons as ſo ſhalbe nominated oꝛ appointed by their ſpeciall names, ſyrnames, and additions as is afoꝛeſaid, new letters patents vnder the great ſeale of England in due foꝛme of lawe with like agreement, clauſes, pꝛohibitions, pꝛouiſoes and articles, (mutatis mutandis) as in theſe our letters patents are conteined, foꝛ, and during the reſidue of the ſaid terme of 7. yeeres then remayning vnexpired. And that the ſight of theſe pꝛeſents ſhalbe ſufficient warrant to the Loꝛd Chancelour, oꝛ Loꝛd keeper of the great ſeale foꝛ the time being, foꝛ the making, ſealeing and paſſing of ſuch newe letters patents, without further writte oꝛ warrant foꝛ the ſame to be required, had, oꝛ obtained.

And the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and ſuch others as ſhalbe ſo nominated and appointed, as is afoꝛeſaid, to be of their trade oꝛ companie, ſhall yeerely during 6. of the laſt yeeres of the ſaid 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bꝛing home yeerely, foꝛ, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing afoꝛeſaide, ſo much goods and marchandizes, as the cuſtome, and ſubſidie inwards and outwards, ſhall amount in the whole to the ſumme of 500. li. yeerely. So that the ſaid Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the ſaid perſons ſo to be nominated as is afoꝛeſaid, oꝛ any of them, oꝛ their ſhippe oꝛ ſhippes be not barred, ſtayed, reſtrained oꝛ let by any reaſonable occaſion from the ſaide trade oꝛ trafique, and ſo that the ſaid ſhippe oꝛ ſhippes doe not periſh by any miſſoꝛtune, oꝛ be ſpoiled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the ſaide Edwarde Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richarde Staper, and William Garret, and ſuch others as ſhall bee appointed as afoꝛeſaide to bee of their ſaide trade oꝛ companie, ſhall giue notice vnto the Loꝛde Admirall of England, oꝛ to ſome of the pꝛincipall officers of the Admiraltie foꝛ the time being, of ſuch ſhippe oꝛ ſhippes as they ſhall ſet fooꝛth in the ſame voyage, and of the nomber of marriners appointed to goe in the ſame ſhip oꝛ ſhippes, by the ſpace of fifteene dayes befoꝛe the ſetting oꝛ going fooꝛth of the ſame ſhippe oꝛ ſhippes. And alſo the ſaide Edward Oſburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and ſuch other as ſhall bee by them the ſaide Edward and Richard, nominated to bee of the ſaide trade,

ſhall

ſhall and will at the ſetting foorth of their ſhippe, or ſhippes, for the ſame voyage, permit and ſuffer the Maſter of the Ordinances of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, or ſome others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantity of ſuch Ordinance, powder, and munition, as ſhall be caried in the ſaid ſhippe, or ſhippes, and ſhall alſo at the returne of the ſame ſhippe, or ſhippes, ſuffer a view to be taken, and vpon requeſt made, make an accompt to the ſaid officers of our Ordinance, of the expenſes, and waſtes of the ſaid Ordinance, powder, and munition, ſo to be caried in the ſame ſhippe, or ſhips.

Prouided alwaies, that if any of the ſaid trade or companie, or their ſeruants, factors, or ſailers, in any ſhippe by them laden, ſhall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the ſeas, and that, if the ſaid companie or societie ſhall not, or doe not, within reaſonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the ſaid companie, or to any of them, either ſatisfie or recompence the parties that ſo ſhall fortune to be robbed, or ſpoiled by any of the ſaid companie, or ſailers, in the ſaid ſhippes, or els ſhal not doe their endeuour to the vttermoſt of their reaſonable power, to haue the parties ſo offending puniſhed for the ſame their offences, that then, and from thenceforth, theſe preſent letters patents ſhall be vtterly voide, ceaſe, and determine.

Prouided likewiſe, that if it ſhall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, ſhall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our ſucceſſors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thence forth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the ſaid companie, or to the Gouernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, this preſent grant ſhal ceaſe, be voide, and determine, to all intents, conſtructions, and purpoſes.

Prouided alſo, that we, our heires, and ſucceſſors, from time to time, during the ſaid 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authoriſe two perſons, being fit men, to be of the ſaid companie, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the ſaid trade, for ſuch ſtocke and ſumme of monie, as they ſhall put in, ſo that the ſaide perſons to be nominated, or authoriſed, ſhall be contributorie to all charges of the ſaid trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their ſtockes: and as other aduenturers of the ſaid trade, ſhall doe for their ſtockes, and ſo that likewiſe they doe obſerue the orders of the ſaid companie, allowable by this our grant: and that ſuch perſons ſo to be appointed, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, ſhall, and may, with the ſaid companie, and fellowſhip, vſe the trade and feate of marchandiſe aforeſaide, and all the liberties and priuiledges herein before granted, according to the meaning of theſe our letters patents, any thing in theſe our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And further of our ſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condeſcended, and granted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, doe condeſcend, and grant to the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and adminiſtrators, that if at the ende of the ſaid terme of ſeuen yeeres, it ſhall ſeeme meete, and conuenient vnto the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, that this preſent grant ſhall be continued: and if that alſo it ſhall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, that the continuance thereof ſhall not be preiudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or ſucceſſors, at the inſtance, and petition of the ſaid Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the ſuruiuer of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or ſucceſſors, will grant and make to the ſaid Edward, Thomas, Richard, and William, or the ſuruiuer of them, and to ſuch other perſons, as ſo ſhall be by the ſaid Edward, and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great ſeale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like couenants, grants, clauſes, and articles, as in theſe preſents are contained, or with addition of other neceſſarie articles, or change of theſe in ſome part, for and during the full terme of ſeuen yeeres, then next following. Willing, and ſtreightly commanding, and charging all and ſinguler our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Iuſtices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Eſcheaters, Conſtables, Bailiffes, and all & ſinguler our other officers, miniſters, liege men, and ſubiects whatſoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and aſſiſting vnto the ſaide Gouernour, and companie, and their ſucceſſors, and to their Deputies, officers, ſeruants, aſſignes, and miniſters, and euery of them, in executing, and enioying the premiſſes, as well on land as on ſea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, ſhall be thereunto required, any ſtatute, acte, ordinance, prouiſo, proclamation, or reſtraint heretofore had, made, ſet foorth, ordained, or prouided, or any other matter, cauſe or thing to the contrarie, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, witnes our ſelfe, at Weſtminſter, the 11. day of September, in the 22. yeere of our Raigne.

The

The Queenes commiſsion vnder her great ſeale, to her ſeruant *Maſter VVilliam Harebrowne, to be her Maieſties Ambaſſadour, or* Agent, in the partes of Turkie. 1582.

ELlizabetha, Dei Optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vnici clementia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, veræ fidei contra Idololatras falſò Chriſti nomen profitentes inuicta & potentiſſima propugnatrix, vniuerſis, & ſingulis præſentes has literas viſuris, & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm auguſtiſsimus, & inuictiſsimus princeps, Zuldan Murad Can, Turcici Regni Dominator potentiſsimus, imperijque Orientis Monarcha, fœdus, amicitiámque nobiſcum percuſſerit, iurauerítque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè ſeruare deſtinamus) ad eámq; magis ornandam, illuſtrandámque conceſſerit idem auguſtiſsimus Imperator ſubditis noſtris liberam ſuas merces exercendi rationem in omnibus Muſulmanici imperij ſui partibus, cum tam ampla priuilegiorum conceſsione, quàm alijs bonis principibus, ſociis, & fœderatis noſtris largitus eſt, quorum priuilegiorum donationem, nos gratam, acceptámque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatúmque, nihil in votis habentes potiùs, quàm bonorum erga nos principum animos benevolos honoratiſsima mente fouere, promererique: Sciatis, nos de ſingulari erga nos, obſequiúmque noſtrũ, fide, obſeruantia, prudentia, & dexteritate multùm nobis chari Guilielmi Harebrowne, è cuſtodibus corporis noſtri vniu:, plurimùm confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem noſtrum, certum, & indubitatum, ordinamus, facimus, & conſtituimus, per præſentes: dantes ei, & concedentes poteſtatem, authoritatem, nomine noſtro, & pro nobis prædictum amicitiæ fœdus confirmandi, priuilegiorum conceſsionem in manus ſuas capiendi, ratámque habendi, omnibus & ſingulis ſubditis noſtris, Muſulmanicis oris, terriſque negotiantibus, pro Maieſtatis noſtræ authoritate præcipiendi, mandandíque, vt ſint in ſuis commerciis, quamdiu, quotiéſque cum Muſulmanicis verſantur, dictorum priuilegiorum præſcripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obſequia tanta amicitia digna ſe componentes, ac in delinquentes in fœdus noſtrum iuſtitiam exequatur. Poteſtatem, & authoritatem ei damus in omnes, & ſingulos ſubditos noſtros in quibuſcunque locis, & partibus Muſulmanici Imperii dominationi ſubiectis negotiantes, conſtituendi emporiorum ſuorum ſedes, in quibus voluerit portubus, & ciuitatibus, in aliis vetandi, in conſtitutis autem emporiorum ſedibus, conſules curandi, leges, præceptionéſque ferendi, condendíque, quarum ex præſcripto, dicti noſtri ſubditi, & eorum quilibet ſeſe publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, caſtigandíque, omnia denique & ſingula faciendi, perimplendíque, quæ ad dictorum ſubditorum noſtrorum honeſtam gubernationem, & commercii exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent, promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noſter, à legibus noſtris non abhorrentia in præmiſsis aut præmiſſorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei teſtimonium, has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes, & ſigilli noſtri impreſsione iuſsimus muniri. Datum è caſtro noſtro Windſorię, 20. die Menſis Nouembris. Anno Ieſu Chriſti, 1582. regni verò noſtri, viceſimo quarto.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the moſt good and moſt great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and moſt mightie defender of the true faith, againſt all Idolaters falſly profeſſing the name of Chriſt, to all and ſinguler perſons, to whoſe ſight and view, theſe our preſent letters may come, greeting. Whereas the moſt renowmed, and moſt inuincible Prince, Zuldan Murad Can, the moſt mighty gouernour of the kingdome of Turkie, and Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, hath entred into league and friendſhip with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, do purpoſe ſolemnly, and inuiolably to keepe in all times to come,) and whereas for the better countenancing and authoriſing of the ſame, the foreſaid renowmed Emperour hath granted vnto our ſubiects free libertie of traffike, in all the partes of his ſacred Empire, with as ample, and large a graunt of priuiledges, as is giuen to other good Princes, our neighbours, and confederats, the graunt of which priuiledges, wee taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainely, and thoroughly determined to keepe and maintaine, with the like goodnes and curteſie of minde, deſiring nothing more, then with an honourable reſpect to nouriſh, and deſerue the benevolent affections of good Princes toward vs: Knowe yee, that wee thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the ſingular truſtines, obedience, wiſdome, and diſpoſition, of our welbeloued ſeruant William Harebrowne, one of the Eſquires of our bodie, towardes vs, and our ſeruice, doeby theſe

theſe preſents,make,ordaine,and conſtitute him,our true and vndoubted Orator,Meſſenger,Deputie,and Agent.Giuing and granting vnto him,power,and authoritie,in our name,and for vs, to confirme the foreſaid league of friendſhip,to take into his handes, and to ratifie the grant of the priuiledges,and to commaunde,and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maieſtie, all and ſinguler our ſubiects,trading and dealing in any of the coaſtes, and kingdomes of that Empire, that as long as they remaine in traffike with his ſubiects,they be obedient to the preſcription and order of the foreſaide priuiledges,applying themſelues in all things,and thorough all thinges,to ſuch duties,and ſeruices,as appertaine to ſo great a league, and friendſhip, and the offenders againſt this our league,to receiue iuſtice,and puniſhment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie,ouer all and ſinguler our ſubiects,dealing, and vſing traffike in any place or part whatſoeuer, ſubiect to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffikes,in what hauen or citie it ſhall pleaſe him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and whereſoeuer their traffikes are appointed to be kept,there to make and create Conſuls,or Gouernours,to enact lawes,and ſtatutes,by the vertue and tenor whereof,all our foreſaid ſubiects, and euery one of them,ſhall both publikely, and priuately vſe and behaue themſelues,to correct and puniſh the breakers of thoſe lawes: and laſt of all,to doe and fulfill all and ſinguler things whatſoeuer,which ſhall ſeeme requiſite and conuenient for the honeſt and orderly gouernment of our ſaid ſubiects,and of the maner of their traffike in thoſe parts,Promiſing aſſuredly,and in the word of a Prince,that whatſoeuer ſhall be done of our ſaid Orator,and Agent,in all or in any of the premiſſes,not repugnant and contrarie to our lawes,ſhall be accepted,ratified,and confirmed by vs. In witnes whereof,we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents, and our ſeale thereunto to be appenſed. Giuen at our Caſtle of Windſore, the 20. day of November, in the yeere of Chriſt,1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The firſt voyage or iourney,made by Maſter Laurence Alderſey,*Marchant of London,to the Cities of Ieruſalem,and Tripolis,&c.*

In the yeere,1581. Penned and ſet downe by himſelfe.

I Departed from London,the firſt day of Aprill,in the yeere of our Lorde,1581. and the next morning,being Sunday,I arriued at Graueſende,where I found a Crater laden with beere,then ready to depart,for Fluſhing: I,and the companie that was with me,ſtaied there that day,vntill one of the clocke in the afternoone the next day: and then I,and Thomas God,with foure or fiue more that were in the companie,to goe to Antwerpe,imbarked our ſelues in that Crater, and ſo ſet ſaile,and departed: but the winde being quite contrary, we were ſet on ſhoare,a mile or two before we came to Quinborough: in the euening,we miſſed our way to the towne,ſo that we lay in the Marſhes all that night,til two of the clocke the next morning,and then by chance Thomas God happened vpon a tennants houſe of his,by whome we were brought to Quinborough, where we were well entertained,and well refreſhed our ſelues.

Upon Wenſday,the fift of Aprill,we tooke the ſeas againe,(the wind being ſomewhat good) and it ſerued vs ſo well,that we arriued at Fluſhing vpon the next day,at foure of the clocke in the afternoone. Upon Friday in the afternoone, I arriued at Antwerpe, and hauing diſpatched my buſines there by Saturday, I tooke my paſſage for Dort, where I arriued vpon Sunday, the ninth of the ſame moneth,ſtaying there but that night: and in the morning, hauing found companie that went to Wezell,I tooke my paſſage with them in a ſmall boate, the boate being heauie laden,and ſore peſtered with paſſengers, and but one man and a boy, to guide the ſame: and the water withal being very rough,I cauſed them to land me at Gorcom, but foure mile from Dort, and there ſtaied that night,and the next day I tooke a ſtronger boate,better manned, and leſſe peſtered,in which boate,I thanke God,I was ſafely deliuered at Neumegen.

From thence,I tooke my paſſage to Collen,in a ſtrounge hoy, laden with houſhold ſtuffe, and ſome other marchandize,and about twelue paſſengers, beſide my ſelfe. From Neumegen, we departed vpon Wenſday,the 12. of Aprill,with very ſcant wind, by reaſon whereof,we were very long vpon the way,and many times ſet on ground in great danger, beſides the perill of the Malecontents,who were vpon both ſides of the riuer. One euening,as we lay at anker,the wind being contrarie,there came about ſixteene of the Malecontents,in a great ſhip boate, and thought to haue boorded vs,but our watch perceiuing them comming,called vs, the reſt of our companie being all ready and appointed for them, diſcharged a peece or two at them: they nothing afraide,

ſtill

ſtil came vpon vs, although thoſe 2. peeces were diſcharged, & I being faſt in ſleepe in my Cabbin, was therewith awaked: and aſking what the matter was, one told me, that the Malecontents were comming aboord vs: whereupon I being ſomewhat amaſed, roſe out of my Cabbin, and betooke me to my ſword, for that was the beſt weapon I had, and vp I went to the top of the hatches, and when I perceiued them comming, I procured halfe a doſen to diſcharge at once, to let them vnderſtand, that there were thoſe in the ſhip, that would bid them welcome: and when thoſe peeces were all at one inſtant diſcharged, they were amazed, and ſtaied, and wiſt not what to doe. Then I, with the beſt dutch I had, called to them, and aſked them wherefore they came not, they ſhould be welcome to vs, with the beſt cheere that we were able to make, and ſo ſhot off another voley, and ſhewed our ſelues with long pikes, ſwords, and other weapons, in ſuch order, that they went their waies, and would not accept our entertainment, nor thanke vs for our good wils: we were foure daies in danger of them, the wind was ſo contrary. Then at the laſt, we procured the Maſter to go on ſhoare, to hire a couple of horſes to towe the ſhip, which he did, and vpon Sunday, the 16. of the ſame moneth, we landed at Wezell, and there hired a waggon, to goe ouer land to Collen, becauſe I had haſte to be at Venice, before this moneth were out.

Vpon Tueſday, the 17. of Aprill, I ſet from Wezell by lande, and that day I dined at Duiſburge, which is three Dutch miles from Wezell, and I lay all night at Thiſtleborough, which is within fiue miles of Collen, and vpon Wenſday I came to Collen, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, and ſtaied there till Tueſday, the 24. of the ſame moneth, and then ſet towardes Mentz.

The monuments of the Citie of Collen ſeene by Maſter Alderſey.

The monuments which I ſawe at Collen, be theſe. I ſawe the tombe (as they ſay) of the three Kings of Collen, which are very faire, incloſed in copper, and Maſſe ſaid in it euery day: it is in the great Church of Collen.

I was alſo in the Church of S. Vrſula, where I found the people at a ſermon, made by a Ieſuite: to which ſermon, beſides the people, there reſorted all the ſchollers of the ſaid Ieſuite, who haue their learning there for nothing: I reckoned and numbred them, to be ſixe hundreth and more, as they came out, and yet I ſuppoſe there are as many more, as I numbred, which went out at an other doore of the Church, ſo that I could not number them all. Alſo I ſaw the tombe of S. Vrſula there, and the tombe of the Engliſh King, that was her huſband, whoſe ſkuls are ſhined in ſiluer for great monuments, and the plate of ſiluer is made to open, ſo that euery bodie that will, may ſee the ſkuls: and there are the bones and ſkuls of a great many of other virgins, and ladies of England, to the number of ten thouſand, the ſkuls of all which Ladies, were ſhined alſo, and the ſkuls of all the virgines were gilt, and put in caſes of purple, and crimſon veluet: alſo the bones of S. Vrſula, and moſt of the bones of the Ladies, with the bones of the Pope, that came with them from Rome, (as they ſay) be all gilt.

This S. Vrſula was a Queene of Wales, and her huſband was a King, or a Kings ſonne of England, and his name was Enterius, which were all ſlaine, comming homewards from Rome, at Collen, with the Pope in their companie, that had chriſtened them at Rome, (for they were all heathen people before) and thinking to be their conductor home, was ſlaine with them. There I ſaw alſo (as they told me) the wedding ring of S. Vrſula: there are the bones and ſkuls alſo of the ſeuen brethren, and the mother of them, mentioned in the Machabees, which were all martyred, for not obeying the tyrants commaundement. I ſawe alſo one of the pots, that (by their report) had water in it at the mariage in Cana of Galile, which Chriſt turned into wine: and I dranke out of the ſame pot, which is made of white marble, and holdeth about a gallon, and the foote of it is trimmed with ſilke of diuers colours.

From Collen, I was commended by George Caſteler to Auguſta, to one Elias Geneſe, towards which place I went vpon Tueſday the 24. of Aprill, and in the way, I ſaw many faire caſtles, and braue cities, wherein I entred not, as Punt, which is foure Dutch miles from Collen.

The Caſtle of Drageyfield, is a mile from Punt, which ſtandeth vpon a very high mountaine, and is very ſtrong, and of each ſide of it, is a Caſtle or two more: it is built within the rocke, ſo as it is inuincible, if it were withall well fortified. Then came we to Andernaga, a great Citie, which is not farre from the Caſtle of Drageyfield: from thence to Coplands, which is alſo a great Citie: thence to S. Cure, and Elfielde, two great Cities alſo: and then to the houſe of the Palſgraue, which is vpon the riuer of Rhene, which is not to be come vnto, but by water.

Vpon Sunday, the nine and twentie of Aprill, at twelue of the clocke, I came to Mentz, where I ſtaied but till three of the ſame day, and then tooke paſſage for Vpnam, where I lay all that night.

Mentz

Mentz is a very great Citie, and beautifull: the Biſhop thereof is in dignitie, and authoritie, a great Prince, his Pallaice like a Princes Pallaice, his barges like dwelling houſes, ſo large, and ſo full as it were of Chambers, that euery one of his ſeruants hath his doore, and thereunto his locke and key of his Chamber in the barge: they haue in the ſaide barge a dining Chamber, walkes, great tables to play at dice or cardes, and much more then I ſpeake of, becauſe I ſawe not all.

Upon Thurſday, the third day of May, I came to Auguſta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Maiſter Ieniſe, from Maiſter Caſtler, whome I found very willing to pleaſure me, in any thing that I could or would reaſonably demaund. He firſt furniſhed me with a horſe to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to ſhewe me the Citie, for that I had a day to tarie there, for him that was to be my guide.

The deſcription of Auguſta in Germany.

He ſhewed me firſt the ſtate houſe, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought me to the fineſt garden, and orchard, that euer I ſawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wyer both aboue and beneath, with fine litle branches of trees, for them to ſit in, which was full of thoſe Canarie birdes. There was ſuch an other for Turtle doues: alſo there were two pigeon houſes, ioyning to them, hauing in them ſtore both of Turtle dooues, and pigeons. In the ſame garden alſo, were ſixe or ſeuen fiſhponds, all railed about, and full of very good fiſhe. Alſo, ſeuen or eight fine fountaines, or water ſpringes, of diuers faſhions: as for fruit, there wanted none of all ſortes, as orenges, figges, raiſons, wallnuts, grapes, beſides apples, peares, fillbirds, ſmall nuts, and ſuch other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did he bring me to the water tower of the ſame Citie, that by a ſleight and deuiſe, hath the water brought vp as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tell you the ſtrange deuiſes of all, it paſſeth my capacitie. Then he brought me to another very faire garden, called the ſhooters hoſe, where are buts for the long bowe, the croſſe bowe, the ſtone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exerciſes more.

After this, we walked about the wals of the Citie, where is a great, broade, and deepe ditch, vpon one ſide of the towne, ſo full of fiſhe, as euer I ſawe any ponde in my life, and it is reſerued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other ſide of the Citie, is alſo a deepe place all greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaſeth the States to hunt for their pleaſure, thither they reſorte, and haue their courſes with Grayhowndes, which are kept for that purpoſe.

The fift of May, I departed from Auguſta, towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitſunday, the thirteenth of the ſame moneth. It is needeles to ſpeake of the heigth of the mountaines, that I paſſed ouer, and of the danger thereof, it is ſo well knowen already to the world: the heigth of them is marueilous, and I was the ſpace of ſixe daies in paſſing them. Venice.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which laſted foureteene daies, wherein I ſawe very many, and faire ſhewes of wares. I came thither too ſhort for the firſt paſſage, which went away from Venice, about the ſeuenth or eight of May, and with them about three ſcore pilgrims, which ſhippe was caſt away at a towne called Eſtria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, ſauing thirtie, or thereabout, loſt.

Within eight daies after fell Corpus Chriſti day, which was a day amongſt them of proceſſion, in which was ſhewed the plate, and treaſure of Venice, which is eſteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I doe not accompt it worth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be more then I ſawe. To ſpeake of the ſumptuouſnes of the Copes, and Veſtiments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they be very ſumptuous, many of them ſet all ouer with pearle, & made of clothe of golde. And for the Ieſuites, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Collen.

The number of Ieweſ in Venice.

The number of Iewes, is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, & haue alſo a place, to which they reſort to pray, which is called the Iewes Sinagogue. They all, and their offſpring, vſe to weare red caps, (for ſo they are commanded) becauſe they may thereby be knowen from other men. For my farther knowledge of theſe people, I went into their Sinagogue vpon a Satturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I founde them in their ſeruice or prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fiue bookes of Moſes, and honour them, by carrying them about their Church, as the Papiſtes doe their croſſe.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people ſit round about it, & in the middeſt, there is a place for him that readeth to the reſt: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garment, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The

The Psalmes they sing as we doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any manner of idolatrie: there errour is, that they beleeue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament. This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to be commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong, and populous: it standeth vpon the maine sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tel you of the Duke of Venice, & of the Seigniory: there is one chosen that euer beareth the name of a Duke, but in trueth, he is but seruant to the Seigniorie, for of himselfe he can do litle: it is no otherwise with him, then with a Priest, that is at Masse vpon a festiuall day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendshippe at his handes, he will say, you must goe to the Masters of the parrish, for I can not pleasure you, otherwise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the Duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but he will tell him, you must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seigniorie, and doe you the best friendshippe that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, he may not open it, but in the presence of the Seigniorie, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seigniorie there be about three hundreth, and about fortie of the priuie Counsell of Venice, who vsually are arraied in gownes of crimsen Satten, or crimsen Damaske, when they sitte in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seigniorie, or a scholler of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not doe that without licence.

The excesse of the women of Venice.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Euery Shoemakers or Tailers wife, will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vp her traine, wearing their shoes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke, by the state that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Ladie.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midsommer day, being the foure and twentith of June, and thinking that the shippe would the next day depart, I stayed, and laye a shippebooard all night, and we were made beleeue from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we taried still, till the foureteenth of July, and then with scant winde we sette saile, and sailed that day, and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrarie, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift howre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pylot descried a saile, and at last perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, whereupon we were in great feare.

His end arriuing at Venice for Jerusalem

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to lose little of our way: and while both he, and all of vs, were in our dumps, God sent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne three score and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after, we were seuen leagues past Zanta: and vpon Munday morning, being the three and twentie of the same moneth, we came to the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrarie, with great blastes, and stormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Marriners cried out vpon me, because I was an English man, and saide, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the middest of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selues also, as I doe my selfe, and then vse your discretion. The Friers preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you saide in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or els it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not in deede all good Christians, for there are in the shippe some, that holde very vnchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they saide) that I would not see, when they sayd the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Ladie, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the shippe, and he told me what they said of me, because I would not sing, Salue Regina, and Aue Maria, as they did: I told them, that they that prayed to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Jesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was tolde the Friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at euening

ning prayer, they ſent the purſer about with the image of our Ladie to euery one to kiſſe, and I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not ſee it: yet at laſt he fetched his courſe about, ſo that he came to me, and offered it to me as he did to others, but I refuſed it: whereupon there was a great ſtir: the patron and all the friers were tolde of it, and euery one ſaid I was a Lutheran, and ſo called me: but two of the friers that were of greateſt authoritie, ſeemed to beare me better good will then the reſt, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The ſecond day of Auguſt we arriued in Cyprus, at a towne called Villagh: the people there be very rude, and like beaſts, and no better, they eat their meat ſitting vpon the ground, with their legs a croſſe like tailors, their beds for the moſt part be hard ſtones, but yet ſome of them haue fayre mattraces to lie vpon. Cyprus. Villagh.

Vpon thurſday the eight of Auguſt we came to Ioppa in a ſmall barke, which we hyred betwixt Villagh and Salina, and could not be ſuffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great Baſha, who ſate vpon the top of a hill to ſee vs ſent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any houſe for victualles, but were to content our ſelues with our owne prouiſion, and that which we bought to cary with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of ſtirrops, which I bought at Venice to ſerue me in my iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the Baſha ſaw me vp before the reſt of the companie, he ſent one to diſmount me, and to ſtrike me, whereupon I turned me to the Baſha, and made a long legge, ſaying, Grand mercye Seignior: and after a while we were horſed vpon litle aſſes, and ſent away, with about fiftie light horſmen to be our conduct through the wilderneſſe, called Deſertū fœlix, who made vs good ſport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and fauchins, Ioppa. The Baſha of Ioppa.

That day, being S. Laurence day, we came to Rama, which is tenne Italian miles from Ioppa, and there we ſtayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the caſtell, euery man a chekin, which is ſeuen ſhillings and two pence ſterling. So then we had a new gard of ſouldiers, and left the other. Rama.

The houſe we lodged in at Rama, had a doore ſo low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, and within it are three roomes to lodge trauellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouiſion, without ſtooles or benches to ſit vpon. Our victualles were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great ſtore of fruite, as pomgranets, figges, grapes, orinages, and ſuch like, and drinke, we drue out of the well. The towne it ſelfe is ſo ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of ſtones then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, ſo we ſtayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a freſh gard of ſouldiers we departed toward Jeruſalem. We had not ridden fiue Engliſh miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who ſtayed vs, and would not ſuffer vs to paſſe till they had ſomewhat, ſo it coſt vs for all our gard aboue twentie ſhillings a man betwixt Ioppa and Jeruſalem. Theſe Arabians troubled vs often times. Our Truchman that payed the money for vs was ſtricken downe, and had his head broken becauſe he would not giue them as much as they aſked: and they that ſhould haue reſcued both him and vs, ſtood ſtill, and durſt doe nothing, which was to our coſt. Troopes of theeuiſh Arabians.

Being come within ſight of Jeruſalem, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thankes, that it hath pleaſed him to bring vs to that holy place where he himſelfe had beene: and there we leaue our horſes, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and ſo we were permitted to go to our lodgings. His arriuall in the ſight of Jeruſalem.

The gouernor of the houſe met vs a mile out of the towne, and very curteouſly bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monaſterie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the houſe of the Chriſtians, is a very low and narrow doore, bard or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entry: the place is a monaſtery: there we lay, and dieted of free coſt, we fared reaſonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, and all the meat well ſerued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monaſterie two dayes, friday and ſaturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the houſe with vs: in the way thither we ſaw many monuments, as: The monuments in and about Jeruſalem.

The mountaine where the Angell tooke vp Abacucke by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The fountaine of the prophet Jeremie.

The place where the wiſe men mette that went to Bethlem to worſhip Chriſt, where is a fountaine of ſtone.

Being come to Bethlem we ſaw the place where Chriſt was borne, which is now a chapell with two altars, whereupon they ſay maſſe: the place is built with gray marble, and hath beene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the ſepulchre of the innocents ſlaine by Herod, the ſepulchre of Paul, of Jerome, and of Euſebius.

Alſo a litle from this monaſterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgin Mary abode with Chriſt when Herod ſought him, to deſtroy him.

We ſtayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Judea, which are about eight miles from Jeruſalem, where are the ruines of an olde monaſterie. In the mid way from the monaſterie to Jeruſalem is the place where Iohn Baptiſt was borne, being now an olde monaſterie, and cattle kept in it. Alſo a mile from Jeruſalem is a place called Inuentio ſanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the croſſe.

In the citie of Jeruſalem we ſaw the hall where Pilat ſat in iudgement when Chriſt was condemned, the ſtaires whereof are at Rome, as they tolde vs. A litle from thence is the houſe where the virgin Mary was borne.

There is alſo the piſcina or fillypoole where the ſicke folkes were healed, which is by the walles of Jeruſalem, but the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluaria is a great church, and within the doore thereof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and fiue great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of tauerne doores in London, they ſit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of ſtone, and theyr legs a croſſe like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right againſt the church doore is the graue where Chriſt was buried, with a great long ſtone of white marble ouer it, and railed about, the outſide of the ſepulchre is very foule, by meanes that euery man ſcrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the ſepulchre is a partition, and in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they ſay maſſe, and at the doore thereof is the ſtone whereupon the angell ſat when he ſaid to Mary, He is riſen, which ſtone was alſo rowled to the doore of the ſepulchre.

The altar ſtone within the ſepulchre is of white marble, the place able to conteine but foure perſons, right ouer the ſepulchre is a deuiſe or lanterne for light, and ouer that a great louer, ſuch as are in England in ancient houſes. There is alſo the chapell of the ſepulchre, and in the mids thereof is a canapie as it were of a bed, with a great ſort of Eſtridge egges hanging at it, with taſſels of ſilke and lamps.

Behinde the ſepulchre is a litle chapell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his ſonne: and in the ſame place the tombe of Melchiſedech.

S. Helens chapell. There is a chapell alſo in the ſame church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vp to the place where Chriſt was crucified: the ſtayres are fiftie ſteps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the croſſe ſtood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with ſiluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent alſo of the mountaine is there to be ſeene, in the creuis whereof a man may put his arme.

Vpon the other ſide of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue ſacrificed his ſonne. Where alſo is a chapell, and the place paued with ſtones of diuers colours.

There is alſo the houſe of Amas the high prieſt, and the Oliue tree whereunto Chriſt was bound when he was whipt. Alſo the houſe of Caiphas, and by it the priſon where Chriſt was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the doore.

Without Jeruſalem in the vallie of Joſaphat, is a church vnder the ground, like to the ſhroudes in Paules, where the ſepulchre of the virgin Mary is: the ſtayres be very broad, and vpon the ſtayres going downe are two ſepulchres: vpon the left hand lieth Joſaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Joachym and Anna, the father and mother of the virgin Mary.

Going out of the valley of Joſaphat, we came to mount Oliuet, where Chriſt prayed vnto his father before his death: and there is to be ſeene (as they tolde me) the water and bloud that fell from the eyes of Chriſt. A litle higher vpon the ſame mount is the place where the Apoſtles ſlept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Chriſt was impriſoned.

Vpon the mountaine alſo is the place where Chriſt ſtood when he wept ouer Jeruſalem, and where he aſcended into heauen.

His departure from Jeruſalem. Now hauing ſeene all theſe monuments, I with my company ſet from Jeruſalem, the 20 day of Auguſt, and came againe to Joppa the 22 of the ſame moneth, where we tooke ſhipping preſently for Tripolis, & in 4 dayes we came to Necina the place where the ſhips lie that come for Tripolis.

The

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine dayes for passage, and at last we imbarked our selues in a good ship of Uenice called the new Naue Ragasona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seuenth we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we staied foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recouered againe, I praise God. Tripolis in Syria.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seuenteene persons, women and children. A litle from this citie of Salina, is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that raineth vpon it. Salina.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Millagh, and there we staied eight dayes for more lading: the 18 of September before we came to Millagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrarie, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our shippe had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to vs. Millagh a towne in Cyprus.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, mãned with 500 men at the least, whereupon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleasure: they said they sought foure men, and therefore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, and with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very braue apparell, and fiue or sixe other gentlemen richlie also apparelled. They hauing the Turks safe conduct, shewed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laid it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pices of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Millagh, and there staied eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde. Candie.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a sleeueles arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines passport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merry winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the third of Nouember we arriued at Estria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boats to bring vs to Uenice. Zanta. Estria.

The 9 of Nouember I arriued againe at Uenice in good health, where I staid nine dayes, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staid there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I set towards Noremberge, where I came the 29, and there staied till the 9 of December, and was very well intertained of the English merchants there: and the gouernors of the towne sent me and my company sixteene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Entrige, from Entrige to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arriued vpon Twelfe eue in safetie, & gaue thanks to God, hauing finished my iourney to Jerusalem & home againe, in the space of nine moneths and fiue dayes.

The Queenes letter to the Great Turke 1582, written in commendation of *M. Harebrowne, when he was sent Ambassadour.*

ELIZABETH &c. Augustissimo inuictissimoque principi, &c. Cùm ad postulatum nostrum Cæsarea vestra Maiestas anno saluatoris nostri Iesu 1580, pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate tutissimè liberiméq; ad vniuersas & singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra mariq; proficisci, in ijsq; commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindeq; ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui sub Cæsarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt vbiq; locorum protegendi defendendiq; sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorũ læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptumq; habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamusq;: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione sartam tectamq; conseruabimus: iaciemusq; vt subditi nostri priuilegiorũ sibi indultorum concessione ita vtantur, vt Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem magnificentissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis huius virtus in vsu potiùs quàm verbis, Maiestatis vtriusq; nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, voluimus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Harebroune, ex satellitibus quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum,

ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatem ablegare, qui tum nomine noſtro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam ſubditorum noſtrorum mercimoniorum rationem ſtabiliẽdam tam in Imperiali veſtra ciuitate Conſtantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij veſtri Muſulmanici locis, quæ ex præſcripto priuilegiorum Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis benignitate conceditur, & ex vſu ſubditorum vtriúſq; noſtrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis authoritate, ſumma contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui ſub ſe in magiſtratu ſunt, vt quibuſcunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic noſtro mandatorio in Cæſareę veſtrę Maieſtatis placito exequendo, adiutores ſint & eſſe velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem ſuam ſit honeſte liberaturus erga Maieſtatem vtriúſq; noſtrũ neutiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus ſint obtemperantes noſtri ſubditi quantum Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis conceſſio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Muſtafa ſacræ Cæſareæ veſtræ Maieſtatis Muſulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus ſummopere vt in noſtram gratiam eum in Muſtafaracarum ordinem Cæſarea veſtra Maieſtas recipere dignetur. Si in his alijſq; omnibus honeſtis cauſis hic noſter agens ſubditiq; noſtri Imperatoriæ veſtræ ſublimitatis æquanimitatem ſenſerint, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic veſtrę Maieſtatis fauori & beneuolentiæ (ſi vlla ratione rebus veſtris commodare poterimus) reſpondere libentiſſimè ſemper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

Muſtafa interpres

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ELizabeth by the grace of the moſt mighty God and onely creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the moſt inuincible and moſt mighty defender of the Chriſtian faith againſt all kinde of idolatries of all that liue among the Chriſtians and falſly profeſſe the name of Chriſt, vnto the moſt Imperiall & moſt inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Chan, the moſt mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, ſole aboue all and moſt ſouereigne Monarch of the Eaſt Empire, greeting.

Wheras at our requeſt your Imperiall Maieſtie in the yeere of our Sauior Ieſus 1580, hath entred into a league of peace with vs, whereunto was vnited a moſt large & bountifull grant of certeine priuileges, by benefit wherof our ſubiects may with all ſecurity moſt ſafely and freely trauell by ſea and land into all and ſingular parts of your Muſulmanlike Empire, and in the ſame exerciſing the trade of merchandize may traffike, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleaſure, and in all places be mainteined & defended from all damage of bodies and goods by ſuch as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maieſtie: we thankefully & gratefully receiuing the benefit of ſo great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth do approue & confirme the ſame, promiſing in the word of a prince, that we will keepe the ſaid league perfect and inuiolable, and will cauſe our ſubiects ſo to vſe the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maieſtie ſhall neuer haue occaſion to repent you of your moſt princely liberality. And becauſe the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our Maieſties, ſeemeth rather to conſiſt in the vſe therof, then in the words, we thought good to ſend vnto your Imperial Maieſty this our ambaſſador William Harebrowne, one of the eſquires of our bodie, which both on our behalfe ſhould yeeld thanks vnto your Maieſty, and alſo that we might vſe his good indeuor for the eſtabliſhing of ſuch order in our ſubiects trade of merchandize aſwell in your Imperiall citie of Conſtantinople, as in other places of your Muſulmanlike Empire, as according to ẏ prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely Maieſties goodneſſe, and ſhalbe for the benefit of both our ſubiects. For performance wherof, becauſe he ſtandeth in need of your Imperiall Maieſties authoritie, we earneſtly beſeech the ſame, that you would cauſe all thoſe which be in authority vnder your highneſſe, by all their beſt meanes to aide and aſſiſt this our ambaſſador in executing this your Imperiall Maieſties pleaſure, for vnto him we haue committed this charge: wherin how honeſtly he will diſcharge his credit toward both our Maieſties, I no whit ſtand in doubt: to whom alſo our pleaſure is, that all our ſubiects ſhalbe obedient, as far as the grant of your Imperiall Maieſtie doth permit. Moreouer, whereas that worthy perſonage Muſtafa your Imperiall Maieſties interpretor hath taken ſpeciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, we earneſtly beſeech you that for our ſakes your Imperiall Maieſtie would vouchſafe to aduance him vnto the degree of the Muſtafaraks or chiefe penſioners. If in theſe and in all other honeſt cauſes our aforeſaid agent and our ſubiects ſhall finde your Imperiall highneſſes fauor, a noble traffike will florish betweene theſe nations, and we (if by any way we may ſtand your ſtate in ſtead) will alwayes moſt willingly be ready to requite this your Maieſties fauor and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almighty God the maker of the world, preſerue and keepe your Imperiall Maieſtie, &c.

M. William Harebrowne ſent ambaſſador to the Turke.

A requeſt for the preferring of Muſtafa Beg.

The

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the *Englishmen in the barke Raynolds.* 1582.

FRere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacræ domus hospitalis sancti Ioannis Hierosolimitani magister humilis, pauperúmque Iesu Christi custos, vniuersis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, præfectis, castellanis, admiralijs, & quibuscúnque triremium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, cæterísque officialibus, & quibuscúnque personis cuiusuis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamur, *come nel mese di Maggio prossimo passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue habendo mandato per soccorrere a vn galionetto de Christiani che hauea dato trauerso in quelle parti, essendo arrivati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna naue Inglesa, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & Dauid Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che naue fosse, han visto, che se metteua in ordine per defenderse, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che vn marinaro, riuoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, & che non se amangnaua la vela de la Maiestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly patrono, fu rimensata detta naue nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto offfcio, & si diede parte alla santita di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiij. a la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han don á, humilmente supplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & Dauid Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osburn senatore & Richardo Staper merchanti Ingleси della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scriuano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volessimo dare le nostre lettere patente & saluo condutto, accio che potranno andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodo con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro benuista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commoda a nostra relligione & a questi forestieri, per tenor de li presenti se gli habiamo concesse con le conditione però infrascritte.* videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta naue o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contra bando, & che constara per fede authentica & con lettere patente de sanita, poteran liberalmente victualiarse de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticare in questa isola & dominij, & poi partirsene & seguire suo viaggio per doue volessero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vaselli & spécialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benuista.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stagno, acciale, ferro, carisée commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino fine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & alteri. Et in conclusione, hauendo visto che loro per il tempo che restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua sanctita habbia trouato bono il saluo condutto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vaselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua sanctitá, & massime per che hauera de andare & passare per diuersi lochi & tanto lontani come Ingilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altroue, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conuersatore nostro, accio piu securamente & senza obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta naue o con altre, a loro benuista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affectuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra iurisdition, alla quale detto magnifico Giouani Keale & Dauid filly a nome quo supra con la naue & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, nauigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, senza alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni keale a nome quo supra con le naue, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritentione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, cosa degna di voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima de recompensaruila con vguale & maggior seruitio, quando dall'occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si vogla relligiosi & frati de nostra relligione di qual si voglia conditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti riceuitori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si uoglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in vertu di santa obedientia, & a tutti nostri vassalli & alla giurisditione di nostra relligione soggetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni keale a nome vt supra, naue, marinari, & mercantia, senza permettere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia

manera impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue, & negotij loro sian da voi agioutati & continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei testimonium Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra præsentibus est impressa. Data Melita in conuentu nostro die duo decimo Mensis Iulij. 1582.

¶ *The same in English.*

FRier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, maister of the holy house, the hospitall of S. Iohn at Ierusalem, and an humble keeper of the poore of Iesus Christ, to all & euery prince ecclesiasticall & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Captenes, Vicelords, Maiors, Castellanes, Admerals, and whatsoeuer patrons of small boats, or other greater ships, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and to other officers and persons whatsoeuer, of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of trueth doe witnesse, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succor a litle ship of the Christians which was driuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this iland on the West part they foũd one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull John Keele, and Dauid Fillie maister: & our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselues in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, and therefore one mariner reuolted contrary to the will of the worshipfull John Keele, and Dauid Fillie maister, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her saile, according to the will of the said worshipful John Keele, and Dauid Fillie maister, the said ship was brought backe againe vnto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor staid it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregory the thirteenth, in the end was licensed to depart on her voyage. They therfore the said worshipfull John Keele, and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull maister Edward Osburne alderman, and Richard Staper, English merchants of the noble citie of Londõ, haue humblie besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, maister and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might go and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs inst, and that it might be for the profit of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we haue granted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written, viz.

That euery time the said merchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such merchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient proofe, and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselues with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this iland and dominion, and afterward may depart, and follow their voyage whither they wil into the Leuant or els where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer merchandize they shall thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and harquebush, saltpeeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of lattin, tinne, steele, yron, common karsies white, course canuas to make saile for the gallies, balles of yron for shot, fine millstones, trees and masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seene that they for the time of their abode heere, did behaue themselues like faithfull and catholike Christians, and that his holinesse hath allowed the safeconduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemie, submitting our selues to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as to our faithfull trafficant, so as more surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure: we therefore pray all and euery of your subiects effectuously that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipfull John Keele, and Dauid Fillie by name abouesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue accesse, saile, and passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cause leaue to be giuen that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our loue and contentation the said worshipfull John Keele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and fauor, a thing worthie of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equall and greater seruice, when vpon occasion it shalbe required.

And

And finally, we commaund all, and whatſoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatſoeuer condition, degree, and ſtate they be, and all our receiuers and procurators, in all and whatſoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are ſubiect to the iuriſdiction of our religion, that in, and by the ſame they hold, and repute the ſayd worſhipfull Iohn Keele in the name as aboueſayd, the ſhippe, mariners, and merchandiſe, without let in the ſame their voiage, or in any other place, that they be not moleſted, nor in any wiſe hindered, but that in all their cauſes and buſineſſe they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witneſſe whereof, our ſeale of gouerment is impreſſed to theſe preſents in blacke waxe. Giuen at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeare, 1582.

Certayne remembrances of an intended voyage to Braſill, and the *Riuer of Plate, by the Edward Cotton, a ſhippe of M. Edward Cottons of Southhampton, which periſhed through extreme negligence neere Rio grande in Ginnie, the 17. of Iuly, 1583.*

ARticles of Couenants agreed vpon between Edward Cotton eſquier, owner of the good ſhip called the Edward Cotton of Southhampton, and of all the merchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and William Huddie gentleman, captaine of the ſaid ſhip, Iohn Hooper his lieutenant, Iohn Foſter maſter, Hugh Smith Pilot for the whole voiage, and William Cheeſman merchant, on the other part.

1 IN obſerue and keep the daily order of Common praier aboord the ſhip, & the companie to be called thereunto, at the leaſt once in the day, to be pronounced openly.

2 Item, that they be ready with the firſt faire wind, to ſet ſaile and ſailes in the voiage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly conſtrained by weather, or other apparant and vrgent cauſe.

3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Iſles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25. or 30. tunnes of ſalt, to be imploied among other the owners merchãdize, at Santos, & S. Vincents, to his only behoofe, & the reſt of the ſalt, ſo much as ſhall be needed for victuall, and for ſauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the ſame ſalt to be prouided either at the fiſhermens hands nere the ſaid Iſles for trucke of cõmodities, or els to be taken in at the aforeſaid Iſles, at the diſcretion of the abouenamed.

4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voiage, the owner bindeth himſelfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any ſuch of the company, as ſhall refuſe their ſhares before they depart from the coaſt of England, 20. markes a ſingle ſhare, for the dutie of the whole voyage, making not aboue 75. ſhares ſingle in the whole.

5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the ſayd ſhippe aboue named, ſhall at all times be as well readie to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their ſhares and wages, the ſame to be deuided amongſt the company.

6 Item, that the ſhares be taken at their returne out of all the traine oile, and hides of the ſeales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the ſalt that ſhall be vended and other commodities, at, or neere the coaſt of Braſill, to allow after 9. li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.

7 Item, that if any man ſhall practiſe by any deuiſe or deuiſes whatſoeuer, to alter the voyage from the true purpoſe and intent of the owner, viz. to make their firſt port at Santos, and S. Vincents, and there to reuictuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of Plate, to make their voyage by the traine, and hide of the ſeales, with ſuch other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with diuers that haue gouernment in the ſaid ſhip, are bound to her highnes by their deeds obligatorie in great ſummes, that all ſuch practiſers vpon due proofe made, ſhall looſe their whole intertainment due by ſhares or otherwiſe for this ſaid voiage to be adiudged by the captaine, his lieutenant, the maſter, Pylot and merchaunt, or three of them at the leaſt, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinneſſe be ready at all times to ſerue the merchants turne vpon his demaund, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to, and from the ſhore, when, and as oft as need ſhall bee, and to giue due attendance at the merchaunt, and merchaunts direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being ſet downe for ſuch an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to ſea of the ſaid ſhip, ſhall or may be diſplaced from his ſaid place or office, without

out great cause, and his misdemeanor to be adiudged by the captaine and his lieutenant, the master, the Pylot, and the merchant, or by the consent of 3. of them at the least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the ship to the coast of England, the master and Pilot put not into any porte or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie. Iohn Foster.
Iohn Hooper. William Cheesman.
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of *the ship, as especially for VVilliam Cheesman Merchant, for the voyage* to the Riuer of Plate.

AT your comming to the Isle of S. Sebastian, vpon the coast of Brasill, you shall accordíng to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be there about well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals bee prouiding, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton Wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Munkies, and the beast called Serrabosa. Also you shall barrell vp of the beefe called Petune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good opportunitie, to gather of the Indian figs, and the graines of them to preserue drie, in such quantitie as conueniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preseruing of the hides, I leaue it wholy to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the company. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, that triall be made with the drags, for the pearle Oisters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his lieutenant, the master, the pylot, and merchaunt, or three of them, whereof the Captaine or his lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and merchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentorie be deliuered also to the master and pilot of the sayd pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the sayd voyage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment bee made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shal so conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indeuour to try for the best Oze of gold, siluer, or other rich mettals whatsoeuer. Forget not also to bring the kernels & seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruite inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your gard.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 83. men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20. of May, Anno 1583. and the 17. day of July ensuing, fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, shee perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

The confession of William Bends, Masters Mate in the Edward *Cotton, the 21. of October, An.* 1584.

HE saith that the 17. day of July, Anno 1583. hauing some lacke of fresh water, they put roome vpon the coast of Guinie, where they were set vpon a sand about 8. leagues from the shore, and this Examinate with 29. more, got into the pinnesse, who arriued in an Island, being desolate of people, and fiue miles in compasse, where they rested 18. dayes through force of weather, not hauing els to eate but grasse. The rest of the company, the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quarters, and by the helpe of rafts came also a shore into another Island, neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he supposeth.

The other 30. in the pinnesse, at the end of 18. dayes, departed that Island, and came to Saint Domingo,

Domingo, where comming on shore, they were taken of the Moores, and stripped naked. And they buried one Coxe an old man aliue, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and shrikings: the rest hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This Examinate was at last sold to a Portingall, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yeere, and in the end a Portingall Caruell comming thither, his master laded the same with Negroes, and he obtained leaue of his master to goe in the same Caruell, and by that meanes arriued at Lisbone, and from thence came into England the 17. of October, 1584. leauing behind him of his company aliue, Richard Hacker, Iohn Baker, Iohn Mathew, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond S. Domingoes: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One Coxe an old English man buried aliue by the Moores of Rio grande in Guinea.

The Passeport in Italian granted to Thomas Shingleton Englishman, *by the king of Algier.* 1583.

NOi Assam Bassha Vicere & lochotenente e capitan della iurisditione de Algier doniamo e concediamo libero saluo condutto a Thomas Shingleton *mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negotiare, e contrattare liberamẽte in questa citta de Algier & altri lochi de la nostra iurisditione cosi di ponente come di Leuante: & cosi anchora commandiamo al capitan di mare di Algier & d'altri lochi de nostra iurisditione, Rais de Vasselli & capitani de Leuante, & altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como picholi, si commanda a qnal si voglia, che trouando il sopradetto* Thomas Shingleton *Inglese nelli mari di Genoua, Francia, Napoli, Calabria, e Sardigna con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne piggliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna manera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto hauete a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrone* Soltan Murates Ottomano, *lo lasciarete andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in Algieri in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario il di 23. de Ienaro, 1583.*

¶ *The same in English.*

WE Assam Bassha Viceroy and lieutenant, and capitaine of the iurisdiction of Algier, giue and graunt free safeconduct to Thomas Shingleton merchaunt, that with his ship & mariners, of what nation soeuer they be, and with his merchandize of what countrey soeuer, he may goe and come, and trade and traffique freely in this citie of Algier, & other places of our iurisdiction, as wel of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the capitaine of the sea of Algier, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels and capitains of the Leuant, and other capitains of vessels as well great as small, whosoeuer they be, we do command them, That finding the foresayd Thomas Shingleton Englishman in the seas of Genua, Fraunce, Naples, Calabria, and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soeuer they be, that they molest them not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, vnder paine and perill of loosing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sultan Murates Hottoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Algier in our kingly palace, signed with our princely signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Ianuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne to the king of *Argier, the 20. of Iuly, 1584 in the behalfe of certaine English captiues* there deteined.

MVy alto y poderoso Rey,
Sea seruida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Señor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Sereniſſima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglatierra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar par mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Iuan Tipton

nuestro

nueſtro commiſſario, para lo mueſtrar a voſtra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de ſu ciudad de Argier ha ſido hechado al fondo en la mar vn des nueſtros naues que venia de Petras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que alla ſe compraron, y las mas de la gente della matados y ahogados en la mar: y el reſto eſtan detenidos por eſclauos: coſa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y priuilegios. Que es occaſion, que por eſto ſupplicamos a voſtra Alteza muy humilmente, que, pues que la potentiſſima mageſtad del Gran Senor es ſeruida nos fauoreſcer por los dichos articulos, tambien ſea ſeruida voſtra Alteza aſſiſtirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por voſtra autoridad ſu ayuda y fauor, ſegun que eſperamos, para que puedan eſtar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres anſi hechos eſclauos, como dicho es. Y anſi miſmo, que mande voſtra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maeſtres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nueſtro trafico con ſeys naos cada año para Turquia a los dominios del Gran Senor a paz y a ſaluo, por no cõtrariar a los dichos nueſtros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nueſtras dichas naos por ſe conoſcer vn ſaluo conduto de ſu alta & potentiſſima mageſtad. Y con eſta voſtra tan ſenallada merced y fauor que en eſſo reſciberemos, quedaremos noſotros con grandiſſima obligation a voſtra Alteza de ſeruirla por ello, ſegun que el dicho Senor Iuan Tipton, *a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera a voſtra Alteza: Cuya ſereniſſima perſona y eſtado ſupplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente proſpere y acreſcente con toda felicitad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.*

Al ſeruitio de vueſtra Alteza por y en nombre de todos los tratantes en Turquia, lo el mayor de Londres,
Edward Oſborne.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RIght high and mightie king,
May it pleaſe your highneſſe to vnderſtand, that the moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuiledges with the moſt excellent maieſtie of our Queene of England, that her ſubiects may freely go and come, and traffique by ſea and land in the dominions of his moſt mightie maieſtie, as appeareth more at large by the ſaid articles, whereof we haue ſent the copy vnto M. Iohn Tipton our Commiſſarie, to ſhew the ſame vnto your highneſſe. Againſt the tenor of which articles, one of our ſhips which came from Petras which is in Morea, laden with currants and other merchandizes which were bought in thoſe partes, was ſunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Argier, and the greateſt nomber of the men thereof were ſlaine and drowned in the ſea, the reſidue being detained as ſlaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforeſaid articles and priuiledges, which is the occaſion that by theſe preſents we beſeech your highneſſe very humbly, that ſince it hath pleaſed the moſt mightie maieſtie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the ſayd priuiledges, it would pleaſe your highneſſe in like maner to aſſiſt vs in the ſame, granting vs by your authoritie, your aide and fauour, according as our hope is, that theſe poore men ſo detained in captiuitie, as is aforeſaid, may be ſet at libertie, and returne into their countrey. And likewiſe that your highneſſe would ſend to giue order to the captaines, maſters and people of your gallies, that from henceforth they would ſuffer vs to vſe our traffique with ſix ſhippes peerely into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and ſafetie, that they doe not withſtand thoſe our ſaid priuiledges, euery one of our foreſaid ſhips carying with them a paſſeport of his moſt high and moſt mightie maieſtie to be knowen by. And for that your ſo ſingular fauour and curteſie which in ſo doing we ſhall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highneſſe will ſeeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the ſaid maſter Iohn Tipton (to whom we referre our ſelues touching all other circumſtances) ſhall more at large enforme your high eſſe, whoſe moſt excellent perſon and eſtate, we pray and beſeech almightie God to proſper and increaſe with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London the 20. of July, 1584.

An Engliſh ſhip ſunke by two gallies of Argier.

At the ſeruice of your highneſſe, for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maios of London, *Edward Oſburne.*

Notes concerning the trade of Argier.

The money of Argier.

THe money that is coined in Argier, is a piece of gold called Aſiano, and Doublaes, and two Doublaes make an Aſiano, but the Doubla is moſt vſed, for all things bee ſolde by Doublaes, which Doubla is fiftie of their Aſpers there.

The Aſper there is not ſo good by halfe and more, as that in Conſtantinople: for the Chekin of gold of the Turkes made at Conſtantinople, is at Argier worth an hundred and fiftie Aſpers, and at Conſtantinople it is but 66. Aſpers.

The

The piſtolet and roials of plate are moſt currant there.

The ſaid piſtolet goeth for 150. Aſpers there: and the piece of 4. roials goeth for 40. Aſpers, but oftentimes is ſold for more, as men need them to cary vp into Turkie.

Their Aſianos and doublaes are pieces of courſe gold, worth here but 40. ſhillings the ounce, ſo the ſame is currant in no place of Turkie out of the kingdome of Argier, neither the Aſpers, for that they be leſſe then others be, for they coine them in Argier.

The cuſtome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the Turke, to be paid of the commoditie it ſelfe, or as it ſhall be rated. The cuſtome.

There is another cuſtome to the Elemine, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the Juſtice of the Chriſtians: the goods for this cuſtome are rated as they are for the kings cuſtome.

Hauing paid cuſtome inwards, you pay none outwards for any commoditie that you doe lade, more then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waight there is called a Cantare for fine wares, as mettals refined, and ſpices, &c. which is here 120. li. ſubtil. The waights.

Mettall not refined, as lead, iron, and ſuch groſſe wares are ſold by a great Cantare, which is halfe as big againe: ſo it is 180. li. ſubtil of ours here.

The meaſure of corne is by a meaſure called a Curtia, which is about 4. buſhels of our meaſure, and corne is plentifull there and good cheape, except when there happeneth a very dry peere. The meaſure.

The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian there, is in a Jewes houſe: for if he haue any hurt, the Jew and his goods ſhall make it good, ſo the Jew taketh great care of the Chriſtian and his goods that lieth in his houſe, for feare of puniſhment. The ſureſt lodging for a Chriſtian.

An Engliſhman called Thomas Williams, which is M. Iohn Tiptons man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the ſtreete called The Soca of the Iewes.

Notes concerning the trade in Alexandria.

ALexandria in Egypt is a free port, and when a man commeth within the Caſtels, preſently the Ermyn ſends aboord to haue one come and ſpeake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then he will ſet guards aboord the ſhippe to ſee all the goods diſcharged. And then from the Ermine you goe to the *Bye, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and ſo from thence to the Conſuls houſe where you lye. The Venecians haue a Conſul themſelues. But all other nations goe to the French nations Conſul, who will giue you a chamber for your ſelues apart, if you will ſo haue it. This is another officer.

The cuſtoms inward of all commodities, are ten in the hundred, and the cuſtome is paid in wares alſo that you buy: for the ſame wares in barter you pay alſo ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you ſell for money, you pay no more cuſtome but the ten afore ſaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the cuſtome of the goods you lade for the ſayd money, for more cuſtome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the cuſtome of the ſame. And if you ſell your wares for money, and with the ſame money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the cuſtome thereof. And if you ſteale any cuſtome, if it bee taken, you pay double cuſtome for that you ſteale. Other ſmall cuſtoms you pay beſides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for Conſullage you pay two in the hundred

The waight of Alexandria is called Pois Forforeine, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marſeils 109. li. of Marſeils waight, at 15. ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called Pois Gerrin, which is 150. li. of Marſeils waight, by which are ſold all things to eate: but ſpice is ſold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo, is three dayes iourney, but you muſt take a Janiſſarie with you: and to goe vp thither by water, it is 8. dayes iourney. Roials of Spaine are currant money there, and are the beſt money you can cary. And 4. roials are worth 13. Medins, and 2. Medins, are 3. Aſpers. Piſtolets and crownes of France, and Dollers will goe, but of all Roials are beſt. Cairo three daies iourney from Alexandria by land.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a preſent to the Bye and Ermine ſome may paſſe.

All ſortes of ſpices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be Moores which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill diſpoſed. And after you be ſearched & haue leaue to paſſe, you muſt preſently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will ſearch you againe. And you muſt depart in the day, for in the night the caſtles will not ſuffer you to depart. The dutie to the Conſul, is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables. Siluer is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly

Commonly the Caranans come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each Christian nation remaineth at the Consuls houses. Yet oftentimes the Christians go vp to Cairo to buy drugs and other commodities there as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible, are all sortes of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. Pepper is vsually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, Ginger for 14. ducats. You must take canuas to make bags to put your commoditie in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good store of Buffe hides.

The voiage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1584. with *a ship called the Iesus, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some En*glishmen are truly reported, and other necessarie circumstances obserued. Written by Thomas Sanders.

THis voiage was set foorth by the right worshipfull, sir Edward Osburne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Stapers, the ship being of the burthen of one hundred tunne, called the Iesus, she was builded at Farmne a riuer by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnabie, and Iohn Gilman. The master (vnder God) was one Zacheus Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthony Ierado a French man, of the prouince of Massils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners some: the merchants factors were Romane Sonnings, a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs seruant vnto the said master Stapers. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter partie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the sayd ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portesmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lukar, otherwise called S. Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Affrica, & so to returne vnto London.

Man doeth purpose, and God doth dispose.

But here ought euery man to note and consider the workes of our God that (many times) what man doth determine, God doth disappoint. The said master hauing some occasion to go to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perre of wind, the boate wherein they were, was drowned, the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saued himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorowes. After which the said masters Mate would not proceed in that voiage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the vnwillingnesse of the masters Mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voiage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16. of October, in An. 1584. she made saile from Portesmouth, and the 18. day then next following she arriued into Newhauen, where our said last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factors then appointed the said Andrew Dier being then masters Mate, to be their master for that voiage, who did chuse to be his Mates, the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Austine, and Shillabey, and for purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8. day of Nouember, we made saile foorthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Portesmouth, where we refreshed our victuals and other necessaries, and then the wind came faire. About the 29. day then next following, wee departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrary winde, we were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18. day then next following, we made foorthward againe, and by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntil the first day of Januarie: at which time the wind cõming faire, we departed thence, & about the 20. day of the said moneth we arriued safely at S. Lucas. And about the 9. day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18. day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where wee were very well intertained by the king of that country, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himself before his commons) requested our said factors to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would take his oiles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and they tooke of him certaine tunnes of oile: and afterward perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oiles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceed theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the factors bought all their oiles of the kings custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

A new master chosen.

The new master died.

The Iesus arriued in Tripolis.

In

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenſon, in a ſhippe of Brittow, who together with our ſaid Factors tooke a houſe to themſelues there. Our French Factor Romaine Sonnings deſired to buy a commoditie in the market, and wanting money, deſired the ſaid Miles Dickenſon to lende him an hundred Chikinoes vntill hee came to his lodging, which hee did, and afterward the ſame Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenſon in the ſtreete, and deliuered him money bound vp in a napkin: ſaying, maſter Dickenſon there is the money that I borowed of you, and ſo thanked him for the ſame: hee doubted nothing leſſe then falſhoode, which is ſeldome knowen among marchants, and ſpecially being together in one houſe, and is the more deteſtable betweene Chriſtians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The ſaid Dickenſon did not tell the money preſently, vntill hee came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about three pounds, for that euery Chikinoe is worth ſeuen ſhillings of Engliſh money, he came to the ſaide Romaine Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and aſked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him: Sonnings anſwered, an hundred: Dickenſon ſaid no: and ſo they proteſted and ſwore on both partes. But in the ende the ſaid Romaine Sonnings did ſweare deepely with deteſtable othes and curſes, and prayed God that hee might ſhewe his workes on him, that other might take enſample thereby, and that hee might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if hee did not deliuer vnto the ſaide Dickenſon an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blaſphemers, curſers and ſwearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to paſſe, that God ſheweth his miracles vpon ſuch monſtrous blaſphemers, to the inſample of others, as nowe hereafter you ſhall here what befell to this Romaine Sonnings.

Another ſhip of Brittowe came to Tripolis.

There was a man in the ſaid towne a pledge, whoſe name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings ſome pleaſure there. The foreſaide Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne, in the ſumme of foure hundred and fiftie crownes, for certaine goods ſent by him into Chriſtendome in a ſhippe of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himſelfe remained in Tripolis as pledge, vntill his ſaide brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arriual into Chriſtendome, hee came among lewde companie, and loſt his brothers ſaid ſhippe and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

A conſpiracie practiſed by the French Factor, to deceiue a Turkiſh marchant of 450. crownes.

The ſaide Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding nowe opportunitie, conſulted with the ſaide Sonnings for to ſwimme a ſeabooyde the Iſlands, and the ſhippe being then out of danger, ſhould take him in, (as after was confeſſed) and ſo to goe to Tallowne in the prouince of Marſilis, with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in the reſt of his lading.

The ſhippe being readie the firſt day of May, and hauing her ſailes all abroade, our ſayde Factors did take their leaue of the King, who very courteouſly bidde them farewell, and when they came abooyde, they commaunded the Maſter and the companie haſtely to get out the ſhippe: the Maſter anſwered that it was vnpoſſible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowed. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that wee ſhould doe our indeuoure to get her foorth. Then went wee to warpe out the ſhippe, and preſently the king ſent a boate abooyde of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaide Sonnings to come a ſhoare: at whoſe comming, the king demaunded of him cuſtome for the oyles: Sonnings anſwered him that his highneſſe had promiſed to deliuer them cuſtome free. But notwithſtanding the king weighed not his ſaide promiſe, and as an infidel that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a King, hee cauſed the ſaide Sonnings to pay the cuſtome to the vttermoſt penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haſte away, ſaying, that the Ianizaries woulde haue the oyle aſhoare againe.

The beginning of their troubles, and occaſion of all their miſerie.

Theſe Ianizaries are ſouldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboue the Kings. And ſo the ſaide Factor departed from the king, and came to the waterſide, and called for a boate to come a boorde, and hee brought with him the foreſaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquiſitiue to know what man that was, Sonnings anſwered, that he was his countreyman, a paſſenger: I pray God ſaide the companie, that wee come not into trouble by this man. Then ſaid Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine? if any thing chance otherwiſe then well, I muſt anſwere for all.

Nowe the Turke vnto whome this Patrone Norado was indebted, miſſing him, (ſuppoſed him to bee abooyde of our ſhippe,) preſently went vnto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was abooyde of the Engliſh ſhippe, whereupon the King preſently ſent a boate abooyde of vs, with three men in her, commaunding the ſaid Sonnings to come a ſhoare, and not ſpeaking any thing as touching the man, hee ſaide that hee would come preſently in his owne boate, but aſſoone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe foorth the

shippe, and said that he would see the knaues hanged before hee would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that hee came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next vnto vs, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the saide Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he saide that it was the Ianizaries who woulde haue the oyle a shoare againe, and willed vs to make haste away, and after that hee had discharged three shottes without ball, hee commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indeuoure to sinke vs, but the Turkish gunners coulde not once strike vs, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison whereas all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that coulde either sinke vs, or else cause vs to come in againe, he should haue a hundred crownes and his libertie. With that came foorth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an olde seruitour in Flanders, and hee said, that vpon the performance of that promise, hee woulde vndertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and thereto hee woulde gage his life, and at the first shotte hee split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shotte he strake vs vnder the water, and the thirde shotte he shotte vs through our foremaste with a Colouring shotte, and thus hee hauing rent both our rudder and maste, and shotte vs vnder water, we were inforced to goe in againe.

A Spanish captiue shot at vs, and made the ship to peelde.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his libertie, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the saide king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that a Turke or infidel hath of his word, although he be able to performe it, yea more, though he be a king.

Then our marchants seeing no remedie, they together with fiue of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting, they shotte vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the king commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be cheined foure and foure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently aboue an hundred Turks aboorde of vs, and they searched vs, and stript our very clothes from our backes, and brake open our chests, and made a spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian caitifes likewise that came a boorde of vs, made spoile of our goods, and vsed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate hauing a Geneua Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that sith it was the will of God that wee shoulde fall into their handes, yet that they should graunt vs to vse our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to vse theirs, and he graunted vs: then I tolde him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer vp the Bible againe, which he did: and within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasourer of it, and presently hee commaunded him to deliuer it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for hee was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, & afterwards becõmeth a Turke, and so hee deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to mee, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despight of thee, and tooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet I will bee reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the third time vnto the kiugs Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou shalt haue an hundred bastenadoes. And foorthwith he deliuered mee the booke, saying, hee had not the value of a pinne of the spoile of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a penni worth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuenteene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainly appeare.

A Turke tooke a Geneua Bible for his share of the spoile.

All that had share of the spoile (shortly after) by Gods iudgement died.

Then came the Guardian Basha which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I remembring the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a iarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with mee, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer mee the iarre of oyle, and when thou commest to the Banio thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any more.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our marchants and all the rest of our companie in chaines, and we all readie to receiue the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but

would

would haue pitied our cauſe, hearing or ſeeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the firſt of May, 1584.

And the ſecond day of the ſame moneth, the king with all his counſell ſate in iudgement vpon vs. The firſt that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factors, and the Maſters, and the king aſked them wherefore they came not a ſhoare when he ſent for them. And Romaine Sonnings anſwered, that though hee were king on ſhoare, and might commaunde there, ſo was he as touching thoſe that were vnder him: and therefore ſaid, if any offence be, the fault is wholy in my ſelfe, and in no other. Then foorthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the ſaid Romaine Sonnings ſhould be hanged ouer the Northeaſt Bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the forenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Maſter Andrew Dier, and vſed fewe words to him, and ſo condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Weſtermoſt bulwarke. *The Engliſhmen araigned.*

Then fell our other Factor (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees before the king, and ſaide, I beſeech your highneſſe either to pardon our Maſter, or elſe ſuffer me to die for him, for hee is ignorant of this cauſe. And then the people of that countrey, fauouring the ſaid Richard Skegs, beſought the king to pardon them both. So then the king ſpake theſe wordes: Beholde, for thy ſake, I pardon the Maſter. Then preſently the Turkes ſhouted, and cried, ſaying: Away with the Maſter from the preſence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and wee all reioyced at the good happe of maſter Skegs, that hee was ſaued, and our Maſter for his ſake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double ſorow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counſell had aduiſed him, that vnleſſe the Maſter died alſo, by the lawe they coulde not confiſcate the ſhippe nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king ſent for our Maſter againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cauſe, which was that hee ſhould bee hanged. Here all true Chriſtians may ſee what truſt a Chriſtian man may put in an infidels promiſe, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the ſame cauſe before a whole multitude: and alſo promiſed our Factors their oiles cuſtome free, and at their going away made them pay the vttermoſt penie for the cuſtome thereof. *Maſter Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.*

And when that Romaine Sonnings ſaw no remedie but that he ſhould die, he proteſted to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue ſaued his life. Then ſaide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, ſpeake the words that thereunto belong: and he did ſo. Then ſaid they vnto him, Now thou ſhalt die in the faith of a Turke, and ſo hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the forenamed Patrone Norado, whereas before he had libertie and did nothing, hee then was condemned ſlaue perpetuall, except there were paiment made of the foreſaid ſumme of money. *A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.*

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in nomber ſixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the firſt day we came on ſhoare, by the viſitation of Almightie God: and the other three and twentie he condemned ſlaues perpetually vnto the great Turke, and the ſhippe and goods were confiſcated to the vſe of the great Turke: and then wee all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thankes for this ſorowfull viſitation, and giuing our ſelues wholy to the Almightie power of God, vnto whome all ſecrets are knowen, that hee of his goodneſſe would vouchſafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Chriſtian hearts ſee the wonderfull workes of God ſhewed vpon ſuch infidels, blaſphemers, whoremaſters, and runnagate Chriſtians, and ſo you ſhall reade in the ende of this booke of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his children, and of as many as tooke any portion of the ſaid goods.

But firſt to ſhewe our miſerable bondage and ſlauerie, and vnto what ſmall pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fiue men had allowance but fiue aſpers of bread in a day, which is but two pence Engliſh: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boords, with a very ſimple cape to couer vs, wee were alſo forceably and moſt violently ſhauen, head and beard, and within three dayes after, I and ſixe more of my fellowes together, with foure ſcore Italians and Spaniards, were ſent foorth in a Galeat to take a Greekiſh Carmoſel, which came into Arabia to ſteale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but we were chained three and three to an oare, and wee rowed naked aboue the girdle, and the Boteſwaine of the Galley walked abaft the maſte, and his Mate afore the maſte, and eche of them a bulls piſſell vied in their handes, and when their diueliſh choller roſe, they woulde ſtrike the Chriſtians for no cauſe: And they allowed vs but halfe a pounde of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of ſuſtenance, water excepted. And when wee came to the place whereas we ſaw the Carmoſell, we were not ſuffered to haue neither needle, bodkin, knife, *Euery fiue men allowed but two pence of bread a day.*

or any other instrument about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred bastinadoes: we were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foot a sunder the one from the other, and euery night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast riueted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosall three houres, and then we tooke it, & lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes fiue, and 14. were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fifteene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slauerie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to carie stones, and some to drawe the Cart with earth, and some to make morter, and some to drawe stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slauerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the souldiours of Tripolis marched foorth of the towne to haue ioyned battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the king sent with them foure pieces of ordinance, which were drawen by the captiues twentie miles into the countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more, were sent twelue mile into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes builded a church.

The Christiās sent 3. times a weeke 30. miles to fetch wood.

Now the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne, and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and we departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our companie, who did direct vs the way: hee saide, that there was a Moore in our companie which was our guide, and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other: and he said, East Northeast, and West Southwest. And at midnight or neere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe. and the guide and all the rest rode away from me. not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone, durst not call nor hallow, for feare least the wilde Moores should heare mee, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they doe God good seruice: and musing with my selfe what were best for me to doe, if I should goe foorth, and the wilde Moores should happe to meete with mee, they woulde kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or companie, I should be most miserablie vsed therefore: of two euils, rather I had to goe foorth to the loosing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee vsed as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my companie before, how Tripolis and the said wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went foorth at aduentute, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gaue our camels prouender, and assoone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused me to marueile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Juniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it vp by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a little at one place and so at another, & laded our camels, & came home about seuen of the clocke that night following: because I fell lame and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene captiues run away from Tripolis.

The iudgement of God vpon blaspheamers.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seuenteene captiues more of his companie, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their companie said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall nowe fetche the shoare, and presently there arose a mightie storme, with thunder and raine, and the winde at North, their boate being very smal, so that they were inforced to beare vp roome, & to sheare right afore the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing vp and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashoare, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily (perceiuing their intent) gathered together a three score horsemen, and hid themselues behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past vp halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had before escaped: and presently the king commaunded that the foresaide Benedetto with one more of his companie should lose their eares, and the rest to be most cruelly beaten, which was presently

preſently done. This king had a ſonne which was a ruler in an Iſland called Gerbi, whereunto arriued an Engliſh ſhip called the Greene Dragon, of the which was maſter one M. Blonket, who hauing a very vnhappie boy in that ſhippe, and vnderſtanding that whoſoeuer would turne Turke ſhould be well enterteined of the kings ſonne, this boy did runne a ſhoare, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings ſonne came to Tripolis to viſit his father, and ſeeing our companie, he greatly fancied Richard Burges our purſer, and Iames Smith: they were both yong men, therfore he was very deſirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his deſire, ſaying, we are your fathers ſlaues, and as ſlaues wee will ſerue him. Then his father the king ſent for them, and aſked them if they woulde turne Turke? and they ſaide: If it pleaſe your highnes, Chriſtians we were borne, and ſo we wil remaine, & beſeeched the king that they might not be inforced thereunto. The king had there before in his houſe, a ſonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings ſone had inforced to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelſon: him the king cauſed to be brought to theſe yong men, and then ſaid vnto them: will not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as he is? and they ſaid, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings ſonne went home to Gerbi againe, being ſixe ſcore miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foreſaide yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and Iames Smith: and after their departure from vs, they ſent vs a letter, ſignifying that there was no violence ſhewed vnto them as yet, but within three dayes after they were violently vſed, for that the kings ſonne demaunded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? then anſwered Richard Burges, a Chriſtian I am, and ſo I will remaine. Then the kings ſonne very angerly ſaide vnto him: by Mahomet thou ſhalt preſently bee made Turke. Then called hee for his men, and commaunded them to make him Turke, and they did ſo, and circumciſed him, and would haue had him ſpeake the wordes that thereunto belonged, But he anſwered them ſtoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habite of a Turke, yet ſaid he, a Chriſtian I was borne, and ſo I will remaine, though you force mee to doe otherwiſe.

The kings ſonne had a captiue that was ſonne to one of the Queenes maiſties guard, that was forced to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commanded him to be made Turke perforce alſo: but hee was very ſtrong, for it was ſo much as eight of the kings ſonnes men could doe to holde him, ſo in the ende they circumciſed him, and made him Turke. Now to paſſe ouer a litle, and ſo to ſhewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miſerable captiuitie.

In May aforeſaid, ſhortly after our apprehenſion, I wrote a letter into Englande vnto my father, dwelling in Eauiſtoke in Deuonſhire, ſignifying vnto him the whole eſtate of our calamities: and I wrote alſo to Conſtantinople to the Engliſh Embaſſadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderſtood the truethof our miſhap, and the occaſion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honorable the earle of Bedford therof, who in ſhort ſpace acquainted her highnes with ꝑ whole cauſe thereof, & her maieſtie like a moſt mercifull princeſſe, tendring her ſubiects, preſently tooke order for our deliuerance. Wherupon the right worſhipful ſir Edward Oſburne knight, directed his letters with all ſpeede to the Engliſh Embaſſadour in Conſtantinople, to procure our deliuerie: and he obteined the great Turkes commiſſion, and ſent it forthwith to Tripolis, by one maſter Edward Barton, together with a Iuſtice of the great Turkes, and one ſouldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could ſpeake beſides Greeke, Turkiſh, Italian, Spaniſh and Engliſh. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well interteined. And the firſt night they did lie in a captaines houſe in the towne: all our companie that were in Tripolis, came that night for ioy to maſter Barton and the other commiſſioners to ſee them. Then maſter Barton ſaid vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly interteined vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two ſhillings, and ſaide, ſerue God, for to morrowe I hope you ſhall be as free as euer you were, We all gaue him thankes and ſo departed.

The firſt motion for thoſe Engliſhmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the king hauing intelligence of their comming, ſent worde to the keeper, that none of the Engliſhmen (meaning our companie) ſhoulde goe to worke. Then hee ſent for maſter Barton and the other commiſſioners, and demaunded of the ſaide maſter Barton his meſſage: the Iuſtice anſwered, that the great Turke his Souereigne had ſent them vnto him, ſignifying that hee was informed that a certaine Engliſh ſhippe called the Ieſus, was by him the ſaid king confiſcated, about twelue moneths ſince, and nowe my ſaide Souereigne hath here ſent his eſpeciall commiſſion by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the ſaid ſhip and goods, and alſo the free libertie & deliuerance of the Engliſhmen of the ſame ſhippe, whome you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the ſame Iuſtice ſaide, I am authorized by my ſaide Souereigne the great Turke to ſee it done: And therefore I commaunde you by

vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premisses or the value thereof, and so did the Iustices deliuer vnto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaide,

The Englishmen released.

which commission the King with all obedience receiued: and after the perusing of the same, hee foorthwith commaunded all the English captiues to bee brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the King saide, You Englishmen, for that you did offende the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your companie were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to be perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soueraigne lorde the great Turke to pardon your saide offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, beholde, here I make deliuery of you to this English Gentleman: so hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in nomber, to master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king saide, that he had solde her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his handes, and so the King arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Iewe to goe with master Barton and the other commissioners, to shewe them their lodging, which was a house prouided and appointed them by the saide king. And because I had the Italian and Spanish tongues, by which their most traffique in that countrey is, Master Barton made mee his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his companie, and deliuered mee money needefull for the same. Thus were we set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The plagues and punishments that happened to the king and his people.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almightie God at his will and pleasure sendeth vpon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that befell his children and others aforesaid. First when we were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the King had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our companie, of whome two were hanged, and one died the same day that we were made bondslaues, that present moneth there died 9. more of our companie of the plague, & other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wild Moores.

on the 4. day of June next following, the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wild Moores: and on the 28. day of the said moneth of June, one Geffrey Maltees, a rennegado of Malta, ran away to his countrey, & stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withal, & caried with him 12. Christians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the 10. day of July next following, the king road forth vpon the greatest & fairest mare that might be seen, as white as any swan: he had not ridden 40. paces frō his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe vnder him starke dead, & I with 6. more were commanded to burie her skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about three moneths after our deliuerie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his companie, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante, wee remained 15. daies there, aboord our vessell, before wee could haue Platego (that is, leaue to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence we came: and about three daies after,

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

we came a shoare, thether came another Settea of Marsills bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselues as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about three moneths after, shipt our selues in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which

The souldiers of Tripolie kill the king.

came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which three moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender vp all his fathers treasure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the Great Turke, and tooke with him our said Purser, Richard Burges, and Iames Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesaid. And they the said Englishmen, finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captiues, which were going with them vnto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboord of the Galley, and priuily the said Englishmen conueied vnto the said christian captiues, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine sea, toward Constantinople (vpon the faithfull promise of the said Christian captiues) these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crosia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the canon lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captiues, who fallie brake their promises, the said Master Blonkets boy was killed, and the saide Iames Smith, and our Purser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their arriuall in Constantinople: and as the Lordes will was, about two daies after,

passing

passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Iſland called Cephalonia, they met with 2. of ỹ Duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number, 150. and they ſaued the Chriſtian captiues, and would haue killed the two Engliſhmen, becauſe they were circumciſed, and become Turkes, had not the other Chriſtian captiues excuſed them, ſaying, that they were inforced to be Turkes, by the kings ſonne, & ſhewed the Venetians alſo, how they did enterpriſe at ſea to fight againſt all the Turkes, and that their two fellowes were ſlaine in that fight. Then the Venetians ſaued them, and they, with all the reſidue of the ſaid captiues, had their libertie, which were in number, 150. or thereabouts, and the ſaid Gallie, and all the Turkes treaſure, was confiſcated to the vſe of the ſtate of Venice, and from thence our two Engliſhmen trauelled homeward by land, and in this meane time, wee had one more of our companie, which died in Zante, and afterward the other eight ſhipped themſelues at Zante, in a ſhippe of the ſaide Marcus Segoorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arriued the Aſſention, and the George Bonauenture of London, in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogoſtoria, whoſe marchantes agreed with the marchants of our ſhippe, and ſo laded all the marchandiſe of our ſhippe into the ſaid ſhips of London, who tooke vs eight alſo in as paſſengers, and ſo we came home, and within two moneths after our arriuall at London, our ſaid Purſer Richard Burges, and his fellow, came home alſo, for the which we are bound to praiſe Almightie God, during our liues, & as dutie bindeth vs, to pray for the preſeruation of our moſt gratious Queene, for the great care her Maieſtie had ouer vs, her poore ſubiects, in ſeeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforeſaid: and alſo for her honorable priuie Councell, and eſpeciall for the proſperitie and good eſtate of the houſe of the late deceaſed, the right honorable the Earle of Bedford, whoſe honor I muſt confeſſe, moſt diligently at the ſuite of my father now departed, trauelled herein: for the which I reſt continually bounden to his, whoſe ſoule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almightie, vnto which place he vouchſafe to bring vs all, that for our ſinnes ſuffered moſt vile and ſhamefull death vpon the Croſſe, there to liue perpetually world without end, Amen.

Two gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripoſte his galley, and killed the kings ſonne, and all the Turkes in it, and releaſed al the Chriſtians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke, 1584. for the reſtitution of *the ſhippe, called the Ieſus, and the Engliſh captiues detained in Tripolie* in Barbarie, and for certaine other priſoners in Argiers.

ELizabetha, Dei ter maximi & vnici cœli terræque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Chriſtianę contra omnes omnium inter Chriſtianos degentium, Chriſtíque nomen falſò profitentium idololatrias, inuictiſſima & potentiſsima defenſatrix: auguſtiſsimo, inuictiſsimóque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Muſulmanici regni dominatori potentiſsimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, ſupra omnes ſoli & ſupremo ſalutem, & multos cum ſumma rerum optimarum affluentia fœlices & fortunatos annos.

Auguſtiſsime & potentiſsime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæſaream veſtram Maieſtatẽ ſcripſimus, vt dilectus noſter famulus Guilielmus Harebronus, vir ornatiſsimus pro legato noſtro Conſtantinopoli, alijſque Muſulmanici imperij ditionibus, ſublimi veſtra authoritate reciperetur: ſimul etiam Angli ſubditi noſtri commercium & mercaturam, in omibus illis prouinciis exerceant, non minùs liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæteríque veſtri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragrant, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commerciis coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quę priuilegia, cum noſtris ſubditis Anglis inuictiſsima veſtra Maieſtas literis & diplomate ſuo liberaliſsimè indulſerit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noſter capere poteſt gratias, eo nomine ageremus: ſperantes fore, vt hæc inſtituta commerciorum ratio maximas vtilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperii veſtri ditiones, quàm regni noſtri prouincias ſecum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cùm nuper ſubditi noſtri nonnulli Tripoli in Barberia & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis voluntatem veſtram fortè neſcientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cęſaream veſtram Maieſtatem beneuolè rogamus, vt per Legatum noſtrum eorum cauſam cognoſcas, & poſtremò, earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt noſtri liberè in illis locis, ſine vi aut iniuria deinceps verſari, & negotia gerere poſsint.

Et nos omni opera viciſsim ſtudebimus ea omnia præſtare, quæ Imperatoriæ veſtrę Maieſtati vllo pacto grata fore intelligemus; quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus diutiſsimè incolumem & florentem ſeruet. Datæ in palatio noſtro Londini, quinto die Menſis

Mensis Septembris: anno Iesu Christi Seruatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicesimo sexto.

¶ *The same in English.*

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the name of Christ dwelling among the Christians, most inuincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and inuincible Prince, Zultan Murad Can, the most mightie Ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch aboue all, health, and many happie and fortunate yeeres, with great abundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeeres now passed, we wrote vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, that our welbeloued seruant, William Harebrowne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receaued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our subiects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Prouinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venetians, Germanes, and other your confederats, which trauell through diuerse of the East parts: endeuouring that by mutuall traffike, the East may be ioyned and knit to the West.

Which priuiledges, when as your most puissant Maiestie, by your letters and vnder your dispensation most liberally and fauourably granted to our subiects of England, we could no lesse doe, but in that respect giue you as great thankes, as our heart could conceaue, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of traffike, so well ordained, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subiect to your Empire, as to the Prouinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall manner, whereas some of our subiects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignorant of your pleasure) euill intreated and grieuously vexed, we doe friendly and louingly desire your Imperiall Maiestie, that you will vnderstand their causes by our Ambassadour, and afterward giue commandement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those prouinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, trauel, and doe their busines in those places.

And we againe with all endeuour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise vnderstand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Giuen in our pallace at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our sauiour, 1584. and of our raigne, the 26.

The commandement obtained of the Grand Signior by her *Maiesties Ambassadour, for the quiet passing of her subiects to, & from* his dominions, sent in Anno 1584. to the Viceroys of Argier, Tunes, and Tripolis in Barbarie.

TO our Beglerbege of Argier. We certifie thee, by this our commandement, that the right honorable, William Harebrowne, Ambassadour to the Queenes Maiestie of England, hath signified vnto vs, that the shippes of that Countrey, in their comming, and returning to and from our Empire, one the one part of the seas haue the Spaniards, Florentines, Sicilians, and Malteses, on the other part our Countries, committed to your charge, which aboue sayd Christians, will not quietly suffer their egresse and regresse into, and out of our dominions, but doe take, and make the men captiues, and forfeit the ships, and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that ende, doe continually lie in waight for them, to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defense, at any such times as they might meete with them: wherefore considering by this meanes they must stand vpon their gard, when they shall see any galley a farre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies, and not knowing them, in their defense they doe shoote at them, and yet after, when they do certainely knowe them, doe not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voyage, which you would denie, saying, the peace is broken, for that you haue shotte at vs, and so doe make prise of them, contrarye to our priuiledges, and agaynst reason: for the preuenting

of

of which inconuenience, the ſayd Ambaſſadour hath required this our commandement. We therefore command thee, that vpon ſight hereof, thou doe not permit any ſuch matter in no ſort whatſoeuer, but ſuffer the ſaid Engliſh men to paſſe in peace, according to the tenor of our commandement giuen, without any diſturbance, or let, by any meanes vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them a farre off, they taking them for enemies, ſhould ſhoote at them, yet ſhall you not ſuffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to paſſe. Wherefore looke thou, that they may haue right, according to our priuiledge giuen them, and finding any that abſenteth himſelfe, and will not obey this our commaundement, preſently certifie vs to our porch, that we may giue order for his puniſhment: and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou ſhalt againe returne it vnto them that preſent it. From our pallace in Conſtantinople, the prime of June, 1584.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the reſtitution of an Engliſh ſhippe, called the Ieſus, with the men, and goods, ſent from Conſtantinople, by Mahomet Beg, a Iuſtice of the Great Turkes, and an Engliſh Gentleman, called Maſter Edward Barton. Anno 1584.

HOnorable, and worthy Paſſa Romadan Beglerbeg, moſt wiſe and prudent iudge of the Weſt Tripolis, we wiſh the ende of all thy enterpriſes happie, and proſperous. By theſe our Highnes letters, we certifie thee, that the right Honorable, William Harebrowne, Ambaſſadour in our moſt famous porche, for the moſt excellent Queenes Maieſtie of England, in perſon, and by letters hath certified our Highnes, that a certaine ſhippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thouſand duckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and diſcharged of her lading, and marchandize, paid our cuſtome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their ſhippe with oile, which by conſtraint they were inforced to buy of you, and hauing anſwered in like manner the cuſtome for the ſame, determined to depart: a Frenchman aſſiſtant to the Marchant, vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, caried away with him another Frenchman, indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred duckets, and by force cauſed the Engliſhmen, and ſhippe to depart: who neither ſuſpecting fraude, nor deceite, hoiſed ſailes. In the meane time, this man, whoſe debter the Frenchman had ſtollen away, went to the Paſſa with the ſupplication, by whoſe meanes, and force of the Caſtle, the Engliſhmen were conſtrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, author of the euill, with the Maſter of the ſhippe an Engliſhman, innocent of the crime, were hanged, and ſixe and twentie Engliſhmen caſt into priſon, of whom thorough famine, thirſt, and ſtinke of the priſon, eleuen died, and the reſt like to die. Further, it was ſignified to our Maieſtie alſo, that the marchandiſe and other goods, with the ſhippe, were worth 7600. duckets: which things if they be ſo, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maieſtie, that the Engliſh ſhippe, and all the marchandize, and whatſoeuer els taken away, be wholy reſtored, and that the Engliſhmen be let goe free, and ſuffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commandement ſhall come vnto thee, we ſtraightly command, that the foreſaid buſines be diligently looked vnto, and diſcharged. And if it be ſo, that a Frenchman, and no Engliſhman, hath done this craft, and wickednes vnknowen to the Engliſhmen, and as author of the wickednes is puniſhed, and that the Engliſhmen committed nothing againſt the peace and league, or their articles: alſo if they paid cuſtome according to order, it is againſt law, cuſtome of Countries, and their priuiledge, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their ſhippe, marchandize, and all their goods taken, ſhould be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the Engliſh ſhippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be reſtored to the Engliſhmen: alſo that the men be let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: doe not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and howe this buſines is diſpatched, certifie vs at our moſt famous porche. Dated in the Citie of Conſtantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October, and the yeere of Ieſus, 1584.

A letter of Maiter William Harebrowne, the Engliſh Ambaſſadour, *Ligier in Conſtantinople to the Baſſa Romadan, the Begler*-beg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the reſtoring of an Engliſh ſhippe, called the Ieſus, with the goods, and men, detained as ſlaues, 1585.

Molto magnifico Signor,

Noi haſtato ſignificato per diuerſe lettere di quanto ha paſſato circa di vna naue noſtra chiamata Ieſus, ſopra il quale in agiuto di Ricciardo Skegs, *vno de gli noſtri mercanti di eſſe gia morto, veniua vn certo Franceſe per ſopra cargo chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non eſſer ben portato ſecondo che doueua, volendo importar ſeco vn altro Franceſe debitore a certi voſtri ſenſa pagarcene, per giuſticia era appiccato col patron Ingleſe Andre Dier, che come ſimplice credendo al detto Franceſe ſenza auedercene de la ſua ria malitia non retornaua, quando da voſtra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto triſto Franceſe approuiamo como coſa benfatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiſcato la detta naue e mercantia en eſſa, & fatto ſciaui li marinari, como coſa molto contraria a li priuilegij dal Gran Signor quattro anni paſſati conceſſi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Sereniſſima Mageſta d'Ingilterra noſtra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale eſſendo dal ſopra detto a pieno informato, noi a conceduto il ſuo regale mandamento di reſtitutione, la qual mandiamo a voſtra magnifica Signoria col preſente portator* Edoardo Bartõ, *noſtro Secretario, &* Mahumed Beg, *droguemano di ſua porta excelſa, con altre lettere del excellentiſſimo Vizir, & inuictiſſimo capitan di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſta di V.S.M. che gli huomini, ogli, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque da lei, & per veſtro ordine da gli noſtri tolti ſiano reſi à queſto mio Secretario liberamente ſenza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da ſua gratia noi ha conceduto, ſpecialmente per eſſer detti ogli comprati per ordine di ſua Sereniſſima Mageſtà, per prouiſione della Corte ſua. Il qual non facendo, proteſtiamo per queſta noſtra al incontra di eſſo tutti futuri danni che puono ſuccedere per queſta cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario à la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei, patroni noſtri, como per li priuilegij, che lei moſtrerà il noſtro, conſta: per obſeruatione de gli quali noi ſtiamo di fermo en queſta excelſa Porta. Et coſi reſponderete nel altro mondo al ſolo Iddio, & quà al Gran Signor queſto maſsimo peccato commeſſo da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, chi per queſta crudeltà ſono in parte morti, en parte retenuti da eſſo en duro cattiuerio. Al contrario, piacendo lei euitar queſto incommodo & reſtarcene en gratia dèl Signor Iddio, & li noſtri patroni, amichevolmente, (como conuien à par voſtro di moſtrarſi prudente gouernatore, & fidel ſeruitor al patrono) adimpirete queſta noſtra giuſtiſſima domanda, per poter reſultarui à grand honore & commodo per la tratta di marchantia, che faronno a laduenire li noſtri in quella voſtra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riſcõtrarete, ſiano, ſecondo che manda il Grand Signor, de voſtra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti & riceuuti: Et noi non mancheremo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza voſtra, piacendo lei amicitia noſtra, como deſideramo. Il Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo queſta noſtra giuſta rechieſta, per cauar noi di pui futura fatica in queſto negocio, & lei di diſgratia) ogni vera felicità, & ſupremo honore. Data in palazzo noſtro che fu da Capamat appreſſo Pera di 15. di Genaro, 1585.*

Edoardo Barton & Mahumed Beg.

Il Ambaſsiatore de la Mageſta Sereniſsima d'Ingilterra,
amico de voſtra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RIght honorable Lord, it hath bene ſignified vnto vs by diuerſe letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine ſhippe of ours, called the Ieſus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skegs, one of our marchants in the ſame, now deceaſed, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman, called Romane Sonnings, which for his ill behauiour, according to his deſerts, ſeeking to carry away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditors, was hanged by ſentence of iuſtice, together with Andrew Dier, the Maſter of the ſaid ſhip, who ſimply, and without fraude, giuing credite to the ſaide Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euill fact, did not returne when he was commanded, by your honorable Lordſhippe. The death of the ſaide lewde Frenchman, wee approoue as a thing well done, but contrariwiſe, whereas your Lordeſhippe hath confiſcated, the ſayde ſhippe, with the goods therein, and hath made ſlaues of the Marriners, as a thing altogether contrarie to the priuiledges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres ſince, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe

of

of the moſt excellent,the Queenes Maieſtie of England, our Miſtres, and altogether contrarie to the league of the ſaide Grand Signior,who being fully informed of the aforeſayd cauſe, hath granted vnto vs his royall commandement of reſtitution, which wee ſende vnto your honorable Lordſhippe,by the preſent bearer Edward Barton,our Secretarie,and Mahomet Beg,one of the Juſtices of his ſtately Court,with other letters of the moſt excellent Admirall, and moſt valiant Captaine of the Sea,requiring your honorable Lordſhip, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior,as of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie my Miſtres,that the men, oiles, ſhippe,furniture,money,and all other goods whatſoeuer,by your Lordſhippe,and your order taken from our men,be reſtored vnto this my Secretarie freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnes hath granted vnto vs,eſpecially in regard that the ſame oiles were bought by the commandement of our Queenes moſt excellent Maiеſty,for the prouiſion of her Court.Which if you performe not,we proteſt by theſe our letters againſt you, that you are the cauſe of all the inconueniences which may enſue vpon this occaſion,as the author thereof, contrary to the holy league ſworne by both our Princes,as by the priuiledges,which this our ſeruant will ſhewe you,may appeare. For the ſeeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this ſtately Court.And by this meanes you ſhal anſwere in another world,vnto God alone,and in this world vnto the Grand Signior,for this hainous ſinne committed by you againſt ſo many poore ſoules, which by this your crueltie are in part dead, and in part detained by you in moſt miſerable captiuitie.Contrariwiſe,if it ſhall pleaſe you to auoid this miſchiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almightie God,and of our Princes,you ſhall friendly fulfill this our iuſt demand (as it behoueth you to ſhew your ſelfe a prudent Gouernour,and faithful ſeruant vnto your Lord,) & the ſame may turne to your great honour, and profite,by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come,may vſe in that gouernment of yours: which generally, as well thoſe poore men, as all others,which you ſhall meete at the ſea,ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior,friendly entertained and receiued of your honorable Lordſhip, and we will not faile in the duties of a ſpeciall friend,whenſoeuer you ſhall haue occaſion to vſe vs,as we deſire. Almightie God grant vnto your Lordſhip,(in the fulfilling of this our iuſt requeſt, whereby we may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your ſelfe from further diſpleaſure) all true felicitie,and increaſe of honour. Giuen in our Pallace from Capamat in Pera,the 15. of Januarie,1585.

A briefe extract ſpecifying the certaine daily paiments, anſwered *quarterly in time of peace,by the Grand Signior,out of his treaſurie*,to the officers of his Seraglio,or Court,ſucceſsiuely in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall ſumme,as followeth.

FOr his owne diet euery day,one thouſand and one aſpers, according to a former cuſtome receaued from his anncеſtors: notwithſtanding, that otherwiſe his diurnall expence is very much,and not certainly knowen,which ſumme maketh ſterling monie by the yeere, 2. thouſand, one hundred,92. pound,three ſhillings,eight pence.

The 45. thouſand Ianiſſaries,reparted into ſundry places of his dominions, at ſixe aſpers the day,amounteth by the yeere,fiue hundreth, foure ſcore and eleuen thouſand, and three hundreth pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre ſurmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Chriſtians,from whome betweene the yeeres of ſixe and twelue,they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I ſuppoſe thoſe in ſeruice may be equall in number with the Ianiſſaries aboue ſaide,at three aſpers a day,one with another, which is two hundred, foure ſcore and fifteene thouſand,ſixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Baſhas, whereof the Uiceroy is ſupreme,at one thouſand aſpers the day,beſides their yeerely reuenues,amounteth ſterling by the yeere,ten thouſand,nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The fiue Beglerbegs,chiefe Preſidents of Greece,Hungarie,and Sclauonia,being in Europe, in Anatolia,and Carmania of Aſia,at one thouſand aſpers the day: as alſo to eightеene other gouernours of Prouinces,at fiue hundred aſpers the day, amounteth by the yeere, thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred,and three ſcore pounds.

The Baſſa,Admirall of the Sea,one thouſand aſpers the day,two thouſand,one hundred,foure ſcore and ten thouſand pounds.

The Aga of the Ianiſſaries,Generall of the footemen, fiue hundred aſpers the day, and maketh by the yeere in ſterling monie,one thouſand,foure ſcore and fifteene pounds.

The

The Imbrahur Bassa, Maister of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling monie, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire vnder him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twentie pounds.

The Agaas of the Spahi, Capitaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three score and eleuen pounds.

The Capagi Bassas hed porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to each, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, one thousand, three hundred, and foureteene pounds.

The Sisinghir Bassa, Controuler of the household, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the yeere, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixeteene shillings.

The Chiaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the yeere, in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his barge, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the yeere in sterling money, two hundred, three score and two pounds, 16. shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his garde, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixeteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, Maister of the armourie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixeteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Maister of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixeteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Phisition to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three score and two pounds, sixeteene shillings.

To fortie Phisitions vnder him, to each fortie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three score and sixe pounds, sixeteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number fiue hundred, to either three score aspers, and maketh sterling, three score and fiue thousand, and seuen hundred pounds.

The Cisingeri, gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fortie, at fortie aspers each of them, and amounteth to sterling by the yeere, three thousand, fiue hundred and foure pounds.

The Chiausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fortie, at thirtie aspers, twentie eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and Citie, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the yeere, seuen thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his garde, three hundreth and twentie, at nine aspers, and commeth vnto in English monie, the summe of sixe thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the Citie, ten thousand, at twentie fiue aspers, and maketh of English money, fiue hundred, fortie and seuen thousand, and fiue hundred pounds.

The Ianissaries sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and fortie pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armour, one thousand, fiue hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seuen hundred, and foure score pounds.

The Seiesir, seruitors in his Esquier or stable, fiue hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten pounds.

The Saesi, Sadlers and bit makers, fiue hundred, at seuen aspers, seuen thousand, sixe hundred, three score and fiue pounds.

The Catergi, Cariers vpon Mules, two hundred, at fiue aspers, two thousand, one hundred, foure score and ten pounds.

The Ginegi, Cariers vpon Camels, one thousand, fiue hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twentie sixe thousand, two hundred, and foure score pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the yeere, the summe of sixe thousand, fiue hundred, three score and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Maister of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seuen aspers, foure thousand, fiue hundred, foure score and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateswaines thereof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is three thousand, nine hundred, fortie and two pounds.

The Oda Bassi, Pursers, three hundred, at fiue aspers, maketh three thousand, two hundred, and foure score pounds.

The

The Azappi ſouldiers two thouſand ſix hundred at foure Aſpers, whereof the ſixe hundred doe continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thouſand, ſeuen hundred foure ſcore and ſix pound.

The Mariers Baſſi maſters ouer the ſhipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aſpers the piece, amounteth to three thouſand foure ſcore and foure pound, foure ſhillings.

The Maſter Daſſi ſhipwrights and kalkers, one thouſand at fourteen Aſpers, and amounteth to by the yeere, thirtie thouſand, ſixe hundred three ſcore pound.

Summa totalis of daily paiments, amounteth by the yeere ſterling, one million, nine hundreth threeſcore eight thouſand, ſeuen hundred thirtie fiue pounds, nineteene ſhillings eight pence, anſwered quarterly without default, with the ſumme of foure hundred foure ſcore twelue thouſand, one hundred foure ſcore and foure pounds foure ſhillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day fiue thouſand three hundred foure ſcore and thirteene pounds, fifteene ſhillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improoued fiue times more in value *then their ſummes mentioned, giuen by the Sayd Grand* Signior, as followeth.

TO the Uiceroy for his Timar or annuitie, 60. thouſand gold ducats.
To the ſecond Baſſa for his annuitie, 50. thouſand ducats.
To the third Baſſa for his annuitie, 40. thouſand ducats.
To the fourth Baſſa for his annuitie, 30. thouſand ducats.
To the fifth Baſſa for his annuitie, 20. thouſand ducats.
To the captaine of the Ianiſſaries, 20. thouſand ducats.
To the Ieu Merhorbaſſi maſter of his horſe, 15. thouſand ducats.
To the captaine of the penſioners, 10. thouſand ducats.
To the Captaine of his guard, 5. thouſand ducats.

Summa totalis, 90. thouſand li. ſterling.

Beſide theſe aboue ſpecified, be ſundrie other annuities giuen to diuers others of his aforeſayd officers, as alſo to certaine called Sahims, diminiſhing from three thouſand to two hundreth ducats, eſteemed treble to ſurmount the annuitie aboueſayd.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

THe Uiceroy is high Treaſurer, notwithſtanding that vnder him be three Subtreaſurers called Teſtaders, which be accountable to him of the receits out of Europe, Aſia and Affrica, ſaue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The lord Chancellor is called Niſſangi Baſſa, who ſealeth with a certaine proper character ſuch licences, ſafe conducts, paſſeportes, eſpeciall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithſtanding all letters to forren princes ſo firmed, be after incloſed in a bagge, and ſealed by the Grand Signior, with a ſignet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertaining to king Salomon the wiſe.

The Admiral giueth his voyce in the election of all Begies, captaines of Iſlands, to whom hee giueth their charge, as alſo appointeth the Subbaſſas, Bailies or Conſtables ouer cities & townes vpon the Sea coaſtes about Conſtantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof he reapeth great profite.

The Subbaſſi of Pera paieth him yeerely fifteene thouſand ducats, and ſo likewiſe either of the others according as they are placed.

The Reſſiſtop ſerueth in office to the Uiceroy and Chancellor, as Secretarie, and ſo likewiſe doth the Cogy M. of the Rolls, before which two, paſſe all writings preſented to, or granted by the ſaid Uiceroy and Chancellor, offices of eſpeciall credite and like profite, moreouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There be alſo two chiefe iudges named Ladies Liſguire, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Aſia and Affrica, which in court do ſit on the bench at the left hand of the Baſſas. Theſe ſell all offices to the vnder iudges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery citie or towne, before whom all matters in controuerſie are by iudgement decided, as alſo penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed vpon the offenders by the Subbaſſi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the Beglerbegs *the Gouernours of Prouinces and Sangiacks, and their petie Captains* maintained of these Prouinces.

The Beglerbegs of
- Græcia, fortie thousand.
- Buda, fifteene thousand.
- Sclauonia, fifteene thousand.
- Anatolia, fifteene thousand.
- Caramania, fifteene thousand.
- Armenia, eighteene thousand.
- Persia, twentie thousand.
- Vsdrum, fifteene thousand.
- Chirusta, fifteene thousand.
- Caraemiti, thirtie thousand.
- Gierful, two and thirtie thousand.

} persons.

The Beglerbegs of
- Bagdat, fiue and twentie thousand.
- Balsâra, two and twentie thousand.
- Lassaija, seuenteene thousand.
- Aleppo, fiue and twentie thousand.
- Damasco, seuenteene thousand.
- Cairo, twelue thousand.
- Abes, twelue thousand.
- Meca, eight thousand.
- Cyprus, eighteene thousand.
- Tunes in Barbarie, eight thousand.
- Tripolis in Syria, eight thousand.
- Algier, fortie thousand.

} persons.

Whose Sangiacks and petie captaines bee three hundred sixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from fiue hundreth, to two hundreth souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundreth thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his *Serraglio* about his persons, be these.

- Capiaga, High porter.
- Alnader Bassi, Thesurer.
- Oda Bassi, Chamberlaine.
- Killergi Bassi, Steward.
- Saraiaga, Comptroller.
- Peskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
- Edostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
- Sehetaraga, Armour bearer.
- Choataraga, he that carieth his riding cloke.
- Ebietaraga, Groome of the stoole.

There be many other meaner officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The Turkes yeerely reuenue.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenue is said to be 14. millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling fiue millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute paid by the Christians his subiects, is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not so little as one million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred three score thousand pound.

Moreouer, in time of warre he exacteth manifold summes for maintenance of his armie and nauie of the sayd Christians.

The Emperor paieth him yeerely tribute for Hungarie, three score thousand dollers, which is sterling 13. thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and Bassas, which are said to surmount twentie thousand dollers.

Ambas.

Ambaſſadors allowances.

THe amballadour of the Emperor is allowed one thouſand Aſpers the day.

The amballadour of the French king heretofore enioied the like: but of late yeeres by means of diſpleaſure conceiued by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to ſixe crownes the day, beſides the prouiſion of his Eſquier of ſtable.

The amballadour of Poland, and for the ſtate of Uenice are not Lidgers as theſe two aboue-ſaid. The ſaid Polack is allowed twelue French crownes the day, during his abode, which may be for a moneth. Very ſeldome doe the ſtate of Uenice ſend any amballadour otherwiſe, then enforced of vrgent neceſſitie: but in ſtead thereof keepe there their Agent, preſident ouer their merchants, of thē termed a Bailie, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & ſtate is in maner as magnificall as ꝑ other aforeſaid amballadors. The Spaniſh amballadour was equall with others in Janiſſaries: but for ſo much as he would not according to cuſtome follow the liſt of other amballadors in making preſent to the Grand Signor, he had none allowance. His abode there was 3. yeeres, at the end wherof hauing concluded a truce for 6. yeeres, taking place from his firſt comming in Nouember laſt paſt, 158. he was neuer admitted to ꝑ preſence of the Grand ſignior.

A letter written from the Queenes maieſtie, to *Yeladin el Kubar* king of Cambaia, by Iohn Newberie. In February. An. 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, &c. To the moſt inuincible, and moſt mightie prince, lord Yeladin el Kubar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperor, &c. The great affection which our ſubiects haue, to viſit the moſt diſtant places of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of merchandize of all nations whatſoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutuall and friendly traffique of merchandize on both ſides may come, is the cauſe that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newberie, iointly with thoſe that bee in his company, with a curteous and honeſt boldnes, doe repaire to the borders and countries of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperiall maieſtie through your roiall grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our ſake, to make vs greatly beholding to your maieſtie. We ſhould more earneſtly, & with more words require it if we did thinke it needfull. But by the ſingular report that is of your imperiall maieſties humanitie in theſe vttermoſt partes of the world, we are greatly eaſed of that burden, and therefore we vſe the fewer & leſſe wordes: onely we requeſt that becauſe they are our ſubiects, they may be honeſtly intreated and receiued. And that in reſpect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places ſo far diſtant, it would pleaſe your maieſtie with ſome libertie and ſecuritie of voiage to gratifie it, with ſuch priuiledges as to you ſhall ſeeme good: which curteſie if your imperiall maieſtie ſhall to our ſubiects at our requeſts performe, we, according to our roiall honour will recompence the ſame with as many deſerts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperiall maieſtie to farewell.

A letter written by her maieſtie to the king of China, in Febr. 1583.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England. Moſt Imperiall and inuincible prince, our honeſt ſubiect Iohn Newberie the bringer hereof, who with our fauor hath taken in hand the voiage which now he purſueth to the partes & countries of your empire, not truſting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauor of your imperiall clemencie and humanitie, is mooued to vndertake a thing of ſo much difficultie, being perſwaded that he hauing entred into ſo many perils, your maieſtie wil not diſlike the ſame, eſpecially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your roiall maieſtie, & that to your people it wil bring ſome profit: of both which things he not doubting, with more willing mind hath prepared himſelfe for his deſtinated voiage vnto vs wel liked of. For by this means we perceiue, that ꝑ profit which by ꝑ mutual trade on both ſides, all the princes our neighbors in the Weſt do receiue, your imperial maieſtie and thoſe that be ſubiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy & benefit ſhal haue the ſame, which conſiſteth in the tranſporting outward of ſuch things wherof we haue plentie, and in bringing in ſuch things as we ſtand in need of. It cannot otherwiſe be, but that ſeeing we are borne and made to haue neede one of another, & that we are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial maieſtie wil wel like of it, & by your ſubiects with like indeuor wil be accepted. For the increaſe whereof, if your imperiall maieſtie ſhall adde the ſecuritie of paſſage, with other priuiledges moſt neceſſary to vſe the trade with your men, your maieſtie ſhal do that which belongeth to a moſt honorable & liberal prince, and deſerue ſo much of vs, as by no continuance or length of time ſhall be forgotten. Which requeſt of ours, we do moſt inſtantly deſire to be taken in good part of your maieſtie, and ſo great a benefit towards vs and our men, we ſhall endeuor by diligence to requite when time ſhall ſerue thereunto. The God almightie long preſerue your imperiall maieſtie.

A Letter of M. Iohn Newberie, written from Aleppo, to M. Richard Hakluit of Oxford, the 28. of May, An. 1583.

RIght welbeloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily commend me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Grauesende, which was the 13. day of February last, we remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till we arriued in the road of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where we staied 14. dayes: and the 20. of this present we came hither to Aleppo, and with Gods helpe, within fiue or sixe dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my comming to Tripolis I haue made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosmographie of Abilfada Ismael, but by no means can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from master Thomas Steuens in Goa, as also the note you gaue me of Francis Fernandes the Portingall, I brought thence with me among other writings vnwares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassha of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassha of Tripolis, and the Bassha of Damasco, but they haue not all with them aboue 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Asmerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they shall meete with diuers Capitains and souldiours that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yeere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there euery yeere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeeres or thereabouts, but very few of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holds in their countrey. I pray you make my heartie commendations to M. Peter Guillame, and M. Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who blesse and keepe you, and send vs a ioyfull meeting. From Aleppo, the 28. of May, 1583.

Abilfada Ismael his Cosmographie.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may,
Iohn Newberie.

Another letter of the sayd M. Newbery, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from Aleppo.

RIght welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the rest of my friends remembred. My last I sent you was of the 25. of February last, from Deele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes me remained vpon our owne coast, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the 13. day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued 8. dayes, and in this great storme we had some of our goods wet, but God be thanked no great hurt done. After which time we sailed with a faire wind within the Streicts, and so remained at sea, and ankered at no place vntill our comming into the road of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill. This was a very good passage, God make vs thankfull for it. The 14. day of this present we came from Tripolis, and the 20. day arriued here in Aleppo, and with the helpe of God to morow or next day, we begin our voiage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our good friend master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuell a ball of nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him, which I hope long since you haue receiued. Also he hath by his letter certified you in what order hee sold those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I haue not seene the accompt thereof, neither haue demanded it: for euer since our comming hither he hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the ship, and our voiage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. We haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for 400. ducats, and some sope and broken glasse, with all other small trifles, all which things I hope will serue very well for those places that we shall goe vnto. All the rest of the account of the Barke Reinolds, was sent home in the Emanuell, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Stapers rated it but at 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound,

March, 11.

The last of Aprill.

Currall.
Amber greese.
Sope.
Broken glasse.

Besides

Beſides ſuch profit as it ſhall pleaſe God to ſend thereof: wherefore you ſhall doe very wel to ſpeake to maſter Stapers for the account. And if you would content your ſelfe to trauell for three or foure yeres, I would wiſh you to come hither or go to Cair, if any go thither. For we doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like ſo well of the place, that I thinke you would not deſire to returne againe in 3. or 4. yeeres. And, if it ſhould be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would chooſe this before all other that I know. My reaſon is, the place is healthfull and pleaſant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit wil be hereafter better, things being vſed in good order: for there ſhould come in euery ſhip the fourth part of her Cargeſon in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Alſo to haue two very good ſhips to come together, would doe very well: for in ſo doing, the danger of the voyage might be accounted as little as from London to Antwerpe. Maſter Giles Porter and maſter Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a ſmall barke to Iaffa, the ſame day that we came from thence, which was the 14. day of this preſent, ſo that no doubt but long ſince they are in Jeruſalem: God ſend them and vs ſafe returne. At this inſtant I haue receiued the account of M. Barret, and the reſt of the rings, with two & twentie ducats, two medins in ready monie. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Boſtocke I left certaine ſmall trifles, which I pray you demaund. And ſo once againe with my heartie commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almightie, who alwayes preſerue vs. From Aleppo the 29. of May, 1583.

Yours aſſured, Iohn Newbery.

Another letter of M. Newberie to the aforeſayd M. Poore, written from Babylon.

MY laſt I ſent you, was the 29. of May laſt paſt from Aleppo, by George Gill the purſer of the Tiger, which the laſt day of the ſame moneth came from thence, and arriued at Feluge the 19. day of June, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithſtanding ſome of our company came not hither till the laſt day of the laſt moneth, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reaſon of the great heate that is here, Camels are very ſkant to be gotten. And ſince our comming hither wee haue found very ſmall ſales, but diuers ſay that in the Winter our commodities will be very well ſold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kerſies and tinne, haue neuer bene here at ſo lowe prices as they are now. Notwithſtanding, if I had here ſo much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balſara, and ſo by Gods helpe there will be reaſonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money and halfe commoditie, may be bought here the beſt ſort of ſpices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, & without money there is here at this inſtant ſmall good to be done. With Gods helpe two daies hence, I mind to go from hence to Balſara, & from thence of force I muſt goe to Ormuz for want of a man that ſpeaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Naſtaranies, and one of them hath bene twiſe in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewd fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The beſt ſort of ſpices at Babylon.
Balſara.
Ormuz.

Here follow the prices of Wares as they are woorth here at this inſtant.

The prices of ſpices at Babylon.

Cloues and Maces, the bateman, 5. ducats.
Cynamom 6. ducats, and few to be gotten.
Nutmegs, the bateman, 45. medins, and 40. medins maketh a ducat.
Ginger, 40. medins.
Pepper, 75. medins.
Turbetta, the bateman, 50. medins.
Meel the churle, 70. ducats, and a churle is 27. rottils and a halfe of Aleppo.
Silke, much better then that which commeth from Perſia, 11. ducats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7. pound and 5. ounces Engliſh waight. From Babylon the 20. day of July, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newbery.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormuz, to Iohn Eldred and William Shals at Balsara.

RIght welbeloued and my assured good friends, I hartely commend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed frō you, time will not permit: but the 4. of this present we arriued here, and the tenth day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next moneth, the Capitaine will send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Anthonio. But the trueth is, Michael Stropene was the only cause, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our masters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe vs great good: for they cannot with iustice put vs to death. It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had bene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall doe well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Balsara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost 30. or 40. crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shall be the better able to profite this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my heartie commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21. of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Iohn Eldred, and William Shals.

THe barke of the Iewes is arriued here two dayes past, by whom I knowe you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great curtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what fauour you may. About the middle of the next moneth I thinke wee shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, wherein I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speed as possibly you may. I can say no more, but doe for me as you would I should doe for you in the like cause, and so with my very heartie commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24. day of September, 1583.

Yours, Iohn Newberie.

His third letter to Master Leonard Poore, written from Goa.

MY last I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certified you what had happened there vnto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arriuall there, wee were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Capitaine neuer examined, onely demaunded what countreyman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused vs, had informed the Capitaine of him. The first day wee arriued there, this Stropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides diuers other lies: notwithstanding if we had bene of any other countrey then of England, wee might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and may come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almains, Hungarians, Italians, Greekes, Armenians, Nastaranies, Turkes and Moores, Iewes and Gentiles, Persians, Moscouites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great libertie as any other nation, except it be to goe out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to goe from hence, that they will not denie me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000. pardoas, not to depart from hence without licence of the Viceroy: otherwise except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods again, and haue taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue drette, where we sell our goods.

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

There

There were two cauſes which moued the capteine of Ormuz to impriſon vs, & afterwards to ſend vs hither. The firſt was, becauſe Michael Stropene had accuſed vs of many matters, which were moſt falſe. And the ſecond was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, cauſed two pieces of his ordinance to be ſhot at a gallion of the kinges of Portingall, as they ſay. But of theſe things I did not know at Ormuz: and in the ſhippe that we were ſent in came the chiefeſt iuſtice of Ormuz, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, ſo that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the capteine in Ormuz, who, certeine dayes after our comming from thence, ſent for me into his chamber, and there began to demand of me many thinges, to the which I anſwered: and amongſt the reſt, he ſaid, that M. Drake was ſent out of England with many ſhippes, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kinges of Portingall, he cauſed two pieces of his greateſt ordinance to be ſhot at the ſame: and ſo perceiuing that this did greatlie grieue them, I aſked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: to the which he anſwered, No: although his meaning was to the contrary.

Two cauſes of our mens impriſonment at Ormuz.

He ſaid moreouer, that the cauſe why the capteine of Ormuz did ſend me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would vnderſtand of me, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the beſt that I was ſent hither, the which I truſt in God will ſo fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleaſed God to put into the mindes of the archbiſhop and other two Padres or Ieſuits of S. Pauls college to ſtand our friends, we might haue rotted in priſon. The archbiſhop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his ſeruants, the one of them was borne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was borne at Enchuſen, whoſe name is Iohn Leuſcot, who did vs great pleaſure: for by them the archbiſhop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs, the one of thē is called Padre Marke, who was borne in Bruges in Flanders, & the other was borne in Wiltſhire in England, and is called ‖ Padre Thomas Steuens.

‖ This is he whoſe letters to his father from Goa are before put downe, and he was ſometimes of New college in Oxford.

Alſo I chanced to finde heere a yong man, who was borne in Antwerpe, but the moſt part of his bringing vp hath beene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who alſo hath done me great pleaſure heere.

In the priſon at Ormuz we remained many dayes, alſo we lay a long time at ſea comming hither, and forthwith at our arriuall heere were caried to priſon, and the next day after were ſent for before the Aueador, who is the chiefeſt iuſtice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he preſently ſent vs backe againe to priſon.

And after our being heere in priſon thirteene dayes, Iames Storie went into the monaſterie of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the companie, which life he liketh very well.

Iames Storie their painter.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was two and twentie dayes after our arriuall here) I came out of priſon, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

They arriued at Goa the 20 of November 1583.

If theſe troubles had not chanced, I had beene in poſſibilitie to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with ſo much money. Many of our things I haue ſolde very well, both heere and at Ormuz in priſon, notwithſtanding the capteine willed me (if I would) to ſell what I could before we imbarked: and ſo with officers I went diuers times out of the caſtle in the morning, and ſolde things, and at night returned againe to the priſon, and all thinges that I ſolde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the capteine gaue order that I ſhould deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the ſcriuano, or purſer of the ſhip, which I did, and the ſcriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the capteine, that my ſelfe and the reſt with money & goods he ſhould deliuer into the hands of the Aueador generall of India: but at our arriuall heere, the Aueador would neither meddle with goods nor money, for that he could not proue any thing againſt vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ſhip nine or ten dayes after our arriual, and then, for that the ſhip was to ſaile from hence, the ſcriuano ſent the goods on ſhore, and heere they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they ſuffered this bringer to receiue them, who came with me from Ormuz, and put them into an houſe which he had hyred for me, where they remained foure or fiue dayes. But afterward when they ſhould deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iuſtice, that both the money and goods ſhould be deliuered into the poſitors hands, where they remained foureteene dayes after my comming out of priſon. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of ſiluer and gilt, ſixe kniues, ſixe ſpoones, and one corke trimmed with coral for fiue and twentie chekins, which the capteine of Ormuz did take, and payed for the ſame twentie pardas, which is one hundred larines, and was worth there or heere one hundred chekins. Alſo he had fiue emtauds ſet in golde, which were worth fiue hundred or ſixe hundred crownes, and payed

for

for the ſame an hundred pardas. Alſo he had nineteene & a halfe pikes of cloth, which coſt in London twentie ſhillings the pike, and was worth nine or tenne crownes the pike, and he payed for the ſame twelue larines a pike. Alſo he had two pieces of greene Kerſies, which were wooꝛth foure and twentie pardas the piece, and payed for them ſixteene pardas a piece: beſides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and ſome for nothing at all. But the cauſe of all this was Michael Stropene, which came to Ormuz not wooꝛth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thouſand crownes, and he grieueth that any other ſtranger ſhould trade thither but himſelfe. But that ſhall not ſkill, for I truſt in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and ſell as freelie as he or any other. Heere is verie great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like maner there is great profit to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue paſſed ſince my parting from you. But for all the troubles that haue chanced ſince mine arriuall in Ormuz, this bringer is able to certifie you. I minde to ſtay heere: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may ſend your letters to ſome friend at Liſbone, and from thence by the ſhippes they may be conueyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be either in Portiguiſe or Spaniſh, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie. 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Ralph Fitch to M. Leonard Poore aboueſaid.

LOuing friend Maiſter Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not written vnto you any letters, by reaſon that at Babylon I was ſicke of the flixe, and being ſicke, I went from thence for Baſſara, which was twelue dayes iourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreame hotte weather, which was good for my diſeaſe, ill fare, and wooꝛſſe lodging, by reaſon our boate was peſtered with people. In eight dayes, that which I did eate was very ſmall, ſo that if we had ſtayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but comming to Baſſara, preſently I mended, I thanke God. There we ſtayed foureteene dayes, and then we imbarked our ſelues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were
October 11. put in priſon the ninth of the ſame moneth, where we continued vntill the eleuenth of October, and then were ſhipt for this citie of Goa in the captaines ſhippe, with an hundred and foureteene horſes, and about two hundred men: and paſſing by Diu and Chaul, where we went on land to water the twentith of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the nine and twentith of the ſaid moneth, where for our better intertainment we were preſently put into a fayre ſtrong priſon, where we continued vntill the two & twentith of December. It was the will of God that we found there two Padres, the one an Engliſhman, the other a Flemming. The Engliſh mans name is Padre Thomas Steuens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. Theſe did ſue for vs vnto the Uiceroy and other officers, and ſtood vs in as much ſtead, as our liues and goods were wooꝛth: for if they had not ſtucke to vs, if we had eſcaped with our liues, yet we had had long impriſonment.

Diu. Chaul.

After foureteene dayes impriſonment they offered vs, if we could put in ſurties for two thouſand duckets, we ſhould goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the ſaid Padres found ſureties for vs, that we ſhould not depart the countrey without the licence of the Uiceroy. It doth ſpite the Italians to ſee vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliuery. The painter is in the cloiſter of Saint Paul, and is of their order, and liketh there verie well. While we were in priſon, both at Ormuz and heere, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and loſt, and we haue beene at great charges in giftes and otherwiſe, ſo that a great deale of our goodes is conſumed. There is much of our thinges which will ſell very well, and ſome we ſhall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Uiceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they ſay, to winne a caſtle of the Moores, whoſe returne is thought will be about Eaſter, then we ſhall get our libertie, and our ſurties diſcharged. Then I thinke it will be our beſt way, either one or both to returne, becauſe our troubles haue beene ſo great, and ſo much of our goods ſpoyled, and loſt. But if it pleaſe God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleaſant countrey, and very fruitfull. The Summer is almoſt all the yeere long, but the chiefeſt at Chriſtmas.

The Italians our great enemies for the trade in the Eaſt.

The day and the night are all of one length, very litle difference, and maruellous great ſtore of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victualles are heere plen-

tie

tie and good cheape. And here I will paſſe ouer to certifie you of ſtrange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preſerue you and vs all. From Goa in the Eaſt Indies the 25 of Ianuarie 1584.

Yours to command
RALPH FITCH.

The money and meaſures of Babylon, Balſara, and the Indies, *with the cuſtomes, &c. written from Aleppo in Syria, Anno* 1584: *by* William Barret.

BABYLON:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant there, and the cuſtomes of merchandize.

A Mana of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manaes & three ſeuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8. ounces of London: and 100 manaes is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and ſo much is the ſaid quintall: but the merchants accord is by ſo much the mana, & in the ſaid place they bate the tare in all ſorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The meaſure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in ꝑ 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, ſo that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very little leſſe.

The currant mony of Babylō are Sayes, which Say is 5 medines as in Aleppo, & 40 medines being 8 ſayes maketh a ducket currant, and 47 medines paſſeth in value as the ducket of golde of Uenice, and the dollers of the beſt ſort are worth 33 medines. The rials of plate are ſold by the 100 drams at price, according as they be in requeſt: but among the merchants they bargen by the 100 metrals, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 ſingle rials of plate: but in the mint or caſtle, they take them by the hundred drams, which is 90 rials of plate, & thoſe of the mint giue 5 medines leſſe in ech 100 drāmes then they are worth to be ſolde among the merchants, and make paiment at the the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The cuſtome in Babylon as well inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100. Coral, and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100. Uenice cloth, Engliſh cloth, Kerſies, Mokayres, Chamblets, Silks, Ueluets, Damaſks, Sattins, & ſuch like at 5 per 100: and they rate the goods without reaſon as they luſt themſelues. The Toaſo, Boabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay preſently in readie mony, according to the cuſtome and vſe of the Emperor.

To the Ermin of the mint the ordinarie vſe is to giue 30 Sayes in curteſie, otherwiſe he would by authoritie of his office come aboord, and for deſpight make ſuch ſearch in the barke, that he would turne all things topſie turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, meaſure, and money in the citie of Balſara.

A Mana of Balſara anſwereth 5 roues 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, and 19 manaes & one fourth part of Balſara anſwereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 roues, 8 ounces Engliſh, & 20 manaes is the quintall of Balſara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8 ounces, and ſo much is the ſayd quintall, but the merchants bargen at ſo much the mana or wolſene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the ſort of ſpice is, and the order taken therfore in that place.

The meaſure of Balſara is called a pike, which is iuſt as the meaſure of Babylon, to ſay, 100 pikes of Balſara maketh of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt ſupra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balſara is as followeth. There is a ſort of ſtuffes of copper called Eſtiui, whereof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the ſaid mamedine is of ſiluer, hauing the Moreſco ſtampe on both ſides, and two of theſe make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The ſaid danine is of ſiluer, hauing the Turkeſco ſtampe on both ſides, and 2 & a halfe of theſe make a ſay, which is iuſt in value as the ſay of Aleppo.

The ſaid ſay is of the ſimilitude and ſtampe of Aleppo, being (as appeeres) 60 Eſtiues. Alſo one ſay and 20 eſtiues make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The ſaid larine is a ſtrange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in

Chriſtianitie,

Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the penne of a goose fether, wherwith we vse to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the iust halfe part, and in the head thereof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a ducket, which is 40 medines or eight sayes of Aleppo.

The ducket of golde is worth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is worth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 drams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The rials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, and albeit among the merchants they sell by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or castle, they sell by the 100 drams, hauing there lesse then the worth 5 medines in ech hundred drams, and haue their paiment made in 40 dayes, made them in sayes or larines.

The custome of the said places, aswell in ward as out ward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Toafo, Boabo, & scriuan medines 6 by the bale inward and outward, to say, 3 inward, and as much outward: but who so leaueth his goods in the custome house payeth nothing, where otherwise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med. by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe when the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be driuen to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in mony, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket sealed and firmed with the customers hand, in confirmation of the dispatch and cleering, and before departure thence, to cause the said customer to cause search to be made, to the end that at the voyages returne there be no cauillation made, as it often times happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo drams 150, vt supra.

The fraight of the barks from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a cara is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one chare, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares fraight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the abouesaid rules and fraights, they are at no charges of victualles with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotilo more thē the fraight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the fraight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord, it behoueth to deale warilie, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whereof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in execution, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz.

ORMVZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdome of Ormuz.

SPices and drugs they weigh by the bar, and of euery sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rotiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, aswell great as litle, is 20 frasoli, and euery frasoll is 10 manaes, and euery mana 23 chiansi, and euery chiansi 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that euerie quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and euery roue 32 rotiloes, & euery rotilo 16 ounces, and euery ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rotiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rotiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. English weight. And contrariwise the quintall of Aleppo (which is 494 rotiloes 8 ounces English) maketh 477 rotiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rotiloes and a halfe.

What a rotilo is.

Note that there are bars of diuers weights, vt supra, of which they bargen simplie, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargen of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rotiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rotiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargen in merchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Asarie, and maketh larines 190 & a halfe, which maketh pardaes 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardao. One asarie is sadines 10, and euery sadine is 100 danarie.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo mony

1 medine

1 medine & 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balſara woꝛth of Aleppo money 6 medines & a halfe.

The pardao is 5 larines of Balſara.

There is alſo ſtamped in Oꝛmuz a ſeraphine of golde, which is litle and round, and is woꝛth 24 ſaedines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Uenetian mony is woꝛth in Oꝛmuz larines 88 per 100: meticals, and the rials are woꝛth larines 86 leſſe one ſaedine, which is euery thouſand meticals, 382 aſures: but thoſe that will not ſell them, vſe to melt them, and make them ſo many larines in the king of Oꝛmus his mint, whereby they cleere 2 per 100, and ſomewhat moꝛe: and this they do becauſe neither Uenetian money noꝛ rials runne as currant in Oꝛmuz, per aduiſe.

The meaſure of Oꝛmuz is of 2 ſoꝛts, the one called Codo which increaſeth vpon the meaſure of Aleppo 3 per 100, foꝛ bꝛinging 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Aleppo to Oꝛmuz, it is found in Oꝛmuz to be be 103 Codes. Alſo theſe meaſures of Oꝛmuz increaſe vpon thoſe of Balſara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: foꝛ bꝛinging 100 pikes of any meaſurable wares from Balſara oꝛ Babylon, there is found in Oꝛmuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other meaſure is called a vare, which was ſent from the king of Poꝛtingall to the India, by which they ſell things of ſmall value, which meaſure is of 5 palmes oꝛ ſpannes, and is one code and two third parts, ſo that buying 100 codes of any meaſurable wares, and returning to meaſure it by the ſaid vare, there is foũd but 60 vares, contrariwiſe 100 vares maketh 166 codes & 2 third parts.

Note that all ſuch ſhips as lade hoꝛſes in Oꝛmuz foꝛ Goa oꝛ any other place of India, lading 10 hoꝛſes oꝛ vpwares, in what places ſo euer the ſaid hoꝛſes be taken a ſhoꝛe in the India, the merchandize which is to be diſcharged out of that ſhippe wherein the ſaid hoꝛſes come, are bound to pay no cuſtome at all, but if they lade one hoꝛſe leſſe then tenne, then the goods are bound to pay the whole cuſtome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Poꝛtingall, but it is to be diligentlie foꝛeſeene, whether all thoſe hoꝛſes laden be bound to pay the king his cuſtome: foꝛ many times by the king of Poꝛtingall his commandement there is fauoꝛ ſhewed to the king of Cochin his bꝛother of Armes, ſo that his hoꝛſes that come in the ſame ſhippe, are not to anſwere cuſtome: as foꝛ example, If there were foure hoꝛſes laden in one ſhippe, all which were to pay cuſtome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any cuſtome, the ſame cauſeth all the merchandize of that ſhippe to be ſubiect to pay cuſtome, per aduiſe. But if they lade ten hoꝛſes vpon purpoſe to pay the king his cuſtome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them ſhould die in that caſe, if they bꝛing the taile of the dead hoꝛſe to the cuſtome in Goa, then the merchandize is free from all cuſtome, becauſe they were laden in Oꝛmuz to pay cuſtome in Goa. Moꝛeouer if the hoꝛſes ſhould die beſoꝛe the middeſt of the voyage, they pay no cuſtome at all, and if they die in the mids of the voyage, then they pay halfe cuſtome, but if any hoꝛſe die after the mid voyage, they pay cuſtome no leſſe then if they arriue ſafe. Notwithſtanding, the merchandize (whether the ſaid hoꝛſes die beſoꝛe oꝛ in the mid voyage oꝛ after the mid voyage) are free from all cuſtome.

The cuſtome of Oꝛmuz is a leuen in the 100, to ſay, 10 foꝛ the king, and one foꝛ the arming of the foiſts: but foꝛ ſmall wares as glaſſes, and looking glaſſes of all ſoꝛts, and ſuch like, made foꝛ apparell, pay no cuſtome. But cloth of Wooll, Karſies, Mokayres, Chamlets, and all ſoꝛtes of Silke, Saffron, and ſuch like, pay cuſtome, being eſteemed reaſonable.

There is alſo another cuſtome, which they call caida, which is, that one bꝛinging his goods into Oꝛmus, with purpoſe to ſend the ſame further into India, the ſame is bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this cuſtome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: foꝛ the Poꝛtingalles and Uenetians pay nothing thereof.

Note that in Oꝛmuz they abate tare of all ſoꝛts of commodities, by an oꝛder obſerued of cuſtome.

The fraight from Oꝛmuz to Chaull, Goa, and Cochin, as followeth: Mokayres larines 6 per table of 60 pikes. Aquariola 8 larines by oꝛdinarie chiſt, realings 10 larines by chiſt, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glaſſes larines 8 per chiſt, of 4 foot & a halfe, glaſſes in great chiſt 14 & 15 larines by chiſt. Small wares larines 12 by chiſt of 5 fooot. Tamari foꝛ Maſchat ſadines 2 and a halfe, and 3 by the farde. Tamarie foꝛ Diu and Chaull 4 ſadines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other dꝛugges and things which come from Perſia, pay accoꝛding to the greatneſſe of the bales.

The fraight mẽtioned, they pay as appereth, whẽ they ſhip ꝑ ſaid goods in ſhips where hoꝛſes go: otherwiſe, not hauing hoꝛſes, they pay ſomewhat leſſe, becauſe of the cuſtome which they are to pay.

The vſe of the India ſhippes is, that the patrons therof are not at any charge neither with any paſſenger noꝛ yet with any mariner in the ſhippe, but that euery one at the begũning of the voyage do furniſh to mainteine his owne table (if he will eat) & foꝛ dꝛinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great cuſtodie.

GOA:

GOA:

The weight, meaſure, and money currant in Goa.

THe quintall of Goa is 5 manaes, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotiloes, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Uenice weight 1 li. and a halfe, ſo that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. ſotile Uenice, which is 26 rotiloes 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. Engliſh, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the merchandize, ſpices and drugs, are ſolde by this quintall, except ſome drugs, as lignū de China, Galanga, & others, wherof they bargen at ſo much per candill, aduertiſing that there be two ſorts of candill, one of 16 manaes, the other of 20 manaes, that of 16 manaes commeth to be iuſt 3 quintals, and that of 20 manaes, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotiloes, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is alſo another weight, which they call Marco, which is 8 ounces or one halfe a rotilo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Uenice ſotile: with this they weigh amber, coyall, muſke, ambracan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is alſo another ſort of weight called Mangialliuo, which is 5 graines of Uenice weight, & therewith they weigh diamonds, and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vſe not to abate any tare of any goods, except of ſacks or wraps, & therefore it requireth great aduiſement in buying of the goods, eſpecially in the muſke of Tartaria which commeth by way of China, in bladders, and ſo weigh it without any tare rebating.

Muſke of Tartaria by the way of China.

The meaſure of Goa is called a code, which increaſeth vpon the meaſure of Babylon & Baſſara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, ſo that bringing 100 pikes of any meaſurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is alſo the vare in Goa, which is iuſt as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they meaſure onely things that are of ſmall value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kinde of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and ſtamped on the one ſide with the ſpheare or map of the world, and on the other ſide two arrowes, & 5 rounds: and this kinde of mony is called Baſaruchi, and 15 of theſe make a vinton of naughtie mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of baſe mony: ſo that the tanga of baſe mony is 60 baſaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 baſaruchs, and 5 tangaes make a ſeraphine of golde, which in merchandize is worth 5 tangaes good mony: but if one would change them into baſaruchies, he may haue 5 tangaes, and 16 baſaruchies, which ouerplus they call cerafagio, & when they bargen of the parday of golde, ech parday is ment to be 6 tangaes good mony, but in merchandize they vſe not to demand pardayes of golde in Goa, except it be for iewels and horſes, for all the reſt they take of ſeraphins of ſiluer peraduiſo.

The rials of plate, I ſay the riall of 8 is worth per cuſtome and commandement of the king of Portingall, 400 reyes, and euery rey is one baraſuce and one fourth part, which makes tangaes 6, and 53 baraſuchies as their iuſt value, but for that the ſaid rials are excellent ſiluer and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacha, when the ſhips are to depart at their due times (called Monſons) euery one to haue the ſaid rials pay more then they are worth, and the ouerplus, as is aboueſaid they call ſerafagio. And firſt they giue the iuſt value of the 100 rials, of 8 at 5 tangaes 50 baſaruchies a piece, which done, they giue ſeraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, vntill 22 by the 100, according as they are in requeſt.

The ducket of golde is worth 9 tangaes and a halfe good money, and yet not ſtable in price, for that when the ſhips depart from Goa to Cochin they pay them at 9 tangaes and 3 fourth parts, and 10 tangaes, and that is the moſt that they are worth.

The larines are worth by iuſt value baſaruchies 93 and 3 fourth parts, and 4 larines make a ſeraphine of ſiluer, which is 5 tangaes of good money, and theſe alſo haue ſerafagion of 6, 7, 8, 10, vntill 16, by the 100, for when the ſhippes depart for the North, to ſay, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Baſſani, all carry of the ſame, becauſe it is money more currant then any other.

There is alſo a ſort of ſeraphins of golde of the ſtampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but few in Goa, but being there, they are worth 5 larines & ſomewhat more, according as they are in requeſt.

There is alſo another litle ſort of money, round, hauing on the one ſide a croſſe, and on the other ſide a crowne, which is worth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the ſame ſtampe leſſe then that which they call Imitiuo de buona moneda, which is worth 18 baſaruches 3 fourth parts a piece.

Note that if a man bargaine in marchandize, it behoueth to demaunde tangaes of good mony: for

for by nominating tanges onely, is vnderſtoode to be baſe money of 60. baſaruches, which wanteth of the good money vt ſupra.

The cuſtome of Goa is 8. in the 100. inward, and as much outwarde, and the goods are eſteemed iuſtly rather to the marchants aduantage then the kings. The cuſtome they paye in this order. Comming with a ſhippe from Ormuz to Goa without horſes, they pay 8. in the 100. whether they ſell part or all, but if they would carie of the ſaide marchandiſe to any other place, they pay none other cuſtome, except others buy it and carie it fooyth of the countrey, and then they pay 8. in the 100. And if one hauing payd the cuſtome ſhould ſell to another with compoſition to paſſe it fooyth as for his proper account to ſaue the cuſtome, this may not be, becauſe the ſeller is put to his othe, whether he ſende the goods for his owne accompt, or for the accompt of any others, that haue bought the ſame, and being found to the contrary, they pay cuſtome as aboueſaide. And in this order the marchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with horſes, they are not ſubiect to pay any cuſtome inward, notwithſtanding if they ſend all or any part therof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the cuſtome outward, although they could not ſell.

They vſe alſo in Goa amongſt the cõmon ſort, to bargaine for coales, wood, lime & ſuch like, at ſo many braganines, accounting 24. baſaruches for one braganine, albeit there is no ſuch money ſtamped. The cuſtome of the Portingals, is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what cõdition or ſtate ſoeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe ſet a ſeale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portingal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the ſaid licence or no.

COCHIN.

The waight, meaſure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandiſe which they ſee or buy within the ſaid citie, they bargaine for it at ſo many ſerafines per quintal, which is 128. rotilos of iuſt waight with the quintal & Rotilo of Goa, Ormuz, aduertiſing that there are diuers ſorts of barres according to the ſorts of cõmodities, and in trafiquing they reaſon at ſo much the barre. Note that there are barres of 3. quintals & 3. quintals and a halfe, and 4. quintals. They abate a vſed tare of all marchandiſe, according to the ſort of goods, and order taken for the ſame.

The meaſure of Goa, and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the ſame ſorts which are currant in Goa, but the ducat of golde value is 10. tanges of good money.

The cuſtome of Cochin as well inward, as outward for all ſtrangers, is 8. in the hundred, but thoſe that haue bene maried 4. yeere in the countrey pay but 4. in the hundred per aduiſo.

MALACHA.

The waight, meaſure, and money of Malaca.

FOr the marchandiſe bought and ſolde in the citie, they reaſon at ſo much the barre, which barre is of diuers ſorts, great and ſmall, according to the ancient cuſtome of the ſaid citie, and diuerſitie of the goods. But for the cloues they bargaine at ſo much the barre, which barre is 3. quintals 2. roues, and 10. rotilos. As I haue aboueſaid, all kind of drugs haue their ſorts of barres limitted. Note that euery quintal is 4. roues, and euery roue 32. rotilos, which is 128. rotilos the quintal, the which anſwereth to Aleppo 95. roues, and to London 472. li. per quintal.

The meaſures of Malaca are as the meaſures of Goa. In Malaca they abate tare according to their diſtinction and agreement, for that there is no iuſt tare limitted.

For the money of Malaca, the leaſt money currant is of tinne ſtamped with the armes of Portingall, and 12. of theſe make a Chazza.

The Chazza is alſo of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 2. of theſe make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the ſaid armes, and 40. of theſe make a Tanga of Goa good money, but not ſtamped in Malaca.

There is alſo a ſort of ſiluer money which they call Patachynes, and is worth 6. tanges of good money, which is 360. reyes, and is ſtamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one ſide, and the armes of Portingall on the other ſide.

There is alſo a kinde of money called cruzados ſtamped with the armes of Portingal, and is worth 6. tanges good money, the larines are euery 9. of them worth 2. cruzados, which is 12. tanges good money, and theſe larines be of thoſe which are ſtamped in Balſara, and Ormuz.

The ryals of 8. they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7. tanges of good money.

The cuſtome of Malaca is 10. in the 100. as well inwarde as outwarde, and thoſe which pay the cuſtome inwards, if in caſe they ſend the ſame goods for any other place within terme of a yere and a day, pay no cuſtome for the ſame.

A note of charges from Aleppo to Goa, as followeth.

‖ Or, by the camels burden.

For camels from Aleppo to Birrha,	Medines 60. per ‖ ſomme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per ſomme.
For cuſtome at Birrha,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4. diſhes reaſons, and 20. pounds ſope,	med. 35.
For preſent to the Ermine the ſomme of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30. or 35. ſommes, Duc. 60. is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meate for the men the ſumme of	med. 200.
For cuſtome at Racca the ſumme of	med. 5. per ſomme.
For 3. platters, reaſings, and 15. pounds of ſope,	med. 25.
For cuſtome to king Aboriſſei, Duc. 20. is	med. 800.
For cuſtome at Dea the ſumme of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4. diſhes reaſings, and 20. pounds of ſope.	med. 35.
For cuſtome at Boſara, the ſumme of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. diſhes reaſings, and 10. pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome in Anna, in 10. per ſumme,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For 4. diſhes of reaſings, and 20. pound of ſope,	med. 35.
For cuſtome in Adite, medines 10. per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. diſhes reaſings, and 10. pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2. diſhes reaſings, and 20. pound of ſope,	med. 17.
For cuſtome in Iſt,	med. 10. per ſomme.
For 4. platters reaſings, and 20. pound of ſope,	med. 35.
Charges of preſents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per ſomme.
For cuſtome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth.	
For barke from Babylon to Balſara,	med. 900.
For cuſtome of ſmall wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per ſomme.
For cuſtome of clothes at Corno, the ſumme of	med. per ſomme.
For 3. diſhes reaſings, and 20. pound of ſope,	med. 26.

For fraight from Balſara to Ormuz, according to the greatneſſe, as in this booke appeareth.
For cuſtome in Ormuz, as is aboueſaid in this booke.
For fraight from Ormuz to Goa, as is in this booke ſhewed.
For cuſtome in Goa, as is aboueſaid.

A declaration of the places whence the goods ſubſcribed doe come.

Cloues, from Malucho, Tarenate Ambona, by way of Iaua.
Nutmeggs, from Banda.
Maces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacha.
Pepper Gawie, from Cochin.
Pepper common, from Mallauar.
Sinnamon, from Seilan.
Tinne, from Malacha.
Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
Sandales domeſticke, from Malaca,
Uerzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
Spicknard, from Zindi, and Laor.
Quickſiluer, from China.
Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Iſtria & Siria.
Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
Ginger Belledin, from the countrie within Cambaia.
Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
Ginger Mordaſſi, frō Mordas within Cambaia
Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
Mirabolans of all ſorts, from Cambaia.
White ſucket from Zindi, Cambaia, and China.
Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
Cozolle of Leuant, from Mallauer.
Chomin, from Balſara.
Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
Sal Armoniake, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
Cubeb, from China.

Amonio,

Amomum, from China.
Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
Coſto dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
Borazo, from Cambaia, and Laor.
Aſa fetida, from Laor.
Wax, from Bengala.
Seragni, from Perſia.
Caſſia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
Storax calamita, from Rhodes to ſay, from Adena, and Canemarie within Caramania.
Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
Tutia, from Perſia.
Cagiers, from Mallauer, and Maldiua.
Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
Lumme di Rocca, from China, and Conſtantinople.
Chopra, from Cochin and Mallauar.
Oppopanax, from Perſia.
Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malaca.
Demnar, from Siacca and Blinton.
Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
Laccha, from Pegu, and Ballagate.
Carabbe, from Almanie.
Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
Agaricum, from Allemania.
Scamonea, from Syria, and Perſia.
Bdellium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
Cardamomum ſmall, from Barcellona.
Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
Tamarinda, from Balſara.
Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
Safran, from Balſara, and Perſia.
Lignum de China, from China.
Rhaponticum, from Perſia, and Pugia.
Thus, from Secutra.
Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
Nuts of India, from Goa, and other parts of India.
Nux vomica, from Mallauar.
Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
Armoniago, from Perſia.
Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
Margaratina, from Ballagate.
Muſke from Tartarie, by way of China.
Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Moſambique.
Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
Silkes fine, from China.
Long pepper, from Bengala and Malaca.
Latton, from China.
Momia, from the great Cayre.
Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
Caſtorium, from Almania.
Corallina, from the read ſea.
Maſtik, from Scio.
Mella, from Romania.
Oppium, from Pugia, and Cambaia.
Calamus Aromaticus, from Conſtantinople.
Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
Dictamnum album, from Lombardia.
Draganti, from Morea.
Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
Epithymum, from Candia.
Sena, from Mecca.
Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
Grana, from Coronto.
Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
Lapis lazzudis, from Perſia.
Lapis Zudaſſi, from Zaffetto.
Lapis Spongij, is found in ſponges.
Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanie.
Manna, from Perſia.
Auripigmentũ, from many places of Turkie.
Pilatro, from Barbaria.
Piſtaches, from Doria.
Worme-ſeede, from Perſia.
Sumack, from Cyprus.
Sebeſten, from Cyprus.
Galbanum, from Perſia.
Dente d'Abolio, from Melinde, & Moſambique.
Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
Diaſprum viride, from Cambaia.
Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria.
Sarcacolla, from Perſia.
Melleghete, from the Weſtparts.
Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix.
Chochenilo, from the Weſt Indians.
Rubarbe, from Perſia, and China.

The times or ſeaſonable windes called monſons, where-in the ſhips depart from place to place in the Eaſt Indies.

NOte that the citie of Goa, is the principall place of all the Oriental India, & the winter there beginneth the 15. of May with very great raine, & ſo continueth till the 1. of Auguſt, ſo that during that ſpace, no ſhip can paſſe ouer ꝑ bar of Goa, becauſe through the cõtinual ſhoures of raine all the ſands ioyne together neere vnto a mountaine called Oghane, & all theſe ſands being ioyned together, runne into the ſhoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other iſſue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore is ſhut vp vntil the firſt of Auguſt, but at the 10. of Auguſt it openeth by reaſon of the raine which ceaſeth, and the ſea doeth then ſcoure the ſands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward to say for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Bassani, and other places.

The shippes depart betwixt the tenth and 24. of August, for the Northwarde places abouesaide, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abouesaide.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The shippes depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwardes for Goa, betwixt the 8. and 15. of Januarie, and come to Goa about the ende of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15. of Januarie, and returne from the Straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25. and first of September, and returne from the Straights to Diu, the 1. and 15. of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormuz.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormuz: albeit Secutra is an Islande and hath but few ships, which depart as abouesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the 15. of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as wel from Balgatte, Lezanegar, as also from Sudalcao, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10. and 15. day of Nouember. Note that by going for the North is ment the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Bassani, Ghassain, and other places vnto Zindi, and by the South is vnderstoode, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast vnto Cape Comorin.

The first monson from Goa for Ormuz.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormuz, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormuz.

The ships depart about the 20. of Januarie passing by the like nauigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portingals and Indians Entremonson.

The 3. monson from Goa to Ormuz.

The ships depart betwixt the 25. of March, and 6. of Aprill, hauing Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they finde Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course ouer for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the Straight of Ormus, and this monson is most troublesome of all: for they make 2. nauigations in the height of Seylan, which is 6. degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormuz for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa in the moneth of September, with North, and Northeast windes.

The second monson from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the 25. and last of December, with like windes as the former monson.

The 3. monson from Ormuz for Chaul, and Goa.

The 3. monson the ships depart from Ormuz, for Chaul, and Goa, betwixt the 1. and 15. of Aprill, & they saile with Southeast winds, East & Northeast windes, coasting vpon the Arabia side from Cape Mosandon vnto Cape Rasalgate, and hauing lost sight of Cape Rasalgate, they haue Westerly windes, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25. of Aprill, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormuz because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormuz for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormuz betwixt the 15. and 20. of Aprill.

The 2. monson from Ormuz for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10. and 20. of October for Zindi from Ormuz.

The monson from Ormuz for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the 1. and last of Januarie.

The

Hithero I haue noted the monſons of the ſhips departing *from Goa to the Northward: Now folowe the monſons wherein* the ſhips depart from Goa to the Southward.

¶The monſon from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coaſt.

The ſhips depart from thoſe places betwixt the 1. and 15. of Auguſt, and there they finde it nauigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aboueſaid, from the 15. of May, till the 10. of Auguſt. In like maner the ſhips come from theſe places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the beſt time is to come in November, December and Januarie. Note.

The firſt monſon from Goa, for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa betwixt the 15. and 20. of Aprill, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5. of Auguſt, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The 2. monſon from Goa for Pegu.

The ſhips depart from Goa, betwixt the 8. and 24. of Auguſt, going ſtraight for Pegu, and if they paſſe the 24. of Auguſt, they cannot paſſe that monſon, neither is there any more monſons til Aprill as is aforeſaid. Note that the chiefeſt trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Chara Mandel, and brought thither, and other marchandize are not good for that place except ſome dozen of very faire Emeraulds oriental. For of golde, ſiluer, and Rubies, there is ſufficient ſtore in Pegu. Marchandiſe good for Pegu.

The monſon from Pegu for the Indies.

The ſhips depart from Pegu betwixt the 15. & 25. of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25. of March, or in the beginning of Aprill. Note, that if it paſſe the 10. of May before the ſaide ſhips be arriued in Goa, they can not come thither that monſon, and if they haue not then ſet the coaſt of India, they ſhall with great peril fetch S. Thomas.

The firſt monſon from Goa, for Malaca.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15. and laſt of September, and arriue in Malaca about the ende of October.

The ſecond monſon from Goa to Malaca.

The ſhips depart about the 5. of May from Goa, and arriue in Malaca about the 15. of June.

The firſt monſon from Malaca to Goa.

The ſhips depart about the 10. of September, and come to Goa about the ende of October.

The ſecond monſon from Malaca to Goa.

The ſhips depart from Malaca about the 10. of Februarie, and come to Goa about the ende of March. But if the ſaid ſhips ſhould ſtay till the 10. of May, they can not enter into Goa, and if at that time alſo they ſhould not be arriued at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malaca, becauſe the winter and contrary windes then come vpon them.

The monſon from Goa, for China.

The ſhips depart from Goa in the moneth of Aprill.

The monſon from China for Goa.

The ſhips depart to be the 10. of May in Goa, and being not then arriued, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malaca.

The monſon from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ſhips depart about the 10. or 15. of May, which time being paſt, the ſhippes can not paſſe ouer the bay of Goa for the cauſe aboueſaid.

The monſon of the ſhips of the Molluccaes arriuall in Goa.

The ſhips which come from Moluccaes arriue vpon the barre of Goa about the 15. of Aprill.

The monſons of the Portingall ſhips for the Indies.

The ſhips which come frō Portingall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the 10. & 15. of March, comming the ſtraight way during the moneth of July to the coaſt of Melinde, and Moſambique, and from thence goe ſtraight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they ſhould not be at the coaſt of Melinde, they can in no wiſe that yeere fetche Melinde, but returne to the Iſle of S. Helena, and ſo are not able that time being paſt to fetche the coaſt of India, and to come ſtraight for Goa. Therefore (as is aboue ſaid) they returne to the Iſlande of S. Helena, and if they cannot make the ſaide Iſland, then they runne as loſt vpon the coaſt of Guinea: but if the ſaide ſhippes bee arriued in time vpon the coaſt of Melinde, they ſet forwardes for Goa, and if by the fifteene of Note.

September they can not fetche Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they ſee they can not fetche Cochin, they returne to Moſambique to winter there vpon the ſaide coaſt. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580. there arriued the ſhip called San Lorenzo, being wonderful ſore ſea beaten, the 8. of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene ſeene before.

Note.

The monſon from India for Portingall.

The ſhippes depart from Cochin betweene the 15. and laſt of January, going on til they haue ſight of Capo de buona ſperanza, and the Iſle of S. Helena, which Iſlande is about the midway, being in 16. degrees to the South. And it is a litle Iſland being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great ſtore of fruite: and this Iſlande is a great ſuccour to the ſhipping which returne for Portingall. And not long ſince, the ſaid Iſland was founde by the Portingals, and was diſcouered by a ſhippe that came from the Indies in a great ſtorme, in which they founde ſuch abundance of wilde beaſts, and boares, and all ſort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that poore ſhippe, which had bene 4. moneths at ſea, refreſhed themſelues both with water and meate very well, and this Iſland they called S. Helens, becauſe it was diſcouered vpon S. Helens day. And vndoubtedly this Iſland is a great ſuccour, and ſo great an ayde to the ſhips of Portingall, that many would ſurely periſh if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portingal cauſed a Church to be made there for deuotion of S. Helena: where there are onely reſident Eremits, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ſhippes may be the more ſufficiently furniſhed with victuals, becauſe the ſhips which come from India come but ſlenderly victualled, becauſe there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ſhips which come from Portingal to the Indies touch not in the ſaide Iſland, becauſe they ſet out being ſufficiently furniſhed with bread, and water from Portingal for 8. moneths voyage. Any other people then the 2. Eremites aboue ſaide, can not inhabite this Iſland, except ſome ſicke man that may be ſet there a ſhoare to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recouerie.

Note.

The monſon from Goa to Moſambique.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 10. and 15. of Januarie.

The monſon from Moſambique to Goa.

The ſhips depart betweene the 8. and laſt of Auguſt, and arriue in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15. of Nouember.

The monſon from Ormuz to Bengala.

The ſhips depart betwixt the 15. and 20. of June, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15. of Auguſt for Bengala.

The voyage paſſed by ſea into Egypt, by Iohn Eueſham *Gentleman. Anno 1586.*

THe 5. of December 1586. we departed from Graueſend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Maſter vnder God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night wee came to the Iſle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, ſo that on the 27. day wee came in ſight of the rocke of Lisbone, and ſo ſayling along we came in ſight of the South Cape, the 29. of the ſame, and on the morrowe with a Weſterly winde wee entred the Straights: and the 2. of Januarie we being as high as Cape de Gate, we departed from our fleete towards Argier. And the 4. day we arriued at the port of Argier aforeſaid, where we ſtayed till the firſt of March. At which time we ſet ſaile towardes a place called Tunis, to the Eaſtwarde of Argier 100. leagues, where we arriued the 8. of the ſame. This Tunis is a ſmall citie vp 12. miles from the ſea, and at the port or rode where ſhipping doe ride, is a caſtle or fort called the Goletta, ſometimes in the handes of the Chriſtians, but now in the Turkes: at which place we remained till the thirde of Aprill: at which time we ſet ſaile towardes Alexandria, and hauing ſometime faire windes, ſometime contrary, wee paſſed on the 12. day betweene Sicilia and Malta, (where neere adioyning hath bene the fort and holde of the Knights of the Rhodes) and ſo the 19. day we fel with the Iſle of Candie, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arriued the 27. of Aprill, and there continued till the 5. of October.

The deſcription of Alexandria.

The ſaid citie of Alexandria is an olde thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vaued vnderneath for prouiſion of freſh water, which

water

water commeth thither but once euery yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradiſe (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eighteene foote vpright higher, then his accuſtomed manner, and ſo the banke being cut, as it were a ſluce, about thirtie miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rocetto, it doth ſo come to the ſaide Citie, with ſuch aboundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the ſame water, which water doth fill all the dawts, ſeſternes, and wels in the ſaid Citie, with very good water, and doth ſo continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine, or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Alſo they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, eſpecially in the moneths of Auguſt, September, and October. Alſo, within the ſaide Citie, there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharoes needle, and it is foure ſquare, euery ſquare is twelue foote, and it is in heigth 90. foote. Alſo, there is without the wals of the ſaid Citie, about twentie ſcore paces, another marble pillar, being rounde, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar ſtandeth vpon a great ſquare ſtone, euery ſquare is fifteene foote, and the ſame ſtone is fifteene foote high, and the compaſſe of the pillar is 27. foote, and the heigth of it is 101. feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was poſſible to ſet the ſaid pillar vpon the ſaid ſquare ſtone. The port of the ſaid Citie is ſtrongly fortified with two ſtrong Caſtles, and one other Caſtle within the Citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eaſtward of this Citie, about three daies iourney the Citie of Grand Cayro, otherwiſe called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the regiſters bookes, which we did ſee, to the number of 2400. Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one daies iourney about the wals, which was iourneied by one of our Marriners, for triall thereof. Alſo, neere to the ſaid Citie, there is a place called the Pyrammides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, ſeuen ſeuerall places of flint and marble ſtone, foure ſquare, the wals thereof are ſeuen yardes thicke in thoſe places that we did ſee: the ſquarenes is in length about twentie ſcore euery ſquare, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and ſmall or narrow at the toppe: the heigth of them, to our iudgement, doth ſurmount twiſe the heigth of Paules ſteeple: within the ſaide Pyrammides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance, but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and ſo we went in there, hauing torch light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the ſame, is at it were a great hall, in the which there is a coſtly tombe, which tombe they ſay, was made for King Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red ſea: alſo there are certaine vawtes, or dungeons, which goe downe very deepe vnder thoſe Pyrammides, with faire ſtaires, but no man dare venter to go down into them, by reaſon that they can carry no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red ſea is but three daies iourney from this place, and Ieruſalem about ſeuen daies iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Caſtle, wherein is the houſe that Pharoes wiues were kept in, and in the Pallace or Court thereof, ſtandeth 55. marble pillars, in ſuch order, as our Exchange ſtandeth in London: the ſaide pillars are in heigth 60. foote, and in compaſſe 14. foote: alſo in the ſayd Citie, is the Caſtle where Ioſeph was in priſon, where to this day they put in rich men, when the King would haue any ſumme of money of them: there are ſeuen gates to the ſayd priſon, and it goeth neere 50. yardes downe right: alſo, the water that ſerueth this Caſtle, commeth out of the foreſaid riuer of Nilus, vpon a wal made with arches, fiue miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Alſo there are in old Cayro two Monaſteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the houſe of King Pharao. In this Citie is great ſtore of marchandize, eſpecially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the Eaſt India: and it is very plentifull of all manner of victuals, eſpecially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eaſtwards of Cayro, there is a Well, fiue miles of, called Matria, and as they ſay, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Aegypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to ſuſtaine them, by the prouidence of God, an Angel came from heauen, and ſtrake the ground with his wings, where preſently iſſued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open, where the Iſraelites did hide themſelues, which fountaine or wel, is walled foure ſquare, to this day. Alſo we were at an olde Citie, all ruinated and deſtroied, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage, where Hannibal, and Queene Dido dwelt: this citie was but narrowe, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee ſeene, one ſtreete three mile long, to which Citie freſh water was brought vpon arches (as afore) aboue 25. miles, of which arches, ſome are ſtanding to this day. Alſo we were at diuers other places, on the coaſt, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities, we ſaw but fewe. The towne of Argier, which was our firſt & laſt port, within the ſtreights, ſtandeth vpon the ſide of an hill, cloſe vpon the ſea ſhoare: it is very ſtrong both by ſea, and land, and it is very well victualled with all manner of fruites,

Cayro.

Carthage.

Argier.

bread

bread, and fiſhe, good ſtore, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and ſo are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Chriſtian captiues, whereof there are of Engliſhmen onely 15. from which port we ſet ſaile towards England, the ſeuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587. and the 30. day of the ſaid moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth, on the coaſt of England.

The ſecond voyage of Maſter Laurence Alderſey, to the Cities *of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno* 1586.

I Embarked my ſelfe at Briſtoll, in the Hercules, a good ſhip of London, and ſet ſaile the 21. day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the morning, hauing a merry wind: but the 23. day, there aroſe a very great ſtorme, and in the midſt of it we deſcried a ſmall boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Maſter made towards them, and tooke them into our ſhippe, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chepſtow, to runne a drift. The ſame night, about midnight, aroſe another great ſtorme, but the wind was large with vs, vntill the 27. of the ſame moneth, which then grew ſomewhat contrary: yet notwithſtanding, we held on our courſe, and the tenth day of March, we deſcried a ſaile about Cape Sprat, which is a little on this ſide the ſtreight of Gibraltare, but we ſpake not with her. The next day we deſcried twelue ſaile more, with whome we thought to haue ſpoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very faſt away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thurſday the 16. of March, we had ſight of the ſtreights, and of the coaſt of Barbarie. The 18. day we paſſed them, and ſailed towards Petras. Vpon the 23. of March, we met with the Centurion of London, which came from Genoa, by whome we ſent letters to England, and the foure men alſo which we tooke in, vpon the coaſt of England, before mentioned.

Goletta. The 29. of March, we came to Goleta, a ſmall Iland, and had ſight of two ſhippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Malta. Tueſday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Maſter cauſed the two ſhippe boates to be had out, and they towed the ſhippe, till we were out of ſight of the Caſtle of Malta.

Zante. The 9. day of Aprill, we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, ſeruant to Maſter Thomas Cordall of London, came aboord vs, with whome our Maſter, and 12. more of our companie, thought to haue gone on ſhoare, but they could not be permitted: ſo we all came aboord againe, and went to Petras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and

Petraſſe. lay there with good entertainement, at the Engliſh houſe, where was the Conſul Maſter Grims, Ralfe Aſhley, & Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and ſhewed vs the pleaſures of the towne.

They brought vs to the houſe of the Cady, who was made then to vnderſtand of the 20. Turks that we had aboord, which were to go to Conſtantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by ſir Francis Drake, in the weſt Indias, and brought with him into England, & by order of the Queens Maieſtie, ſent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commanded them to be brought before him, that he might ſee them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderſtoode howe ſtrangely they were deliuered, he marualled much, and admired the Queenes Maieſtie of England, who being but a woman, is notwithſtanding of ſuch power and renowme amongſt all the princes of Chriſtendome, with many other honorable words of commending her Maieſtie. So he tooke the names of thoſe 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memorie. After this, our foreſaid countrey men brought me to the Chappell of S. Andrew, where his tombe or ſepulchre is, and the boord vpon which he was beheaded, which boord is now ſo rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought ſome of it away with me. Vpon Tueſday in Eaſter weeke, we ſet out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of Aprill, with much adoe, we were all permitted to come on ſhoare, and I was caried to the Engliſh houſe in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante, are currans, and oile: the ſituation of the towne is vnder a very great high hill, vppon which ſtandeth a very ſtrong Caſtle, which commandeth the towne. At Zante we tooke in a captaine, and 16. ſouldiers, with other paſſengers. We departed from Zante, vpon Tueſday the 15. of Aprill, & the next day we

Striualia. ankred at a ſmal Iland, called Striualia, which is deſolate of people, ſauing a few religious men, who entertained vs wel, wout taking any monie: but of curteſie we beſtowed ſomwhat vpō them

for

for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboord.

The laſt day of Aprill, we arriued at Candie, at a Caſtle, called Sowdaye, where we ſette the Captaine, ſouldiers, and marriners a ſhoare, which we tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage. Candie.

The ſecond day of May we ſet ſaile againe, and the fourth day came to the Iſlands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very curteous, and tooke in ſuch neceſſaries as we wanted. The Iſlands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compaſſe of a hundred miles. May. The Iſlands of Milo, in old time called Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greateſt man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water ſide, which they ſaid one of our ſhippe had done, and imputed it to me, becauſe I was ſeene goe into it three daies before, came to vs, and made much a doe, ſo that we were faine to come out of our ſhippe armed, but by three peeces of golde the brabling was ended, and we came to our ſhippe. This day we alſo ſet ſaile, and the next day paſſed by the Caſtle of Serpeto, which is an olde ruinated thing, and ſtandeth vnder a hils ſide.

The 13. day, we paſſed by the Iſland of Paris, and the Iſland of the bankes of Helicon, and the Iſland called Ditter, where are many Boares, and the women be Witches. The ſame day alſo we paſſed by the Caſtle of Tino, ſtanding vpon a very high mountaine, and neere vnto it is the Iſland of Diana.

The 15. of May, we came to Sio, where I ſtaied 33. daies. In it is a very proper towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuill: and while we were here, there came in ſixe gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admirall, had a Prince of the Moores priſoner, whome they tooke about Alexandria, and they ment to preſent him to the Turke. The towne ſtandeth in a valley, and along the water ſide pleaſantly. There are about 26. windemils about it, and the commodities of it, are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, maſtike, and ſome other drugs. Sio.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuerſie betweene the marriners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boies cried out, Viue el Re Philippi: whereupon our men beate the boies, and they threw ſtones, and ſo a broile began, and ſome of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houſes, and manacled together with irons, and threatned to the gallies: about fortie of them were ſent to the priſon, and what became of them, when wee were gone, we know not, for we went thence within 2. daies after, which was the nineteenth of June.

The 20. day we paſſed by the Iſland of Singonina, an Iſland riſen by the caſting of ſtones in that place: the ſubſtance of the ground there is brimſtone, and burneth ſometimes ſo much, that it bloweth vp the rockes. Singonina.

The 24. of June, we came to Cyprus, and had ſight in the way of the aforeſaide ſixe gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a preſent for himſelfe, and for two of the other gallies, which we for quietnes ſake gaue them.

The 27. of June, we came to Tripolis, where I ſtaied till the firſt of July, and then tooke paſſage in a ſmall barke, called a Caramaſate, which was a paſſage boate, and was bound for Bickberte, thirteene miles on this ſide Alexandria, which boate was freighted with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes.

The 20. day of July, this barke which I paſſed in, ranne vpon a rocke, and was in very great danger, ſo that we all began, ſome to be ready to ſwimme, ſome to leape into the ſhippe boate, but it pleaſed God to ſet vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

The 28. of July, I came to Bickbert, where I was well entertained of a Iewe, which was the Cuſtomer there, giuing me Muſkadine, and drinking water himſelfe: hauing broken my faſt with him, he prouided me a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for me to ride vpon, and a Moore to runne by me, to the Citie of Alexandria, who had charge to ſee me ſafe in the Engliſh houſe, whether I came, but found no Engliſh men there: but then my guide brought me aboord a ſhippe of Alderman Martyns, called the Tyger of London, where I was well receaued of the Maſter of the ſaid ſhippe, whoſe name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the companie. Bickbert. The Engliſh houſe in Alexandria.

The ſaid Maſter hauing made me good cheere, and made me alſo to drinke of the water of Nilus, hauing the keies of the Engliſh houſe, went thither with me himſelfe, and appointed me a faire Chamber, and left a man with me, to prouide me all things that I needed, and euery day came himſelfe to me, and caried me into the Citie, and ſhewed me the monuments thereof, which be theſe.

He brought me firſt to Pompey his pillar, which is a mightie thing, of gray marble, and all of one The monuments of Alexandria.

one ſtone, in heigth by eſtimation, aboue 52. yardes, and the compaſſe about ſixe fadome.

The Citie hath three gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the third of Roſetto.

He brought me to a ſtone in a ſtreete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Catherine died, hauing there hid her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe would not marrie: alſo to the Bath of S. Catherine.

I ſawe there alſo, Pharoes needle, which is a thing in heigth almoſt equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compaſſe fiue fadom, and a halfe, and all of one ſtone.

I was brought alſo to a moſt braue and daintie Bath, where we waſhed our ſelues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workemanſhip.

The Citie ſtandeth vpon great archers, or vawtes, like vnto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receaue the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vſe of the Citie. It hath three Caſtles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is deſtroied of it, is ſixe times more then that part which ſtandeth.

Roſetto. The laſt day of July, I departed from Alexandria, towards Cayro, in a paſſage boate, wherein firſt I went to Roſſetto, ſtanding by the riuer ſide, hauing thirteene or foureteene great Churches in it, their building there is of ſtone & bricke, but as for lodging, there is little, except we bring it with vs.

From Roſſetto, we paſſed along the riuer of Nilus, which is ſo famous in the world, twiſe as broad as the Thames at London: on both ſides growe Date trees, in great aboundance. The people be rude, inſomuch that a man can not trauell without a Ianiſſar, to conduct him.

The Turkes Lent. The time that I ſtaied in Aegypt, was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their Churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent indureth 40. daies, and they haue three Lents in the yeere: during which time, they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they doe nothing els.

Betwixt Roſſetto, and Cayro, there are along the water ſide three hundred cities and townes, and the length of the way is not aboue three hundred miles.

Cayre. To this famous Citie of Cayro, I came the fift day of Auguſt, where I found Maſter William Alday, and William Cæſar, who intertained me in very good ſorte. Maſter Cæſar brought me to ſee the Pyrammides, which are three in number, one whereof King Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it ſelfe is almoſt in the top of it: the monuments be high, and in forme 4. ſquare, and euery of the ſquares is as long, as a man may ſhoot a rouing arrowe, and as high as a church. I ſawe alſo the ruines of the Citie of Memphys, hard by thoſe Pyrammides.

The houſe of Ioſeph is yet ſtanding in Cayro, which is a ſumptuous thing, hauing a place to walke in of 56. mightie pillars, all gilt with gold, but I ſawe it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of Auguſt, the land was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy, and triumph.

The 12. of Auguſt, I ſet from Cayro, towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of Auguſt. The 26. day, there was kept a great feaſt of the Turkes, and Moores, which laſted two daies, and for a day they neuer ceaſed ſhooting off of great Ordinance.

The Engliſh Conſul at Argier. From Alexandria I ſailed to Argier, where I lay with Maſter Typton, Conſul of the Engliſh nation, who vſed me moſt kindly, and at his owne charge. He brought me to the kings Court, and into the preſence of the King, to ſee him, and the manners of the Court: the King doth onely beare the name of a King, but the greateſt gouernment is in the hands of the ſouldiers.

The King of Potanca is priſoner in Argier, who comming to Conſtantinople, to acknowledg a dutie to the great Turke, was betraied by his owne Nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that he went onely as a ſpie, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of ſeuen gallies that were at that time caſt away, at a towne called Formentera, three of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Chriſtians.

We found here alſo thirteene Engliſh men, which were by force of weather put into the Bay of Tunes, where they were very ill vſed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: wherupon they went to ỹ Councel of Argier, to require a redreſſe and remedie for the iniury. They were all belonging to the ſhippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Maſter Birde is owner. The Maſter was Stephen Haſelwood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The third day of December, the pinneſſe called the Mooneſhine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coaſt of Spaine, laden with ſugar, hides, and ginger: the pinneſſe alſo belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made ſale both of ſhippe and goods, where we left them at our comming away, which was the ſeuenth day of Ianuarie:

and

and the firſt day of Februarie, I landed at Dartmouth, and the ſeuenth day came to London, with humble thankes to Almightie God, for my ſafe arriuall.

A true report of a worthie fight, performed in the voyage from *Turkie, by fiue ſhippes of London, againſt eleuen gallies, and two frigats* of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Iones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation for the Turkie trade, hauing receaued intelligences, and aduertiſements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the proſperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arreſted all Engliſh ſhippes, bodies, and goods, in Spaine, but alſo maligning the quiet traffike which they vſed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies, in the Leuant, to hinder the paſſage of all Engliſh ſhippes, and to endeuour by their beſt meanes, to intercept, take, and ſpoile them, their perſons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their beſt courſe to ſette out their fleete for Turkie, in ſuch ſtrength and abilitie for their defenſe, that the purpoſe of their Spaniſh enemie, might the better be preuented, and the voyage accompliſhed with greater ſecuritie to the men and ſhippes. For which cauſe, fiue tall, and ſtoute ſhippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furniſhed with all things belonging to the ſeas, the names whereof were theſe.

1. The Marchant Royall, a very braue and goodly ſhippe, and of great report.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Suſan.

Theſe fiue departing from the coaſt of England, in the moneth of Nouember, 1585. kept together as one fleete, till they came as high as the Iſle of Sicilie, within the Leuant. And there according to the order and direction of the voyage, each ſhippe began to take leaue of the reſt, and to ſeparate himſelfe, ſetting his courſe for the particular porte, whereunto he was bound: one for Tripolis in Syria, another for Conſtantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, ſituated vpon the coaſt of Romania, called of olde Thracia, and the reſt to thoſe places, whereunto they were priuatly appointed. But before they deuided themſelues, they altogether conſulted, of and about a certaine and ſpeciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their ſeuerall portes. And in concluſion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Iſlande neere to the maine continent of the Weſt part of Morea, well knowen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fitteſt place for their Rendeuous. Concerning which meeting, it was alſo couenanted on eche ſide, and promiſed, that whatſoeuer ſhip of theſe 5. ſhould firſt arriue at Zante, ſhould there ſtay and expect the comming of the reſt of the fleete, for the ſpace of 20. dayes. This being done, eche man made his beſt haſt according as winde and wether would ſerue him to fulfill his courſe, and to diſpatch his buſineſſe; and no neede was there to admoniſh or incourage any man, ſeeing no time was ill ſpent, nor opportunitie omitted on any ſide, in the performance of eche mans duetie, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Conſtantinople had made ſuch good ſpeede, and gotten ſuch good weather, that ſhe firſt of all the reſt came backe to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former concluſion, did there caſt ancre, attending the arriuall of the reſt of the fleete, which accordingly (their buſines firſt performed) failed not to keepe promiſe. The firſt next after the Tobie was ỹ Royal marchant, which together with the William & Iohn came from Tripolis in Syria, and arriued at Zante within the compaſſe of the foreſaide time limitted. Theſe ſhips in token of the ioy on al parts conceiued for their happy meeting, ſpared not ỹ diſcharging of their ordinance, the ſounding of drummes and trumpets, the ſpreading of Enſignes, with other warlike and ioyfull behauiours, expreſſing by theſe outward ſignes, the inwarde gladneſſe of their mindes, being all as readie to ioyne together in mutuall conſent to reſiſt the cruel enemie, as nowe in ſporting maner they made myrthe and paſtime among themſelues. Theſe three had not bene long in the hauen, but the Edward Bonauenture alſo, together with the Suſan her conſort, were come from Venice with their lading, the ſight of whom increaſed the ioy of the reſt, and they no leſſe glad of the preſence of the others, ſaluted them in moſt friendly and kinde ſort, according to the maner of the ſeas: and whereas ſome of theſe ſhips ſtoode at that inſtant in ſome want

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of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessities of each shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this porte of Zante, the newes was fresh and currant, of two seuerall armies, and fleetes, prouided by the King of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessarie thing wanted: and this fleete houered about the Streights of Gibraltare. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, vnder the charge and gouernment of Iohn Andreas Dorea, a Captaine of name, seruing the King of Spaine. These two diuers and strong fleetes, waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt, made their accompt and sure reckoning, that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the Inhabitants of the Isle of Zante, was, that in respect of the number of gallies in both these armies, hauing receaued such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and litle, in comparison of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that we should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of dutie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing els, that could daunt, or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselues vpon the goodnes of their cause, & the promise of God, to be deliuered from such as without reason, sought their destruction, caried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to aduenture thorough the seas, and to finish their nauigation, maugre the beardes of the Spanish souldiers. But least they should seeme too careless, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie, vpon Gods prouidence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their hands, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselues, and to deliberate aduisedly for their best defense. And in the end, with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the Fleete, and the Tobie Viceadmirall, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and each shippe vowed not to breake from another, whatsoeuer extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious, and proud enemie.

Thus in good order they left Zante, and the Castle of Grecia, and committed themselues againe to the seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage, in quietnes, without sight of any enemie, till they came neere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Affrike: into sight whereof, they came the 13. day of July, 1586. And the same day in the morning, about 7. of the clocke, they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English shippes had spied them, they by and by, according to a common order, made themselues ready for a fight, laied out their Ordinance, scowred, charged, and primed them, displaied their ensignes, and left nothing vndone to arme themselues thoroughly. In the meane time, the gallies more and more approched the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Iles of Sicilia, and Malta, being all as then in the seruice and pay of the Spaniard. Immediatly, both the Admirals of the gallies, sent from each of them a frigat, to the Admiral of our English ships, which being come neere them, the Sicilian frigat first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: they answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the said frigat expostulated with them, & asked, why they delaied to send or come with their captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiua, their Generall, to acknowledge their dutie, & obedience to him, in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas: our men replied, & said, that they owed no such dutie nor obedience to him, & therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigat to depart with that answer, & not to stay longer a brabling, vpon her peril. With that away she went, & vp comes toward them the other frigat of Malta, & she in like sort hailed the Admiral, & would needes know whence they were, & where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admiral, not disdaining an answere, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, & were now returning home: & to be requited in this case, they also demanded of the frigat whence she, & the rest of the gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malta, & for mine owne part, my name is Caualero. These gallies are in seruice, & pay to the king of Spaine, vnder ỹ conduct of Don Pedro de Leiua, a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King, with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shal therefore (quoth he) do wel to repaire to him, to know his pleasure. He is a noble man of good behauiour & curtesie, & meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admiral, whose name was Master Edward Wilkinson now one of the 6. masters of her Maiesties royal nauie, replied, & said, we purpose not at this time

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to make triall of Don Pedro his curteſie, whereof we are ſuſpitious and doubtfull, and not without good cauſe: vſing withall good words to the meſſenger, and willing him to come aboord him, promiſing ſecuritie and good vſage, that thereby he might the better know the Spanyards minde: whereupon he in deed left his frigat, and came aboord him, whom he interteined in friendly ſort, and cauſed a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke, and begamme, with his cappe in his hand, and with reuerend termes, to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, ſpeaking very honorablie of her Maieſtie, and giuing good ſpeeches of the curteous vſage, and interteinement that he himſelfe had receiued in London, at the time that the Duke of Alenſon, brother to the late French King was laſt in England: and after he had well drunke, he tooke his leaue, ſpeaking well of the ſufficiencie and goodneſſe of our ſhippes, and eſpeciallie of the Merchant Royall, which he confeſſed to haue ſeene before, riding in the Thames neere London. He was no ſooner come to Don Pedro de Leiua, the Spaniſh generall, but he was ſent off againe, and returned to the Engliſh Admirall, ſaying that the pleaſure of the generall was this, that either their capteings, maiſters, and purſers ſhould come to him with ſpeed, or els he would ſet vpon them, and either take them or ſinke them. The replie was made by M. Wilkinſon aforeſaid, that not a man ſhould come to him: and for the braggc and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spaniſh bravado that ſhould make them yeeld a iot to their hindrance, but they were as readie to make reſiſtance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the meſſenger left bragging, and began to perſuade them in quiet ſort, and with many words, but all his labor was to no purpoſe, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, ſo his perſuaſion did nothing moue them, to doe that which he required. At the laſt he intreated to haue the merchant of the Admirall caried by him as a meſſenger to the generall, that ſo he might be ſatiſfied, and aſſured of their mindes by one of their owne companie. But M. Wilkinſon would agree to no ſuch thing, although Richard Rowit the merchant himſelfe ſeemed willing to be imployed in that meſſage, and labored by reaſonable perſuaſions to induce M. Wilkinſon to grant it, as hoping to be an occaſion by his preſence and diſcreet anſweres to ſatisfie the generall, and thereby to ſaue the effuſion of Chriſtian bloud, if it ſhould grow to a battell. And he ſeemed ſo much the more willing to be ſent, by how much deeper the othes and proteſtations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as he was a true knight and a ſouldior) deliuer him backe againe in ſafetie to his companie. Albeit, M. Wilkinſon, which by his long experience had receiued ſufficient triall of Spaniſh inconſtancie and periurie, wiſhed him in no caſe to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spanyards oth. But at laſt, vpon much intreatie, he yeelded to let him goe to the generall, thinking in deed that good ſpeeches, and anſweres of reaſon would haue contented him, whereas otherwiſe, refuſall to doe ſo, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more diſcontentment.

Maiſter Rowit therefore paſſing to the Spaniſh generall, the reſt of the gallies hauing eſpied him, thought in deed that the Engliſh were rather determined to yeeld then to fight, and therefore came flocking about ỹ frigat, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue theſe Engliſh men yeelded? the frigat anſwered, Not ſo, they neither haue, nor purpoſe to yeeld, onely they haue ſent a man of their companie to ſpeake with our generall: and being come to the gallie wherein he was, he ſhewed himſelfe to M. Rowit in his armor, his gard of ſouldiors attending vpon him in armor alſo, and begamme to ſpeake very proudly in this ſort: Thou Engliſhman, from whence is your fleet, why ſtand ye aloofe off, know ye not your dutie to the Catholike king, whoſe perſon I heere repreſent? Where are your billes of lading, your letters, paſports, and the chiefe of your men? Thinke ye my attendance in theſe ſeas to be in vaine, or my perſon to no purpoſe? Let all theſe things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further diſpleaſure & the ſpoile of you all? Theſe wordes of the Spaniſh generall were not ſo outragiouſly pronounced, as they were mildly anſwered by maiſter Rowit, who, tolde him that they were all merchant men, vſing traffike in honeſt ſort, and ſeeking to paſſe quietly, if they were not vrged further then reaſon: as for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his ſouereigne the Queene of England, ſo that neither he nor his officers ſhould goe about to offer any ſuch iniurie to Engliſh merchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, ſo they would be loath to take an abuſe at the handes of any, or ſit downe to their loſſe, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforeſaid, for the acknowledging of dutie, in ſuch particular ſort, he tolde him, that where there was no duetie owing, there none ſhould be performed, aſſuring him that their whole companie, and ſhippes in generall, ſtood reſolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any ſuch vnreaſonable demand, ioyned with ſuch imperious and abſolute maner of commanding. Why then ſaid he, if they will neither come to yeeld, nor ſhew obedience to me in the name of my king, I will either ſinke them or bring them

to harboz,and so tell them from me. With that the frigot came away with M. Rowit,and brought him aboord the English Admirall againe, accoꝛding to pꝛomise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides, the Spanyards hewed off the noses of the gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side couragiously pꝛepared themselues to the combat,euery man accoꝛding to his roome,bent to perfoꝛme his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a cannon was discharged from out the Admirall of the gallies,which being the onset of the fight, was pꝛesently answered by the Englis Admirall with a culuering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder noꝛ shot spared: ech English shippe matched it selfe in good oꝛder against two Spanish gallies, besides the inequallitie of the frigats on the Spanyards side: and although our men perfoꝛmed their parts with singular valure,accoꝛding to their strength, insomuch that the enemie as amased therewith would often times pause and stay,and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make pꝛayer to almighty God the reuenger of all euils,and the giuer of victoꝛies, that it would please him to assist them in ꝑ good quarell of theirs, in defending thẽselues against so pꝛoud a tyrant,to teach their hands to war, & their fingers to fight,that ꝑ glory of the victoꝛy might redound to his name, and to the honoꝛ of true religion, which the insolent enemy sought so much to ouerthꝛow. Contrarily,the foolish Spanyards they cryed out accoꝛding to their maner, not to God,but to our Lady(as they terme the virgin Mary)saying,O Lady helpe,O blessed Lady giue vs the victoꝛy,and the honoꝛ therof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes and pꝛayers on both sides,the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtfull a long time to which part the victoꝛy would incline: till at the last the Admirall of the gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, & to holde vp her side foꝛ feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case,whom all the soꝛt of them inclosed, laboꝛing by all their meanes to keepe them aboue water, being ready by the foꝛce of English shot which they had receiued,to peꝛish in the seas: and what slaughter was done among the Spanyards themselues,the English were vncertaine, but by a pꝛobable coniecture apparant a far off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonoꝛ, after fiue houres spent in the battell, they withdꝛew themselues: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine, amongst them all,and another hurt in his arme,whom M. Wilkinson with his good wozds,& frindly pꝛomises did so comfoꝛt,that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honoꝛ of the victoꝛy,and the shamefull repulse of the enemy.

A fight of fiue houres.

Thus with duetifull thanks to the mercy of God foꝛ his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships pꝛoceeded in theirs nauigation, & comming as high as Algier,a poꝛt towne vpon the coast of Barbarie,they fell with it,of purpose to refresh themselues after their wearinesse,& to take in such supplie of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the poꝛt, but immediatly the king therof sent a messenger to the ships to know what they were, with which messenger the chiefe maister of ech ship repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish gallies, repoꝛting euery particular circumstance in woꝛd as it fell out in action: whereof the said king shewed himselfe maruellous glad, interteining them in the best soꝛt, and pꝛomising abundant relefe of all their wants, making generall pꝛoclamation in the citie vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree oꝛ state soeuer he were, should pꝛesume either to hinder them in their affaires,oꝛ to offer them any maner of iniury in body oꝛ goods. By vertue wherof they dispatched all things in excellent good soꝛt,with all fauoꝛ and peaceablenesse: onely such pꝛisoners & captiues of the Spanyards as were in the citie, seeing the good vsage which they receiued,& hearing also what seruice they had perfoꝛmed against the foꝛesaid gallies,grudged exceedingly against them, & sought as much as they could to pꝛactise some mischiefe against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certeine lane of the citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side,yet made no such great wound,but that it was easily recouered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediatly sent both foꝛ the party that had receiued the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the pꝛesence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slaue euen to death, which was perfoꝛmed to the end that no man should pꝛesume to commit the like part, oꝛ to do any thing in contempt of his royall cõmandement.

The English hauing receiued this good iustice at the kings hands, & all other things that they wanted, oꝛ could craue foꝛ the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friends, that were resident in Alger, and put out to sea, looking to meet with the second armie of the Spanish king, which waited foꝛ them about the mouth of the streight of Eibaltar,

which

which they were of neceſſitie to paſſe. But comming neere to the ſaid ſtreight, it pleaſed God to raiſe at that inſtant, a very darke and miſtie fogge ſo that one ſhippe could not diſcerne another, if it were 40 paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Eaſterne windes that then blew moſt fitte for their courſe, they paſſed with great ſpeed through the ſtreight, and might haue paſſed with that good gale, had there beene 500 gallies to withſtand them, and the ayre neuer ſo cleere for euery ſhippe to be ſeene. But yet the Spaniſh gallies had a ſight of them when they were come within three Engliſh miles of the towne, & made after them in all poſſible haſte, and although they ſaw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine furie & fooliſh pride, they ſhot off their ordinance, and made a ſtir in the ſea as if they had beene in the midſt of them, which vanity of theirs miniſtred to our men notable matter of pleaſure and mirth, ſeeing men to fight with ſhadowes, and to take ſo great paines to ſo ſmall purpoſe.

But thus it pleaſed God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spaniſh king, which he had prouided of purpoſe to diſtreſſe the Engliſh, who notwithſtanding, paſſed through both his armies, in the one, litle hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall name, the honor of our prince and country, and the iuſt commendation of ech mans ſeruice, performed in that voyage.

The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Tripolis in Syria by ſea, and *from thence by land and riuer to Babylon and Balſara.* 1583.

I Departed out of Londō in the ſhip called the Tyger in the companie of M. Iohn Newberie, M. Ralph Fitch, and ſixe or ſeuen other honeſt merchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the firſt of May next inſuing: at our landing we went on maying vpon S. Georges Iſland, a place where Chriſtians dying abroad the ſhippes are woont to be buried. In this citie our Engliſh marchants haue a conſul, & our nation abide together in one houſe with him called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of ſtone, ſquare, in maner like a cloiſter, and euery man his ſeuerall chamber, as it is the vſe of all other Chriſtians of ſeuerall nations. This towne ſtandeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two Engliſh miles diſtant from the port: on the ſide of which port, trending in forme of an halfe moone, ſtand fiue blockehouſes or ſmal forts, wherein is ſome very good artillerie, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Janiſſaries. Right before this towne from the ſeaward, is a banke of mouing ſand, which gathereth and increaſeth with the Weſterne windes, in ſuch ſort, that, according to an olde prophecie among them, this banke is like to ſwallow vp and ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yeere it increaſeth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vſe all pollicie to diminiſh the ſame, and to make it firme ground. The citie is about the bigneſſe of Briſtow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe ſtrength of the place is in a citadell, which ſtandeth on the South ſide within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is ſtrongly kept with 200 Janiſſaries and good artillerie. A riuer paſſeth through the middeſt of the citie, wherewith they water their gardens and mulberie trees, on which there grow abundance of ſilke wormes, wherewith they make great quantity of very white ſilke, which is the chiefeſt naturall commoditie to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Chriſtian marchants, to wit, Uenetians, Genouois, Florentines, Marſilians, Sicilians, Raguſes, and lately with Engliſhmen, then any other port of the Turks dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, paſſing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a citie called Hammah, which ſtandeth on a goodly plaine repleniſhed with corne & cotton wooll. On theſe mountaines which we paſſed, grow great quantity of gall trees, which are ſomewhat like our okes, but leſſer & more crooked: on the beſt tree a man ſhall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen, and falleth more & more to decay, and at this day there is ſcarce one halfe of the wall ſtanding, which hath beene very ſtrong and faire: but becauſe it coſt many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repayred, and hath written in the Arabian tongue ouer the caſtle gate, which ſtandeth in the midſt of the towne, theſe words: Curſed be the father & the ſonne that ſhall lay their hands to the repairing heerof. Refreſhing our ſelues one day here, we paſſed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Alleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greateſt place of traffike for a dry towne that is in all thoſe parts: for hither reſort Iewes, Tartarians, Perſians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, & many ſorts of Chriſtians, & inioy freedome of their conſciences, & bring thither many kindes of rich merchandizes. In the midſt of this towne alſo ſtandeth a goodly caſtle raiſed on hie with a garriſon of 4 or 5 hundred Janiſſaries. Within foure

The deſcriptiō of Tripolis in Syria.

Store of white ſilke.

The citie of Hammah. Cotten wooll, Gall trees.

Alleppo.

miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyardes and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere vnto the riuers ſide, which is but ſmall, the walles are about three Engliſh miles in compaſſe, but the ſuburbs are almoſt as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from thence
Birrah. with our camels the laſt of May with M. Iohn Newberie and his companie, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a ſmall towne ſituated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it beginneth firſt to take his name, being heere gathered into one chanell, whereas before it commeth downe in manifolde branches, and is therefore called by the people of the countrey by a name which ſignifieth a thouſand heads. Heere is plentie of victualles whereof we all furniſhed our ſelues for our long iourney downe the aforeſaid riuer. And according to the maner of thoſe that trauell downe by water, we prepared a ſmall barke for the conueyance of our ſelues and of our goods. Theſe boats
Euphrates ſhallow. are flatte bottomed, becauſe the riuer is ſhallow in many places: and when men trauell in the moneth of Iulie, Auguſt, and September, the water being then at the loweſt, they are conſtrayned to carie with them a ſpare boate or two to lighten their owne boates, if they chance to fall on the
Eight & twentie dayes iourney by riuer. ſhoaldes. We were eight and twentie dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felugia, where we diſembarked our ſelues and our goodes. Euery night after the Sunne ſetteth, we tie our barke to a ſtake, goe on land to gather ſtickes, and ſet on our pot with rice or bruſed wheat, and hauing ſupped, the merchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the ſhores ſide as neere as
Arabians vpon the riuer of Euphrates. they can vnto the ſame. In many places vpon the riuers ſide we mette with troopes of Arabians, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambes, and gaue them in barter, (for they care not for money) glaſſes, combes, coxall, amber, to hang about their armes and neckes, and for churned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vſe to tanne their goats ſkinnes which they churne withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to thoſe vagabond
The Arabian women weare golde rings in their noſtrels. Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without exception, weare a great round ring in one of their noſtrels, of golde, ſiluer, or yron, according to their abilitie, and about their armes & ſmalles of their legs they haue hoopes of golde, ſiluer or yron. All of them aſwell women and children, as men, are very great ſwimmers, and often times ſwimming they brought vs milke to our barke in veſſels, vpon their heads. Theſe people are very thecuiſh, which I prooued to my coſt: for they ſtole a caſket of mine, with thinges of good value in the ſame, from vnder my mans head as he was aſleepe: and therefore trauellers keepe good watch as they paſſe
Euphrates deſcribed. downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at Lambeth, and in ſome places narrower, in ſome broader: it runneth very ſwiftly, almoſt as faſt as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers ſorts of fiſh in it, but all are ſcaled, ſome as bigge as ſalmons, like barbils.
Felugia. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentith of June, where we made our abode ſeuen dayes, for lacke of camels to carie our goods to Babylon: the heate at that time of the yeere is ſuch in thoſe parts, that men are loath to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village of ſome hundred houſes, and a place appointed for diſcharging of ſuch goods as come downe the riuer: the inhabitants are Arrabians. Not finding camels here, we were conſtrained to vnlade our goods, and hired an hundred aſſes to carie our Engliſh merchandizes onely to New Babylon, ouer a ſhort deſert, in croſſing whereof we ſpent eighteene houres trauelling by night, and part of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

The ruines of olde Babylon. In this place which we croſſed ouer, ſtood the olde mightie citie of Babylon, many olde ruines whereof are eaſilie to be ſeene by day light, which I Iohn Eldred haue often beheld, at my good leaſure, hauing made three voyages betweene the New citie of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this deſert. Here alſo are yet ſtanding the ruines of the olde tower of Babell, which being vpon a plaine groſſe ſeemeth a farre off very great, but the neerer you come to it, the leſſer and leſſer it appeereth: ſundry times I haue gone thither to ſee it, and found the remnants yet ſtanding aboue a quarter of a mile in compaſſe, and almoſt as high as the ſtone worke of Paules ſteeple in London, but it ſheweth much bigger. The brickes remaining in this moſt auncient monument be halfe a yard thicke, and three quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery courſe of brickes there lieth a courſe of mattes made of canes, which remaine ſounde and not periſhed, as
New Babylō. though they had beene layed within one yeere. The citie of New Babylon ioyneth vpon the a-
The riuer Tygris. foreſaid ſmall deſert where the Olde citie was, and the riuer of Tygris runneth cloſe vnder the wall, and they may if they will open a ſluce, and let the water of the ſame runne round about the towne. It is aboue two Engliſh miles in compaſſe, and the inhabitants generally ſpeake three languages, to wit, the Perſian, Arabian and Turkiſh tongues: the people are of the Spanyards complexion: and the women generallie weare in one of the griſtles of their noſes a ring like a wedding ring, but ſomewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkiſh ſtone ſet therein: and this they doe be they neuer ſo poore.

This

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great throughfare from the Eaſt Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furniſhed with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tygris from Moſul which was called Niniue in olde time. They bring theſe victuals and diuers ſortes of merchandiſes vpon raftes borne vpon goates ſkins blowen vp ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue diſcharged their goods, they ſell the rafts for fire, and let the wind out of their goates ſkins, and cary them home againe vpon their aſſes by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is moſt of bricke dried in the ſunne, and very litle or no ſtone is to bee found: their houſes are all flat roofed and lowe. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nor almoſt any cloudes in the ſkie, night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, Ianuarie and Februarie, which is as warme as our Sommer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, becauſe my abode at ſeuerall times in this citie of Babylon, hath bene at the leſt the ſpace of two yeeres. As we come to the citie, we paſſe ouer the riuer of Tygris on a great bridge made with boates chained together with two mightie chaines of iron. From thence wee departed in flat bottomd barkes more ſtrong and greater then thoſe of Euphrates, and were eight and twentie dayes alſo in paſſing downe this riuer to Balſàra, but we might haue done it in eighteene or leſſe, if the water had bene higher. Vpon the waters ſide by the way ſtand diuers townes reſembling much the names of the old prophets: the firſt towne they call Ozeah, and another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balſàra by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tygris and Euphrates meete, and there ſtandeth a Caſtle called Curna kept by the Turkes, where all merchants pay a ſmall cuſtome. Here the two riuers ioined together, begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here alſo it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the country all about very fertile of corne, rice, pulſe, and dates. The towne of Balſàra is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, caſtle and wals, are made of bricke dried in the ſunne. The Turke hath here fiue hundred Ianiſſaries, beſides other ſouldiours continually in gariſon and pay, but his chiefe ſtrength is of gallies which are about fiue and twentie or thirtie very faire and furniſhed with goodly ordinance. To this port of Balſàra come monethly diuers ſhips from Ormuz, laden with all ſortes of Indian merchandiſe, as ſpices, drugs, Indico, and Calecut cloth. Theſe ſhips are vſually from fortie to three ſcore tunnes, hauing their plankes ſowed together with corde made of the barke of Date trees, and in ſtead of Ocam they vſe the ſhiuerings of the barke of the ſayd trees, and of the ſame they alſo make their tackling. They haue no kind of yron worke belonging to theſe veſſels, ſaue onely their ankers. From this place ſixe dayes ſayling downe the Gulfe, they goe to a place called Baharem in the midway to Ormuz. There they fiſh for pearles foure moneths in the yeere, to wit, in June, July, Auguſt, and September. My abode in Balſàra was iuſt ſixe moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from maſter Iohn Newberie from Ormuz, who as hee paſſed that way with her maieſties letters to Yeladin el Kubar, that is, Yeladin the great, king of Cambaia, and vnto the mightie Emperor of China, was traiterouſly there arreſted, and all his company by the Portingals, and afterward ſent priſoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell impriſonment, he and his companions were deliuered vpon ſuerties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the ſute of one father Thomas Steuens, an Engliſh religious man which they found there, but what became afterward of three of them, is not knowen vnto this day. The fourth which was a painter called Iohn Stozie, became religious in the Colledge of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderſtood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing diſpatched our buſineſſe at Balſàra imbarked our ſelues in company of ſeuentie barkes all laden with merchandiſe, hauing euery barke fourteene men to draw them, like our Weſterne bargemen on ꝑ Thames, and we were fortie foure dayes comming vp againſt the ſtreame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our cuſtome, we with all other ſortes of merchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and driue them, furniſhed our ſelues with rice, butter, biſket, honie made of Dates, Onions and Dates: and euery merchaunt bought a proportion of liue muttons, and hired certaine ſhepheards to driue them with vs: we alſo bought vs tentes to lie in, and to put our goods vnder, ſ in this our Carauan were foure thouſand Camels laden with ſpices and other rich merchandiſes. Theſe Camels will liue very well two or three dayes without water: their feeding is on Thiſtles, Woormewood, Magdalene and other ſtrong weedes which they find vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and duties to be paied, the whole Carauan committeth to one ſpeciall rich merchant of the company, of whoſe honeſtie they conceiue beſt. In paſſing from Babylon to Aleppo, we ſpent fortie dayes, trauailing twentie and foure and twentie miles a day, reſting our ſelues commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntill three in the morning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne called Hite, as we croſſe the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the towne there

Rafts borne vpon bladders of goates ſkins.

Seldome rain.

Eight and twentie dayes iourney more by riuer, from Babylon to Balſara.

Curna caſtle.

Balſara.

Ships made without iron in the Perſian Gulfe.

Yeladin el Kubar king of Cambaia.

He returneth from Balſara to Aleppo.

Their proniſion of victuals.

A Carauan of foure thouſand Camels.

Hite.

Springs of tarre.

is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouthes, a kind of black substance like vnto tarre, which serueth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: euery one of these springs make a noise like vnto a Smithes forge in the blowing and puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swalloweth vp all heauie things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey call it in their language Babil gehenham, that is to say, Hell doore. As we passed through these desarts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolues, leopards, foxes, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise, the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a dutie of fortie shillings sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receiue of the Carauans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the said Carauans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling theeues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Carauan the eleuenth of June, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued twentie miles distant from the towne by master William Barret our Consul, accompanied with his people and Ianissaries, who fell sicke immediatly and departed this life within eight dayes after, and elected before his death, M. Anthonie Bate Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the said roume three yeeres. In which meane time I made two voiages more vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesaid, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And afterwards as one desirous to see other partes of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is distant thence 60. English miles, and from thence went down to Tripolis, where going aboord a small vessel, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauailed to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Ierusalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Iordan, and the sea or lake of Sodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, and from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in safetie here in the riuer of Thames with diuers English merchants, the 26. of March, 1588. in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English merchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret. Consul in Aleppo. Anthonie Bate.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie to certaine Noble men and merchants of London, for a trade to Barbarie, in the yeere, 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Eschequer, and to all Maiors, shiriks, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, portes and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to all our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other whosoeuer to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made euidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued counsellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbency, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washburne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, Iohn Cartwright, Henrie Paiton, Iohn Boldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Dassell, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion and Thomas Dodde, all of London, merchaunts now trading into the countrey of Barbarie, in the partes of Affrica, vnder the gouernment of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperor of Moroccus, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grieuous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be preuented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that diuers merchandise of the same countries are very necessarie and conuenient for the vse and defence of this our realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially moouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our sayd subiects, and the quiet traffique and good gouernment to be had, and vsed among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and graunt vnto the sayd Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon,

Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, Iohn Cartwright, Henrie Payton, Iohn Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthonie Daſſel, Auguſtine Lane, Robert Lion & Thomas Dodde, that they and euery of them by themſelues, or by their factors or ſeruants, & none others, ſhall and may, for, and during the ſpace of twelue yeeres, haue and enioy the whole freedome and libertie in the ſayd traffique or trade, vnto or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to or from any part thereof, for the buing and ſelling of all maner of wares and merchandizes whatſoeuer, that now or accuſtomably heretofore haue bene brought or tranſported, frō, or to the ſaid country of Barbarie, or from or to any of the cities, townes, places, portes, roads, hauens, harbors or creekes of the ſaid countrey of Barbarie, any law, ſtatute, graunt, matter, cuſtomes or priuiledges, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And for the better eſtabliſhing, ordering and gouerning of the ſayd Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, &c. aboueſayd, their factors, ſeruaunts and aſſignes in the trade aforeſaid, we for vs our heires and ſucceſſors, doe by theſe preſents giue and graunt full licence to the ſayd Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the reſt aforeſayd, and to euery of them from time to time, during the ſaid terme of twelue yeeres, at their pleaſures to aſſemble, and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or elſwhere, to conſult of, and for the ſaid trade, and with the conſent of the ſaid Erle of Leiceſter, to make and eſtabliſh good and neceſſarie orders and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame, and all ſuch orders and ordinances ſo made, to put in vre and execute, and them or any of them with the conſent of the ſayd Erle of Leiceſter, to alter, change and make voyd, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the ſaid terme, they or the moſt part of them then liuing and trading, ſhall find conuenient.

Prouided alwayes, that the ordinaunces or any of them bee not contrary or repugnaunt to the lawes, ſtatutes or cuſtomes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the ſayd libertie of traffique is graunted by theſe our Letters patents, and none other our ſubiects whatſoeuer, without their ſpeciall conſent and licence before had, ſhould during the ſaid terme haue trade or traffique for any maner of merchandizes, to, or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from any Citie, Towne, place, porte, harbour or creeke within the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, to, or out of our ſayd Realmes and dominions, wee doe by theſe preſents ſtraightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatſoeuer, other then onely the ſayde Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie and the reſt aboueſayd, and euery of them by themſelues or by their factors or ſeruaunts during the ſayde terme, to trade or traffique for, or with any merchandize, to, or from the ſayde countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from any the dominions of the ſame, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyd our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and of forfeiting all the merchandiſes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the ſayd terme, ſhall trade or traffique to or from the ſayd countrey of Barbarie, or to, or from the domi ions of the ſame, contrary to this our priuiledge and prohibition, vnleſſe it be by and with the expreſſe licence, conſent, and agreement of the ſayd Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore, the elder, and all his ſonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Stapers, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonie Garrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirſt, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Laurence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farington, Iohn Tedcaſtle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afild, Robert Waſhburne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, &c. or by, and with the expreſſe licence and conſent of the more part of them then liuing and trading, firſt had and obtained, ſo alwayes, that the ſayde Erle of Leiceſter bee one, if he be liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and ſucceſſors of our ſpeciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, doe graunt to the ſayde Erles of Warwike and Leiceſter, Thomas Starkie, and the reſt aboueſayd, and to euery of them, that nothing ſhall be done, to be of force or validitie touching the ſayd trade or traffique, or the exerciſe thereof, without or againſt the conſent of the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie (and the others before named) during the time of theſe our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as aforeſayd.

And for that the ſayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them aforeſayd ſhould not bee

pre-

preuented or interrupted in this their sayd trade, we doe by these presents for vs, our heyres and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as aforesayd, that they nor any of them from hencefoorth during the sayd terme of 12. yeeres, doe or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of merchandizes whatsoeuer growing, or being made within the sayd countrey of Barbarie, or within any the dominions thereof, vnlesse it bee by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the more part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes the said Erle of Leicester (if he be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all, and singular the said merchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, contrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe prouided: the one moitie of all and euery which said forfeitures whatsoeuer mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shall be to vs our heires and successors: And the other moitie of all and euery the sayd forfaitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, cleerely and wholy for vs, our heires and successours, giue and grant vnto the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant shall bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, merchandizes and things whatsoeuer mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfaited at any time or times during the sayd terme of twelue yeeres: which sayd allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to bee made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkey, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or denialL of any of our officers whatsoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And we doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular, Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and porte of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause, or suffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vse, or to the vses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer during the sayd terme of 12. yeeres, for, and in the name & lieu or place of any custome, subsidie and other thing or duties to vs, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customs & subsidies of any merchandizes whatsoeuer growing, being made or comming out of the said country of Barbarie, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their bookes of customs and subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said merchants, saiuing onely with, and in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and euery of them wil answer at their vttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and more sure obseruation of this our graunt, we wil, and graunt for vs our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enrolment therof in the said court, at all and euery time and times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, at & vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shal and may make and direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or controllers of our heires and successors in all and euery, or to any port or portes, creeke, hauen, or other places within this our realme of England, as the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the atturneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing & trading, shal at any time require, cõmanding and straightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or merchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or frõ the said country of Barbarie or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factors, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our grant, and the true meaning thereof, & according to our said will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witnes whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the fift day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The

The Ambaſſage of M. Henrie Roberts, one of the ſworne *Eſquires of her Maieſties perſon, from her highneſſe to Mully* Hamet Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes, and Sus, in the yere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the ſpace of 3. yeere. Written briefly by himſelfe.

VPon an incorporation graunted to the companie of Barbarie Marchants reſident in London, I Henrie Roberts one of her Maieſties ſworne Eſquires of her perſon, was appointed her highneſſe meſſenger, and Agent vnto the aforeſaid Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, king of Fes and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commiſſion, inſtructions, and her Maieſties letters, I departed from London the 14. of Auguſt in the yeere 1585. in a tall ſhippe called the Aſcenſion, in companie of the Minion and Hopewel, and we all arriued in ſafetie at Aſafi a port of Barbarie, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the cuſtome of the countrey, lodging me in the chiefeſt houſe of the towne, from whence I diſpatched a meſſenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertiſe the Emperour of my arriuall: who immediatly gaue order, and ſent certaine ſouldiers for my guard and conduct, and horſes for my ſelfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Saltcot, and other Engliſh marchants reſident there in the countrey, with my traine of Moores and cariages, I came at length to the riuer of Anſift, which is within 4. miles of Marocco: and there by the water ſide I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I mette with all the Engliſh marchants by themſelues, and the French & Flemiſh, and diuers other Chriſtians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, and ſpent out the heat of the day, about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone wee all ſet forwarde toward the citie of Marocco, where wee arriued the ſaid day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire houſe in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the faireſt place, and quieteſt lodging in all the citie.

After I had repoſed my ſelfe three dayes, I had acceſſe to the kings preſence, deliuered my meſſage and her Maieſties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for three yeeres: during which ſpace I abode there in his Court, as her Maieſties Agent and Ligier: and whenſoeuer I had occaſion of buſines, I was admitted either to his Maieſtie himſelfe, or to his viceRoy, whoſe name was Alcayde Breme Saphiana, a very wiſe and diſcreete perſon, & the chiefeſt about his Maieſtie. The particulers of my ſeruice for diuers good and reaſonable cauſes, I forbeare here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obteined, and an honourable reward beſtowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of Auguſt 1588. towarde a garden of his, which is called Shoresbenares, where hee promiſed mee I ſhould ſtay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon ſome occaſion I was ſtayed vntill the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. ſhotte attending vpon me for my guard and ſafetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things neceſſarie to the port of Santa Cruz, being ſixe dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our ſhippes doe commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the ſame moneth. In this port I ſtayed 43. dayes, and at length the ſecond of Nouember I embarqued my ſelfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Captaine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour ſent with mee vpon an Embaſſage to her Maieſtie: and after much torment and foule weather at ſea, on New yeeres day I came on lande at S. Iues in Cornewall, from whence paſſing by lande both together vp towards London, we were met without the citie with the chiefeſt marchants of the Barbarie companie, well mounted all on horſebacke, to the nomber of 40. or 50. horſe, and ſo the Embaſſadour and my ſelfe being both in Coche, entred the Citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of Januarie 1589.

¶ *Este es vn traſlado bien y fielmente ſacado da vna carta real del Rey* Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es eſte, que Segue.

EN el nombre de Dios piadoſo y miſericordioſo, &c. El ſieruo de Dios ſoberano el conquiſtador por ſu cauſa, el ſucceſſor enſalçado por Dios Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Iariffe, haceni, el que perpetue ſu honra y enſalçe ſu eſtado. Se pone eſte nueſtro real mandado en manos de los criados de nueſtras altas puertas los mercaderes Yngleſes; para que por el ſepan todos los que la preſente vieren,

como nueſtro alto Conſeio les anpara con el fauor de Dios de todo aquello, que les enpeciere y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viage, que fueren, ninguno les captiuarà en eſtos nueſtros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenesçen: y que les cubre el anparo de nueſtro podor de qualquiera fatiga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemiſtad, ni ſe darà cauſa, de que ſe agrauien en qualquiera manera con el fauor de Dios y de ſu amparo. Y mandamos à los Alcaydes de los nueſtros puertos y fortalezas, y à los que en eſtos nueſtros reynos tienen cargo, y à toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que ſean offendidos en ninguna manera; y eſto ſerà neceſſariamente: Que es eſcrita en los medios dias de Rabel ſegundo anno de nueue çientos, y nouenta y ſeys.

Concorda el dia d'eſta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y ſiete, lo qual yo Abdel Ratiman el Catan interprete per ſu Mageſtad ſaquè, y romançe de verbo ad verbum, como en el ſe contiene, y en Fee dello fiimo de my nombre fecho vt ſupra. Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copie well and truely tranſlated of an edict of Mully Hamet king

of Fez and Emperour of Maruecos, whoſe tenor is as followeth, to wit, That no Engliſhmen ſhould bee moleſted or made ſlaues in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforeſaid M. Henrie Roberts.

The ſame in Engliſh.

IN the name of the pitifull & the mercifull God, &c. The ſeruant of the ſupreame God the cõqueror in his cauſe, the ſucceſſor aduanced by God to be Emperor of the Moores, the ſonne of the Emperor of the Moores, the Iariffe, the Haçeny, whoſe honor God long increaſe & aduance his eſtate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the Engliſh marchants, which remaine in the protection of our ſtately palaces: to the end that al men which ſhal ſee this preſent writing, may vnderſtand that our princely counſaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what ſort ſoeuer they ſhalbe wronged: and that, which way ſoeuer they ſhal trauaile, no man ſhal take them captiues in theſe our kingdomes, ports, & places which belong vnto vs, which alſo may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any moleſtatiõ whatſoeuer: and that no man ſhal hinder them by laying violent hand vpõ them, & ſhall not giue occaſion that they may be grieued in any ſort by the fauor and aſſiſtance of God. And we charge & command our officers of our hauens & fortreſſes, and all ſuch as beare any authoritie in theſe our dominions, and likewiſe al the common people, that in no wiſe they doe moleſt them, in ſuch ſort that they be no way offended or wronged. And this our commandement ſhall remaine inuiolable, being regiſtred in the middeſt of the moneth of Rabel in the yeere of nine hundreth ninetie and ſixe.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I Abdel Rahman el Catan interpretour for his Maieſtie, haue tranſlated and turned out of the Arabian into ſpaniſh word for word as is conteined therein: and in witnes thereof haue ſubſcribed my name as aforeſaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoſo piadador.

Oracion de Dios ſobre nueſtro Sennor, y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados à el.

A letter of Mully Hamet to the Earle of Leiceſter.

EL ſieruo de Dios, y muy guerrero, y enſalſado por la graçia de Dios, Myra Momanyn, hijo de Myra Momanyn, nieto de Mera Momanyn, el Iarif, el Hazeny, que Dios ſuſtenga ſus reynos, y enhalſe ſus mãdados, para el Señor muy affamado y muy illuſtre, muy eſtimado el Conde de Leyceſter, deſpues de dar las loores deuidas à Dios, y las oraçiones, y ſaludes deuidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà eſta por os hazer ſaber que lligò a qui à nueſtra real Corte vueſtra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella ſe contiene. Y vueſtro Ambaxador, que aqui eſtà en nueſtra corte me dio à entender la cauſa de la tardança de los rebenes haſta agora: el qual deſcuento reçebimos, y nos damos por ſatisfechos. Y quanto à lo que à nos eſcriueys por cauſa de Iuan Herman, y lo meſmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador ſobre el, antes que llegaſſe vueſtra carta, por la quexa del ambaxador, que ſe auia quexado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y aſſi queda aora preſo, y quedera, haſta que ſe le haga la iuſticia que mas ſe le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nueſtro Senor os tenga en ſu guardia. Hecha en nueſtra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios ſoſtenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The bleſſing of god light vpõ our lord & prophet Mahumet, & thoſe that are obediẽt vnto him.

THe ſeruant of God both mightie in warre & mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momanyn, the ſonne of Myra momanyn, ỹ Iariff, ỹ Hazeni, whoſe kingdoms God mainteine & aduance

aduance his authoritie: Unto the right famous, right noble, and right highly eſteemed Earle of Leiceſter, after due praiſes giuen vnto God, & due bleſſings & ſalutations rendred vnto ỹ prophet Mahumet. Theſe are to giue you to vnderſtand, ỹ your letters arriued here in our royal Court, and we wel perceiue the cõtents therof. And your Embaſſador which remaineth here in our court told me the cauſe of the ſlownes of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, & hold our ſelues as ſatiſfied. And as touching the matter whereof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, & the ſelfe ſame complaint which your Embaſſador hath made of him, before the cõming of your letter, we had already cõmanded him to be taken vpon ỹ complaint which your Embaſſador had made of him, whereupon he ſtil remaineth in hold, & ſhall ſo continue vntill further iuſtice be done vpon him according to his deſert. And ſo our Lorde keepe you in his ſafegarde. Written at our royal court in Maruecos, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno ‖996. ‖Which is with vs 1587.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

MVy alto, y muy poderoſo Señor,
Auiendo entendido de parte de nueſtro Agente la mucha aficion, y volontad, que nos teneys, y quanta honra, y fauor le hazeys por amor nueſtro, para dar nos tanto mayor teſtimonio de vueſtra amiſtad, hemos recebido de lo vno, y de lo otro muy grande contento, y ſatisfacion: y aſſy no podemos dexar de agradeſceroslo, como mereceys. Vueſtras cartas hemos tambien recebido, y con ellas holgadonos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien tenemos tanta obligacion. Nueſtro Agẽte nos ha eſcripto ſobre ciertas coſas, que deſſeays ſer os embiadas de aqui: Y, aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cõplazer, como pidiz, ha ſuccedido, que las guerras, en que ſtamos al preſente occupadas, no nos lo conſienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que ſe os ſatisfaga en parte, y cõforme à lo que por agora la neceſſitad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declarará nueſtro Agente: eſperãdo, que lo recibereys en buena parte, y conforme al animo, con que os lo concedemos. Y porque nos ha ſido referido, que aueys prometido de proceder contra vn Iuan Herman vaſſallo nueſtro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nueſtro dicho Agente de dezir os mas parcularmente lo que deſſeamos ſer hecho a cerca deſte negocio, rogando os, que lo mandeys aſſi complir: y que ſeays ſeruido de fauoreſcer ſiempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como haſta agora aueys hecho, ſin permiter, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer a cerca de las calumnias, que le podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no complamos muy por entero todo lo que de nueſtra parte os prometiere. Nueſtro Sennor guarde voſtra muy alta y muy poderoſa perſona. Hecha en nueſtra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Iulio 1587.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

RIght high and mightie Prince, Hauing vnderſtoode from our Agent the great affection & good wil which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you ſhewe him for our ſake, to the ende to giue vs more ample teſtimonie of your friendſhip, we haue receiued very great contentment & ſatisfaction, al wel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your deſert. We haue alſo receiued your letters, and do not a litle reioyce thereof, becauſe they come from a prince vnto whome we are ſo much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you deſire to be ſent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wiſh that wee could particularly ſatiſfie you, as you deſire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherein at this preſent we be buſied, will not ſuffer vs fully to doe the ſame: neuertheleſſe, we haue commanded to ſatiſfie you in part, and according as the preſent neceſſitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you more particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith we graunt the ſame. And becauſe it hath bene ſignified vnto vs that you haue promiſed to proceede in iuſtice againſt one Iohn Herman our ſubiect, which hath grieuouſly offẽded vs, in ſuch ſort as we haue ſent word vnto you, we haue giuen order to our ſaide Agent to informe you more particularly in that which we deſire to be done in this buſines, praying you alſo to command the ſame to be put in execution: and that it would pleaſe you alwayes to fauour our ſaid Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not ſuffring your ſelfe to be changed in your opinion, for all ỹ falſe reports which they may raiſe againſt him, nor to doubt that we wil not accompliſh at large all that he ſhal promiſe you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preſerue your right high and mightie perſon. Written in our royal Court at Greenwich the 20. of July, 1587.

John Herman an Engliſh rebel.

A Patent graunted to certaine marchants of Exceter, and *others of the VVest parts, and of London, for a trade to the riuer* of Senega and Gambia in Guinea, 1588.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admiral of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euery our officers, ministers and subiects whatsoeuer, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our Citie of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our Countie of Deuon marchant, Richard Doderidge of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Antonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our citie of London marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly mooued by certaine Portingals resident within our Dominions, to vndertake and set forwarde a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: videlicet, from the Northermost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along
‖Or, Gambia. that coast vnto the Southermost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of ‖ Gambia, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue alreadie ones perfourmed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly trafique and trade of marchandise into those countreis, will not onely in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portingals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And cõsidering that the aduenturing and enterprising of a newe trade can not be a matter of small charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it conuenient, that our said louing subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better incouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the saide countreis, shall haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine time. In consideration whereof, and for other waightie reasons and considerations vs specially moouing, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, we haue giuen & graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt vnto the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassel and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to such other our subiects as they or the most part of them shall thinke conuenient to receiue into their companie and societie, to be the traders with them into the saide countreis, that they and euery of them by themselues or by their seruants or Factors and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, haue and enioy the free & whole trafique, trade and feate of marchandise, to & from the saide Northermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that Riuer all along the coast of Guinea, vnto the Southermost part of the said Riuer, cõmonly called by the name of the Riuer of
‖Or, Gambia. ‖Gambia, and within that Riuer also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themselues or by their seruants or Factors, & such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their companie and societie, to be traders with them into the saide Countreis (as is afore said) and none others, shal and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeres, haue and enioy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandise into & from the saide places afore limitted and described, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandises whatsoeuer, to be vented had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the cõtreis, parts & coasts of Guinea before limitted, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or priuiledges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, and gouerning of the said societie & companie in the said trade and trafique of marchandises, and the quiet, orderly and lawful exercise of the same, We for vs, our heires, and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full license and authoritie vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receiue into their said societie and company to be traders into the said countreis, as is afore said, and to euery of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all conuenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, as well within our

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citie of Exeter, as elſewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, to conſult of, for, and concerning the ſaide trade and traffike of marchandize, and from time to time to make, ordaine, and ſtabliſh good, neceſſarie, and reaſonable orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the ſame trade. And all ſuch orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſo to be made, to put in vre and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voide, and, if neede be, to make newe, as at any time, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the moſt part of them then trading, as is aforeſaid, ſhall be thought neceſſary & conuenient. Unto all & euery which ſaid orders, conſtitutions, & ordinances, they, & euery of them, & all other perſons which ſhal hereafter be receaued into the ſaid ſocietie & company, ſhall ſubmit themſelues, & ſhal wel & duely obſerue, performe, and obey the ſame, ſo long as they ſhall ſtand in force, or els ſhal pay and incurre ſuch forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, & in ſuch manner and forme, and to ſuch vſes and intents, as by the ſaid orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances ſhall be aſſeſſed, limited, and appointed. So alwaies, as the ſame orders, conſtitutions, and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrarie to the lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to exceede the reaſonable forme of other penalties, aſſeſſed by the companie of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whome the ſaid power and libertie of traffike and trade of marchandize is granted by theſe our letters patents aforeſaid, and none others whatſoeuer, without their ſpeciall conſent and licenſe before had, ſhall, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, vſe, or haue trade or traffike, with or for any manner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the ſaid coaſtes or partes of Guinea, afore limited: We doe by theſe preſents, by our royall and ſupreame authoritie, ſtraightly charge, and command, that no perſon, or perſons whatſoeuer, by themſelues, or by their factors, or ſeruants, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, ſhall in any wiſe trade or traffike, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the ſaid coaſtes and partes of Guinea, afore limited, other then the ſaide William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Antony Daſſel, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch as from time to time, they, or the moſt part of them, ſhall receaue into their ſocietie and companie, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoid our high diſpleaſure, and vpon paine of impriſonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleaſure, and to loſe and forfeit the ſhippe or ſhippes, and all the goods, wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them, ſhall, during the ſaide terme of tenne yeeres, trade, or traffike to or from the ſaid Countreies, or any part thereof, according to the limitation aboue mentioned, contrarie to our expreſſe prohibition and reſtraint, in that behalfe. And further, we doe by theſe preſents, giue and grant full power and authoritie, to the ſaide William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and to ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receaue into their ſocietie and companie, to be traders with them, as is aforeſaid, and the moſt part of them, for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themſelues, their factors, deputies, or aſſignes, ſhall and may, from time to time, during the ſaid terme of ten yeeres, attach, arreſt, take, and ſeaſe all, and all manner of ſhippe, and ſhippes, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatſoeuer, which ſhall be brought from, or caried to the ſaid coaſtes and parts of Guinea, afore limited, contrarie to our will and pleaſure, and the true meaning of the ſame, declared and expreſſed in theſe our letters patents. Of all and euery which ſaid forfeitures whatſoeuer, the one third part ſhall be vnto vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, and another third part thereof, we giue and grant by theſe preſents, for and towards the reliefe of the ſaid Portingals, continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforeſayd. And the other third part of all the ſame forfeitures, we doe by theſe preſents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and grant cleerely and wholy vnto the ſaid William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receaue into their ſocietie, and companie, as is aforeſaid. And theſe our letters patents, or the inrolment or exemplification of the ſame, without any further or other warrant, ſhall from time to time, during the ſaid tenne yeeres, be a ſufficient warrant and authoritie to our Treaſurer of England, for the time being, and to the Barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and miniſters whatſoeuer, to whome it ſhall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one third part of all the ſaid forfeitures, to the vſe of the ſaide Portingals, and one other third part of the ſame forfeitures, to the ſaid William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Daſſell, and Nicholas Turner, and ſuch other perſons, as they ſhall receaue into their ſocietie and companie, to be traders with them, as aforeſaid, to their owne proper vſe and behoofe: which ſaide allowances and paiments thereof, our will and pleaſure is, and we doe ſtraightly charge and command, to be

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from time to time duely made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoeuer. And we doe straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite, all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said customes or subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselues, their clarkes, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receaue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receaued for vs, or in our name, or to our vse, or for, or in the names or to the vses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any custome, subsidie, or other thing or dutie, to vs, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, caried, or brought to or from the priuiledged places, before in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the bookes of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be sent to, or returned from any the priuiledged places, before in these presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, & Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they, or the most part of them, shall receaue into their societie and company, as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selues, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any sixe or more of our priuie Councell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yonge, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shall receaue into their companie and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuiledge, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and traffike shall cease, and be no longer continued into the said coastes and partes of Guinea, before limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of sixe monethes next insuing, after such signification and notification so to be giuen to any of the saide companie and societie, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plimouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuiledge, these our present letters patents, and our grant therein contained, shall be vtterly voide, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the third day of May, in the thirtieth yeere of our Raigne. 1588.

The ende of the first part.

THE SECOND PART OF THE principall Nauigations, Voyages and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation, made to the North *and Northeaſt quarters of the VVorld, with the* directions, letters, priuiledges, diſcourſes & obſeruations incident to the ſame.

Certaine teſtimonies concerning king Arthur and his Conqueſts of the North Regions, taken out of the hiſtorie of the Kings of England, written by *Galfridus Monumetenſis*, and newly printed at Heidelberge, An. 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.

ANno Chriſti, 517. Arthurus, ſecundo regni ſui anno, ſubiugatis totius Hyberniæ partibus, claſſem ſuam direxit in Iſlandiam, eámque debellato populo ſubiugauit. Ex in diuulgato per cæteras inſulas rumore, quòd ei nulla Prouincia reſiſtere poterat, Doldauius Rex Gotlandiæ, & Gunfacius Rex Orcadum vltrò venerunt, promiſſóq; vectigali ſubiectionem fecerunt. Emenſa deinde hyeme, reuerſus eſt in Britanniam, ſtatúmq; Regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

IN the yeere of Chriſt, 517. king Arthur in the ſecond yeere of his raigne, hauing ſubdued all partes of Ireland, ſayled with his fleete into Iſland, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his ſubiection. The rumor afterwards being ſpred throughout all the other Iſlands, that no countrey was able to withſtand him, Doldauius the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him and yelded him their obedience, promiſing to pay him tribute. The Winter being ſpent, he returned into England, and eſtabliſhing his kingdom in perfect peace, he continued there for the ſpace of 12. yeeres.

Lib. 9. cap. 12.

MIſſis deinde in diuerſa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quàm ex collateralibus Inſulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulò poſt: Ex collateralibus autem Inſulis, Guillaumurius Rex Hyberniæ, Maluaſius Rex Iſlandiæ, Doldauius Rex Gotlandiæ, Gunnaſius Rex Orchadum, Lot Rex Noruegiæ, Aſchilius Rex Danorum.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

AFter that king Arthur ſending his meſſengers into diuers kingdoms, he ſummoned ſuch as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Iſlands of the ſea, &c. and a little after. From thoſe adiacent Iſlands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluaſius king of Iſland, Doldauius king of Gotland, Gunnaſius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aſchilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9. cap. 19.

AT Reges cæterarum insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem Equites habere, peditès quot quisque debebat promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hyberniæ, Islandiæ, Gotlandiæ, Orcadum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

¶ The same in English.

BVt the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

A testimonie out of the foresaid *Galfridus Monumetensis*, concerning the Conquests of Malgo, king of England.

Lib. 11. cap. 7.

VOrtiporio succeſſit Malgo, omnium ferè Britanniæ pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & vltra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprouinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit diriſſimis prælijs potestati suæ.

¶ The same in English.

MAlgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obtained the gouernment of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely, Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway and Denmarke.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of Master Lambard his Ἀρχαιονομία, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclitiſſimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britanniæ. Subiugauit igitur sibi strenuè Scantiam totam, quę modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas vltra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendicijs Norweiæ, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas Orientalis Oceani vsq; Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britanniæ) & multas insulas vltra Scantiam, vsq; dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantiæ, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occultè. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweiæ vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim tęporibus illis Arthurus Rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronę Britannię in augmentum regni huius, vocauitq; illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britanniæ. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de corona Britanniæ. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quam in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorũ arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & creſcunt hic segetes, & cætera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella atrociſſima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerũt verò Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis cõcessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ARthur which was ſometimes the moſt renowmed king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too litle for him, and his mind was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly ſubdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Iſlands beyond Norway, to wit Iſland and Greenland, which are appertaining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands and Iſlands of the Eaſt ſea euen vnto Ruſſia (in which Lapland he placed the Eaſterly bounds of his Britiſh Empire) and many other Iſlands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. Theſe people were wild and ſauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, becauſe all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certaine Chriſtians liuing in ſecret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Chriſtian, and cauſed them to be baptized, and throughout all Norway to worſhip one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Chriſt onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norſes ſay, that they are deſcended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforeſayd king Arthur obteined alſo in thoſe dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway ſhould be for euer annexed to the crown of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cauſe the Norſes ſay, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certaine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things doe grow and increaſe: for which cauſe many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Engliſhmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene ſlain, and the Norſes haue poſſeſſed many lands and Iſlands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe poſſeſſe, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and ſacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and mariages. For ſo the good king Edward (who was a notable maineainer of peace) ordained and granted vnto them by the generall conſent of the whole kingdome, ſo that the people may, and ought from henceforth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing and ſworne brethren.

The nauigation of king Edgar, taken out of *M. Dee* his diſcourſe of the Britiſh Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

IHaue oftentimes (ſaid he) and many waies looked into the ſtate of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to chriſtian men commonly) being a ſtudie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpoſe ſomewhat anſwerable to a perfect Coſmographer, to find himſelfe Coſmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one myſticall citie vniuerſall, and ſo conſequently to meditate of the Coſmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the king almightie, paſſing on very ſwiftly toward the moſt dreadfull and moſt comfortable terme prefixed.

And I find (ſaid he) that if this Britiſh Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, ere this, haue ſurpaſſed by iuſtice, and godly ſort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth ſince mans creation: and that to all ſuch purpoſes as to God are moſt acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, moſt honourable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (ſaid he) there is a little locke of Lady Occaſion, flickering in the aire, by our handes to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly paſt, and for euer) diſcreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient and due appurtenances to this Imperial Britiſh monarchie, yet at the leaſt ſome ſuch notable portion thereof, as (all circumſtances duly and iuſtly appertaining to peace and amitie with forren princes being offred & vſed) this may become the moſt peaceable, moſt rich, moſt puiſſant, & moſt flouriſhing monarchie of all els (this day) in chriſtendome. Peaceable, I ſay, euen with the moſt part of the ſelfe ſame reſpects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by ſundry ſuch meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in proofe and vre triumphantly, whereupon his ſirname was Pacificus, moſt aptly and iuſtly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about ſixe hundred yeeres paſt, the repreſentation of a great part of the ſelf ſame Idæa, which from aboue only, & by no mans deuiſe hath ſtreamed down into my imagination,

being as it becommeth a Subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

Flores Histor. For, AEdgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas cõgregauit naues, è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Anglię Orientali, mille ducẽtas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducẽtas in Septentrionali pelago cõstituit, vt ad defensionẽ regni sui, contra exteras nationes, bellorũ discrimina sustinerent.

O wisedome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable inioying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remayning: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable taxe, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to haue bin for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, and princely prudencie, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puisantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischiefe forraine. O most discrete liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthie subiects, of such an Imperiall and godlie Gouernour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed readie handes (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth or famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intollerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonably enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

Charta Regia, Henrici secundi. Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus AEdgarus, non minùs memorabilis Anglis, quàm Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis. Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obijt, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasurie of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum authoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe: howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation: though I omitte here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, & now this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorowful reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by auncient Records may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yeerely chiefe pastimes were, the sayling round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saple at the least, parted into 4. equall partes of petie Nauies, each one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Ranulphus Cestrensis. Idem quoque AEdgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

COuld, and would that peaceable and wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that yeerely: and shal we being not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mightie princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdome, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would roially, iustly, & triumphantly enioy the same, spite of the deuil, & maugre the force of any forren potentate. And all that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) could best aduise & direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and dutifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuinciblie to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost wals of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forren encombrance possible.

And

And in that fortification furthering and aſſuring to truſt beſt his owne ouerſight and iudgement, in yeerely viewing the ſame in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his paſtime imperiall, alſo in Summer time, to the end that afterward in all ſecuritie, he might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient laiſure on land, chiefly to ſet forth Gods due honour, and ſecondly to vnderſtand, and diligently to liſten to the cauſes & complaints of his commons. For as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis of him to his imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

Habebat autem præterea conſuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias tranſire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & ſuorum ſtatuta decretorum, à principibus obſeruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus prę iudicium paſſi, opprimerentur, diligenter inueſtigare ſolebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iuſticię ſtudens, & Reipub. regníq; vtilitati conſulens in vtroque. Hinc hoſtibus circumquáq; timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat ſubditorum.

Thus we ſee how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire ſuch proſperous ſecuritie, that his true and faithfull ſubiects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and alſo at ſea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, ſafely and ſecurely employ their wits and trauels for the maruelous enriching of this kingdome, and pleaſuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our neceſſarie vſes (and due ſtore reſerued) and likewiſe againe furniſhing the ſame with all neceſſarie and not ſuperfluous forren commodities, fet from farre or forren countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regníq; vtilitati conſulens, &c. beſides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreſeene, and by his meanes enioyed, he himſelfe vſed moſt gladly the aduantage of that ſecuritie, in miniſtring of iuſtice, or cauſing the ſame to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not ſquemiſhly, frowningly or ſkornefully ſhunning the ragged and tattered ſleeue of any ſuppliant, holding vp to him a ſimple ſoiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afraied at, and timerouſly haſting from the ſickly pale face or feeble limmed ſuter, extreemely conſtrained ſo to ſpeake for himſelfe, nor partially ſmoothering his owne conſcience, to fauour or maintaine the foule fault and treſpaſſe vnlawfull of any his ſubiects, how mightie or neceſſarie ſoeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made ſearch, leaſt Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium paſſi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique ſecuritie frō forren foe abroad, and true loue of his owne ſubiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly ſpirite directing all his good purpoſes, cauſe iuſtice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flouriſh. For which his peaceable and proſperous benefits at the eternall kung his hand obteined, he became not inſolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as ſome princes in other countries haue made their liues Comicotragicall) but with all his foreſaid inuincible Sea force, aboundant wealth, triumphant peace, with ſecuritie and Iuſtice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and moſt zealouſly bent to ſet forth the glory, laud and honour of the almightie Creator, the heauenly and euerlaſting king, by ſuch principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God moſt acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, doe of him vndoubtedly teſtifie: As this, for one.

Ex charta fundationis Eccleſi & Cathedralis Wigornię.

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui eſt rex Regum, Ego AEdgarus Anglorum Baſileus omniúmq; Regum Inſularum, Oceaníque Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarúmq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipſi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium ſic ampliauit, & exaltauit ſuper regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Angliæ adepti ſunt à tempore Athelſtani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, quæ Britanniam incolunt, ſibi Armis ſubegit) nullus tamen eorum vltra eius fines imperium ſuum dilatare aggreſſus eſt. Mihi autem conceſſit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Inſularum Oceani, cum ſuis ferociſſimis Regibus, vſque Noruegiam, maximámq; partem Hyberniæ, cum ſua nobiliſſima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno ſubiugare: Quos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla ſubdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Chriſti gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius ſeruitium amplificare deuotus diſpoſui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunſtanum viz. Archiepiſcopum, Athelwoldum, & Oſwaldum epiſcopos (quos mihi patres ſpirituales, & Conſiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, ſecundum quod diſpoſui, effeci, &c.

And againe this in another Monument.

Fundatio Eccleſię Cathedralis Elienſis.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipſius nutu & gratia ſuffultus, Ego AEdgarus Baſileus, dilectæ Inſulæ Albionis, ſubditis nobis ſceptris Scotorum, Cumbrorum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, ſtudioſus ſollicitè de laudibus creatoris omniū

occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrisq; diebus (plus æquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatur,&c.18.mei terreni Imperij anno,&c.Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ,973.

Ego AEdgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc priuilegium (tanta roboratum authoritate) crucis Thaumate confirmaui.

So that by all these rehersed Records,it is most euident þ the peaceable king Edgar,was one of those Monarchs, in whose hands (if life had suffised) the incredible value and priuiledge granted by God and nature vnto this British monarchie,might haue bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and fauour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to,and enioyed the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite,which in times past haue either by intent gone about,or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to all purposes sufficient,but only by our sea forces preuailing,and so by our inuincible enioying all within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political misterie attaining,no easier,readier,or perfecter plat and introduction,is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike shippes, with twentie smaller barkes,and those 80. ships (great and small) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order,as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offred) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand shippes, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible.continually maintained,the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and imperiall successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and prophetical incouragements to vs left,euen now to be as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilfull of our sea right and royall limits, and wisely to find our selues as able to recouer and enioy the same as he was,who could not chuse, but with the passing and peerely sayling about this British Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such full and peaceable possession, finde himself (according to right,and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean,enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland,with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memoriall whereof,as with one very precious iewell Imperiall, he adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire,to commit to perpetuall memorie,the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembred.

Note the Queenes maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the Britishe Empire.

Ego AEdgarus Anglorum Basileus,omniúmq; Regum,Insularum,Oceaníq; Britanniam circumiacentis,cunctarúmq; nationum,quæ infra eam includuntur,Imperator,& Dominus.

The voyage of *Nicholas de Lynna*, a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent *Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions, situate vnder the* North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the foote of his general Map, vpon the description of the North partes.

QVod ad descriptionem (partium Septentrionalium) attinet, eam nos accepimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ,An.dom.1364.didicit.Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat,& referebat,An.1360. Minoritam quẽdam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas veniſſe,ipsisq; relictis ad vlteriora arte Magica profectum descripsisse omnia,& Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, nequè verò vnquam tantum ibi ventũ esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat.Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An.1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ,sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus,Islandia,&c.ex parte Boreali,est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex condicto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò nauem hâc fortè

transire

tranſire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam ſtatim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis abſorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppoſitis mundi partibus Philoſophi deſcribunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quàm & æolicos flatus cauſaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

TOuching the deſcription of the North parts I haue taken the ſame out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzcuan Buſke, which alleageth certaine conqueſts of Arthur king of Britaine: and the moſt part, and chiefeſt things among the reſt, he learned of a certaine prieſt in the king of Norwayes court, in the yeere 1364. This prieſt was deſcended from them which king Arthur had ſent to inhabite theſe iſlands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine Engliſh frier, a Franciſcan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into thoſe iſlandes, who leauing them, and paſſing further by his Magicall Arte, deſcribed all thoſe places that he ſaw, and tooke the height of them with his Aſtrolobe, according to the ſame that I (Gerard Mercator) haue ſet downe, in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforeſaid Iames Cnoyen. He ſaid that thoſe foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlpoole, with ſo great a force, that the ſhippes which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in thoſe partes ſo much winde blowing, as might be ſufficient to driue a corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrenſis (who floriſhed in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certeine words altogether alike with theſe. videlicet:

Not farre from theſe iſlands (namely the Hebrides, Iſland &c.) towardes the North there is a certaine woonderfull whirlpoole of the ſea, whereinto all the waues of the ſea from farre haue their courſe and recourſe, as it were without ſtoppe: which, there conueying themſelues into the ſecret receptacles of nature, are ſwallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomleſſe pit, and if it chance that any ſhippe do paſſe this way, it is pulled, and drawne with ſuch a violence of the waues, that eftſoones without remedy, the force of the whirlpoole deuoureth the ſame.

There is a notable whirlpoole on the coaſt of Norway, called Maleſtraunde, about the latitude of 68.

The Philoſophers deſcribe foure indraughts of this Ocean ſea, in the foure oppoſite quarters of the world, from whence many do coniecture that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the winde, haue their firſt originall.

A Teſtimonie of the learned Mathematician, maiſter *Iohn Dee, touching the foreſaid voyage of* Nicholas de Linna.

ANno 1360 (that is to wit, in the 34 yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Aſtronomer, went in companie with others to the moſt Northren iſlands of the world, and there leauing his company together, he trauelled alone, and purpoſely deſcribed all the Northern iſlands, with the indrawing ſeas: and the record therof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54 vſq; ad polum. Which frier for ſundry purpoſes after that, did fiue times paſſe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuentio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (wherof the foreſaid Franciſcan frier tooke his name) to Iſland, it is not aboue a fortnights ſayling with an ordinary winde, and hath beene of many yeeres a very common and vſuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fiſhermen of the towne of Blacknie in the ſaid countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary ſeruice, in reſpect of their trade to Iſland.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

A declaration of the Indies and landes diſcouered, and ſubdued *vnto the Emperour, and the king of Portingall: And alſo of other* partes of the Indies and rich Countries to be diſcouered, which the worſhipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Siuill in Spaine) exhorted king Henrie the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

EXperience proueth that naturally all Princes be deſirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefor it is not to be maruelled, to ſee them euery day procure the ſame, not regarding any coſt, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be maruelled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For ſurely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and ſpirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the deſires of Princes haue beene ſo feruent to obtaine their purpoſe, that they haue aduentured and prooued thinges to mans coniecture impoſſible, the which they haue made poſſible, and alſo thinges difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpoſe, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world ſo many times, that the people inhabiting in the fartheſt region of the Occident haue purſued with great diſtreſſe, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the fartheſt regions of the Orient: and in likewiſe thoſe people of the ſaide partes of the Orient, haue had no leſſe labour and deſire to enter and penetrate into the fartheſt land of the Occident, and ſo following their purchaſe haue not ceaſed vntill they could paſſe no farther by reaſon of the great ſeas.

This naturall inclination is cauſe, that ſcarſely it may be ſaid, there is any kingdome ſtable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other Princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath prouided to your Grace, and to your Gracious progenitours, this Realme of England, and ſet it in ſo fruitfull a place, and within ſuch limits, that it ſhould ſeeme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foreſaid deſire. One ſpeciall cauſe is, for that it is compaſſed with the Sea: by reaſon thereof it ſeemes, this notwithſtanding, their deſires and noble courages haue beene moſt commonly like vnto others: and with maruellous great labours, coſtes and perils, they haue trauelled and paſſed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kinges and dominions nigh neighbours, but alſo with them of farre countreys, and ſo haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victorie and glory. And alſo now of late your Grace hauing like courage and deſire, and not without iuſt cauſe, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demand your limits and tribute of the French king, which at that preſent he reſtrayned, your Grace in perſon paſſed with a great power into France, putting your Graces perſon to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriouſly you had conquered the ſaid Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduerſarie had not reconciled himſelfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and ſo promiſed truely to pay the tribute then due, and fulfill your requeſt in all thinges, and alſo deſired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuſe.

Now I conſidering this your noble courage and deſire, and alſo perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleaſure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little coſt, perill, or labour to your Grace or any of your ſubiects, amplifie and inrich this your ſaid Realme, I know it is my bounden duetie to manifeſt this ſecret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I ſuppoſe, hath beene hid: which is, that with a ſmall number of ſhips there may be diſcouered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace ſhall winne perpetuall glory, and your ſubiectes infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to diſcouer, which is into the North: for that of the foure parts of the world, it ſeemeth three parts are diſcouered by other Princes. For out of Spaine they haue diſcouered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portingall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: ſo that by this part of the Orient and Occident, they haue compaſſed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the courſe or way of the middeſt of the day, and ſo then was diſcouered a great part of the ſame Seas and coaſtes by the Spanyards. So that now reſt to be diſcouered the ſaid North partes, the which it ſeemeth to me, is onely your charge and dutie. Becauſe the ſituation of this your Realme is thereunto neereſt and apteſt of all other: and alſo for that you haue ‖ alreadie taken it in hande. And in mine opinion it will not ſeeme well

A Secret.

The diſcouerie of the North.

‖ By Sebaſtiã Cabot and ſir Thomas Pert in the eight yeere of his reigne. And this is the voyage ſpoken of by Gonſalo Oniedo, that came to S. Domingo.

to

to leaue ſo great and profitable an enterpriſe, ſeeing it may ſo eaſily and with ſo litle coſt, labour, and danger, be followed and obteined: though heeretofore your Grace hath made thereof a proofe, and found not the commoditie therby as you truſted, at this time it ſhall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for thinges, then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that then were cauſe your Graces deſire tooke no full effect, which is, the courſes to be changed, and follow the aforeſaid new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhippes, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meet & conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reaſon whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. Surely the coſt heerein will be nothing, in compariſon to the great profit. The labour is much leſſe, yea nothing at all, where ſo great honour and glory is hoped for: and conſidering well the courſes, truely the danger and way is ſhorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portingall, as by euident reaſons appeareth.

And now to declare ſomething of the commoditie and vtilitie of this Nauigation and diſcouerie, it is very cleere and certaine, that the Seas that commonly men ſay, without great danger, difficultie and perill, yea rather it is impoſſible to paſſe, that thoſe ſame ſeas be nauigable and without any ſuch danger, but that ſhippes may paſſe and haue in them perpetuall cleereneſſe of the day without any darkeneſſe of the night: which thing is a great commoditie for the nauigants, to ſee at all times round about them, as well the ſafegardes as daungers, and how great difference it is betweene the commoditie and perils of other which leeſe the moſt part of euery foure and twentie houres the ſaid light, and goe in darkeneſſe groping their way, I thinke there is none ſo ignorant but perceiueth this more plainely, then it can be expreſſed. Yea what a vantage ſhall your Graces ſubiects haue alſo by this light to diſcouer the ſtrange landes, countries, and coaſtes: for if they that be diſcouered, to ſaile by them in darkeneſſe is with great danger, much more then the coaſtes not diſcouered be dangerous to trauell by night or in darkeneſſe. Yet theſe dangers or darkeneſſe hath not letted the Spanyards and Portingals and other, to diſcouer many vnknowen Realmes, to their great perill. Which conſidered (and that your Graces ſubiectes may haue the ſame light) it will ſeeme your Graces ſubiects to be without actiuitie or courage, in leauing to do this glorious and noble enterpriſe. For they being paſt this litle way which they named ſo dangerous, (which may be two or three leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they paſſe the Pole) it is cleere that from thence forth the ſeas and landes are as temperate as in theſe partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleaſure of the mariners, to chooſe whether they will ſaile by the coaſtes that be colde, temperate or hot. For they being paſt the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they liſt. Note.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they ſhall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the middy, and from thence they may goe and proceed to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cathaio Orientall, which is of all the maine land moſt Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coaſts that returne toward the Occident, they ſhall fall in with Malaca, and ſo with all the Indies which we call Orientall, and following that way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speranſa: and thus they ſhall compaſſe the whole worlde. And if they will take their courſe after they be paſt the Pole, toward the Occident, they ſhall goe in the backe ſide of the new found land, which of late was diſcouered by your Graces ſubiectes, vntill they come to the backe ſide and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And ſo continuing their voyage they may returne thorow the ſtreight of Magellan to this countrey, and ſo they compaſſe alſo the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be paſt the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Illands ſituated betweene the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they ſhall finde there the richeſt landes and Illands of the world of golde, precious ſtones, balmes, ſpices, and other thinges that we heere eſteeme moſt: which come out of ſtrange countreyes, and may returne the ſame way. Tartaria. China. New found land diſcouered by the Engliſh.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduauntage of the riches, but alſo your ſubiectes ſhall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforeſaide.

The

The booke made by the right worshipfull M. Robert Thorne *in the yeere 1527, in Siuill, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king* Henrie the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the parts of the world, discouered by him and the king of Portingall: and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.

RIght noble and reuerend in &c. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procured and sent to know of your seruant, who, your Lordshippe wrote, should be sicke in Merchena. I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and shipt. I cannot iudge but that of some contagious sickenesse he died, so that the owner of the house for defaming his house would bury him secretly, and not be knowne of it. For such things haue often times happened in this countrey.

Also to write vnto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicerie of the Emperour, there is no doubt but that the Islands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and Cinnamom: and that the said Islandes, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamonds, Balassis, Granates, Iacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equinoctiall. For we see, where nature giueth anything, she is no nigard. For as with vs and other, that are aparted from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Yron, so theirs be Golde, Siluer, and Copper. And as our fruites and graines be Apples, Nuts, and Corne, so theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Ieat, Amber, Cristall, Iasper, and other like stones, so haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Ballasses, Saphyres, Iacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such precious mettals, graines, or kinde of spices, and precious stones, the abundance and quantitie is nothing so great, as our mettale, fruites or stones aboue rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the Equinoctiall to both the Tropicall lines, (in which space is found the said Golde, spices and precious stones) is as much in quantitie, as almost all the earth from the Tropickes to both the Poles: it can not be denied but there is more quantitie of the said mettals, fruites, spices, and precious stones, then there is of the other mettals and other thinges before rehearsed. And I see that the preciousnesse of these things is measured after the distance that is betweene vs, and the things that we haue appetite vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was discouered, that these Islands nothing set by Golde, but set more by a knife and a naile of yron, then by his quantitie of Golde: and with reason, as the thing more necessarie for mans seruice. And I doubt not but to them should be as precious our corne and seeds, if they might haue them, as to vs their spices: and likewise the pieces of glasse that here we haue counterfeited, are as precious to them, as to vs their stones: which by experience is seene dayly by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of those countries is sufficient.

Doctor Leys letters.

Touching that your Lordshippe wrote, whether it may be profitable to the Emperour or no, it may be without doubt of great profit: if as the king of Portingall doth, he would become a merchant, and prouide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these Islands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes comming in safetie, there would thither many euery yeere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that come from thence the fift part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this he putteth in euery flote a certeine quantitie of money, of which he enioyeth of the gaines pound and pounde like as other aduenturers doe. In a flote of three shippes and a carauell that went from this citie armed by the merchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partener haue one thousand foure hundred duckets that we employed in the said fleete, principally for that two Englishmen, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other thinges, and aduise that I desire to know especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much vnlike ours: that they should procure to haue the said cards, and learne how they vnderstand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards, and Northeastward.

This was the fleet wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

Note.

For if from the said Islandes the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to saile from the North point to the Northeast point one thousand seuen hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues,

leagues, they ſhould come to the New founde iſlandes that wee diſcouered, and ſo we ſhould be neerer to the ſaid Spicerie by almoſt two thouſand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portingall are. And to aduiſe your Lordſhippe whether of theſe Spiceries of the king of Portingall or the Emperours is neerer, and alſo of the titles that either of them hath, and how our New found landes are parted from it, (for that by writing without ſome demonſtration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue cauſed that your Lordſhippe ſhall receiue herewith a litle Mappe or Carde of the world: the which, I feare me, ſhall put your Lordſhippe to more labour to vnderſtand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in ſo little roome that it cannot be but obſcurely ſet out, that is deſired to be ſeene in it, and alſo for that I am in this ſcience little expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficultie, it is neceſſary to declare to your Lordſhippe my intent, with which I truſt you ſhall perceiue in this Card part of your deſire, if, for that I can not expreſſe mine intent, with my declaration I do not make it more obſcure.

The New found iſlands diſcouered by the Engliſh.

A Mappe of the world.

Firſt, your Lordſhippe knoweth that the Coſmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundneſſe of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they meaſure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South ſtarres, being from the line Equinoctiall till they come right vnder the North ſtarre the ſaid ninetie degrees: and as much from the ſaid line Equinoctiall to the South ſtarre be other ninetie degrees. And as much more is alſo from either of the ſaid ſtarres againe to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to be round, is ſoone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be conſumed in the ſaid foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter, ſo that this latitude is the meaſure of the world from North to South, and from South to North. And the longitude, in which are alſo counted other 360, is counted from Weſt to Eaſt, or from Eaſt to Weſt, as in the Card is ſet.

To know the latitudes.

The ſaid latitude your Lordſhippe may ſee marked and diuided in the end of this Card on the left hand: ſo that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coaſt ſtandeth, take a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the ſame in the Equinoctiall line right againſt the ſaid region, and apply the other foot of the compaſſe to the ſaid region or coaſt, and then ſet the ſaid compaſſe at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foot of the compaſſe ſtanding in the line Equinoctiall, the other will ſhew in the ſcale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the ſaid region is in. Alſo the longitude of the world I haue ſet out in the nether part of the Card, conteining alſo 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptolome and other Coſmographers from an head land called Capo verde, which is ouer againſt a little croſſe made in the part Occidentall, where the diuiſion of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the ſame Capo verde.

To know the longitudes.

Now to know in what longitude any land is, your Lordſhippe muſt take a ruler or a compaſſe, and ſet the one foot of the compaſſe vpon the land or coaſt whoſe longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compaſſe to the next part of one of the tranſuerſall lines in the Orientall or Occidentall part: which done, ſet the one foot of the compaſſe in the ſaid tranſuerſall line at the end of the nether ſcale, the ſcale of longitude, and the other foot ſheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordſhippe muſt vnderſtand that this Card, though little, conteineth the vniuerſall whole world betwixt two Collaterall lines, the one in the Occidentall part deſcendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, and the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whoſe diſtance meaſureth the ſcale of longitude. And that which is without the two ſaid tranſuerſall lines, is onely to ſhew how the Orientall part is ioyned with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is ſet without the line in the Orientall part, is the ſame that is ſet within the other line in the Occidentall part: and that that is ſet without the line in the Occidentall part, is the ſame that is ſet within the line on the Orientall part, to ſhew that though this figure of the world in plaine or flatte ſeemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this ſaid Carde were ſet vpon a round thing, where the endes ſhoulde touche by the lines, it would plainelie appeare how the Orient part ioyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is deſcribed and figured.

And for more declaration of the ſaid Card, your Lordſhippe ſhall vnderſtand, that beginning on the part Occidentall within the line, the firſt land that is ſet out, is the maine land and Iſland of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coaſt goeth Northward, and finiſheth in the land that we found, which is called heere Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the ſaid land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

The ſaid coaſt from the ſaid Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordſhippe may ſee, commeth to a certeine ſtraight Sea, called Eſtrecho de todos Sanctos: by which ſtraight Sea the Spanyardes goe to the Spiceries, as I ſhall declare more at large: the which ſtraight Sea is right againſt the three hundred fifteene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the

Now called the ſtraight of Magelane.

the Equinoctiall three and fiftie degrees. The firſt land from the ſaid beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Iſlandes of the Canaries, and Iſlandes of Capo verde. But the firſt maine land next to the line Equinoctiall is the ſaid Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the ſtreight of this Sea of Italie. And ſo followeth Spaine, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the higheſt part toward the North. And ouer againſt Flanders are our Iſlands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coaſtes within the ſtreights I haue ſet out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainely I thinke your Lordſhip may ſee, in what ſituation euery region is, and of what highneſſe, and with what regions it is ioyned. I do thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Aſia and Affrica I could not ſo well make the ſaid diuiſions: for that they be not ſo well knowen, nor need not ſo much. This I write becauſe in the ſaid Card be made the ſaid lines and ſtrikes, that your Lordſhip ſhould vnderſtand wherefore they doe ſerue. Alſo returning to the foreſaid Capo verde, the coaſt goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona ſperanſa: which is right ouer againſt the 60 & 65 degree of longitude. And by this Cape goe the Portingals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordſhip may ſee in the head land ouer againſt the 130 degree. From the ſaid Cape of Buona ſperanſa the coaſt returneth toward the line Equinoctial, and paſſing forth, entreth the red ſea, & returning out, entreth againe into the gulfe of Perſia, & returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the head land, called Calicut aforeſaid, and from thence the coaſt making a gulfe, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a head land called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: and from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulfe, and after the coaſt goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer againſt this laſt gulfe and coaſt, be many Iſlandes, which be Iſlandes of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portingals and he be at variance.

Note. The ſaid coaſt goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right againſt the 155 degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coaſt not yet plainely knowne, I may ioyne to the New found land found by vs, that I ſpake of before. So that I finiſh with this briefe declaration of the Card aforeſaid. Well I know I ſhould alſo haue declared how the coaſts within the ſtreights of the Sea of Italie runne. It is plaine that paſſing the ſtreights on the North ſide of that Sea after the coaſt of Granado, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coaſt of that which France hath in Italie. And then followeth in one piece all Italie, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulfe which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottome of this gulfe is the citie of Uenice. And on the other part of the ſaid gulfe is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the ſtreights of Conſtantinople, and then the ſea called Euxinus, which is within the ſaid ſtreights: and comming out of the ſaid ſtreights, foloweth Turcia maior (though now on both ſides it is called Turcia.) And ſo the coaſt runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer againſt the ſaid Turcia are the Iſlands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer againſt Italie are the Iſlands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer againſt Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the end of the gulfe of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coaſt toward the Occident, till it commeth to the ſtreights where we beganne, which all is the coaſt of Affrike or Barbarie. Alſo your Lordſhippe ſhall vnderſtand that the coaſtes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Iſland: and all without the ſaid line ſo coloured to be Sea: whereby it is eaſie and light to know it. Albeit in this little roome any other deſcription would rather haue made it obſcure then cleere. Alſo the ſaid coaſts of the Sea are all ſet iuſtly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approoueth them throughout all the Card, ſaue only the coaſts and Iſles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer againſt the 160 to the 215 degrees of longitude. For theſe coaſtes and ſituations of the Iſlands, euery of the Coſmographers and pilots of Portingall and Spaine do ſet after their purpoſe. The Spanyards more towards the Orient, becauſe they ſhould appeare to appertaine to the Emperour: and the Portingals more toward the Occident, for that they ſhould fall within their iuriſdiction. So that the pilots and nauigants thither, which in ſuch caſes ſhould declare the truth, by their induſtrie do ſet them falſly euery one to fauor his prince. And for this cauſe can be no certaine ſituation of that coaſt and Iſlands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpoſe of your Lordſhips demand touching the difference betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, to vnderſtand it better, I muſt declare the beginning of this diſcouerie. Though peraduenture your Lordſhip may ſay that in that I haue written ought of purpoſe, I fall in the prouerbe, A gemino ouo bellum: But your Lordſhip commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixous, and ſhalbe peraduenture tedious, but your Lordſhip knoweth that Nihil ignorantia verboſius.

Doctor Leps demand.

In the yeere 1484. the king of Portingall minded to arme certaine Caruelles to discouer this Spicerie. Then forasmuch as he feared that being discouered, euery other Prince would sende and trade thither, so that the cost and perill of discouering shoulde bee his, and the profite common: wherefore first hee gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Christened, saying that hee would seeke amongst the infidels newe possessions of regions, and therefore woulde make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the cost of the said armie, hee should enioy his part of the profite or honour that should come of it. And as then this discouering was holden for a strange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they say, that all the Princes of Christendome answered, that they would be no part of such an armie, nor yet of the profite that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpose, and of the answere of all the Princes, desiring him that seeing that none would helpe in the costes, that hee would iudge all that shoulde bee founde and discouered to be of his iurisdiction, and commaunde that none other Princes should intermeddle therewith. The Pope said not as Christ saith, Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos? He did not refuse, but making himselfe as Lord and Iudge of all, not onely graunted that all that should be discouered from Orient to Occident, should be the kings of Portingall, but also, that vpon great censures no other Prince shoulde discouer but hee. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingall. So he armed a fleete, and in the yeere 1497. were discouered the Islands of Calicut, from whence is brought all the spice he hath.

The Pope reprehended.

After this in the yeere 1492. the king of Spaine willing to discouer lands toward the Occident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingall, armed certaine Caruels, and then discouered this India Occidentall, especially two Islandes of the saide India, that in this Carde I set forth, naming the one la Dominica, and the other Cuba, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, hee sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the said Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discouered was his, and that hee shoulde not proceede further in the discouerie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castill, into Portingall had gone for feare of burning infinite nomber of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite nomber of golde and siluer. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingall asked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, hee would giue him the sayde Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the saide kings, that none should receiue the others subiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therfore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had caried out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so doing he would giue these Islands, and desist from any more discouering. And not fulfilling this, hee would not onely not giue these Islands, but procure to discouer more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal woulde not, or could not with his ease pay this money. And so not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to discouer: so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discouering they shoulde deuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that should be discouered from Cape Verde, where this Carde beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180. of the saide scale of longitude, which is halfe the world toward the Orient, & finisheth in this Card right ouer against a litle crosse made at the said 180. degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the said Crosse towarde the Occident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which conteineth the other hundreth and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer against the said hundreth & eightie degrees vntill it finish in the three hundred and sixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iurisdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they deuided the world betweene them.

Now for that these Islands of Spicerie fall neere the terme and limits betweene these Princes (for as by the said Card you may see they beginne from one hundred and sixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215.) it seemeth all that falleth from 160. to 180. degrees, should be of Portingall: and all the rest of Spaine. And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots coulde not agree in the situation of the sayde Islandes (for the Portingals set them all within their 180. degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without): and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to measure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no starre fixed from East to West, as are the starres of the Poles from North to South, but all mooueth with the mooning diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainely it may bee measured,

The longitudes hard to be found out.

but by coniectures, as the Nauigants haue esteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifest that Spaine had the situation of al the lands from Cape Verde, toward ỳ Orient of the Portingals to then 180. degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto set the saide Islands within their limitation of the saide 180. degrees, (Though they knewe very well of the Illandes,) till nowe that the Spaniards discouered them. And it is knowen that the king of Portingal had trade to these Islands afore, but would neuer suffer Portingall to goe thither from Calicut: for so much as he knewe that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there might come some knowledge of those other Islands of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Marchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would haue cost, if hee had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes secret. And now that it is discouered hee sendes and keepes the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the diuision of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingall had alreadie discouered certaine Islands that lye ouer against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine lande of India towarde the South, from whence hee fette Brasil, and called it the lande of Brasill. So for that all should come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and seuentie leagues beyonde Cape Verde: and after this, his 180. degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right ouer against the 340. degrees, where I haue made a litle compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160. degree, where also I haue made an other litle marke. And after this computation without any controuersie, the Ilands of the spicerie fal out of the Portingals domination. So that nowe the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they woulde beginne their 180. degrees from the saide Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more towarde the Orient, and so to touche those Islands of the Spicerie of the Emperour, which is al that is betweene the two crosses made in this Carde, that then the Islands of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasill that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the saide limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180. degrees they count from the 370. leagues beyonde the saide Cape Verde, to include in it the saide Islands and landes of Brasill, then plainely appeareth the saide 180. degrees should finish long before they come to these Ilands of the Spicerie of the Emperour: As by this Carde your Lordship may see. For their limits should begin at the 340. degrees of this Carde, and ende at 160. degrees, where I haue made two litle markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainely it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leaue these Islands of Cape Verde and lande of Brasill, if they woulde haue part of the Spicerie of the Emperours: or els holding these, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180. degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for that it may extende so much more towarde the Orient, and touche these Islands of the Emperours: and woulde winne these Islands of Cape Verde and land of Brasill neuertheless, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason. They be not yet agreed, Quare sub Iudice lis est.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reason,) the saide Islands fall all without the limitation of Portingall, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cards made by the Portingals, saue those they haue falsified of late purposely.

New found land discouered by the Englishmen.

But nowe touching that your Lordshippe wrote, whether that which we discouered toucheth any thing the foresaide coastes: once it appeareth plainely, that the Newe founde lande that wee discouered, is all a maine lande with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the golde and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000. leagues of length, as by this Carde appeareth. For from the said New landes it proceedeth towarde the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southwarde vp till it come to the Straites of Todos Sanctos, which I recken to be more then 5000. leagues.

Note.

So that to the Indias it should seeme that wee haue some title, at least that for our discouering wee might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie.

To saile by the Pole.

Nowe then (if from the saide Newe founde landes the Sea bee nauigable) there is no doubt, but sayling Northwarde and passing the Pole descending to the Equinoctiall line, wee shall hitte these Islandes, and it should bee a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portingals haue. For wee be distant from the Pole but thirtie and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be 90. the which added together, be an hundreth twentie and nine degrees, leagues 2480. and miles 7440: Where wee should finde these Islands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the

Islands

Ilands of Canarie, and from these Ilands they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of S. Augustine, and from this Cape Southwardes to the Straites of Todos Sanctos, in the which Nauigation to the saide Straites is 1700. or 1800. leagues: and from these Straites being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Ilands of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200. or 4300. leagues. Of the straites of Magelan.

The Nauigation of the Portingals to the saide Ilands, is departing from Portingall Southwarde towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctiall called Capo de bona speransa, and from Portingall to the Cape is 1800. leagues, and from this Cape to the Ilands of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that by this Nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is said,) if betweene our Newe founde landes or Norway, or Island, the seas towarde the North be Nauigable, wee shoulde goe to these Ilandes a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though wee went not to the saide Ilandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingall, wee shoulde by the way and comming once to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the saide line Equinoctiall: and also shoulde, if we may passe vnder the North, enioy the Nauigation of all Tartarie. Which should bee no lesse profitable to our commodities of clothe, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingall. Note. Benefite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seuenth clime, the sea is all Ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was vnhabitable. Obiection.

Yet since (by experience is proued) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same shoulde bee founde vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all iudge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no lande vnhabitable, nor Sea innauigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this vnto me, I should be to prolixe, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I shoulde haue no great interest, yet I haue had and still haue no litle minde of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it shoulde be the first thing that I woulde vnderstande, euen to attempt, if our Seas Northwarde be Nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sicknesses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discouerie I inherited of my father, which with another marchant of Bristowe named Hugh Eliot, were the discouerers of the Newe found landes, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainely appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and folowed their Pilots minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the golde commeth) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is afore said. Answere. A true opinion. A voyage of discouerie by the Pole. M. Thorne and M. Eliot discouerers of New found land. The cause why the West Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Gabot writeth in an Epistle to Baptist Ramusius.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall vnderstande it is set for Cape or head land, where I, for Iland, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Also in all this litle Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the lande, saue onely in these Ilands of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is said,) euery one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification howe they stande. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should haue, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue set, but not in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that seeing onely the names almost of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Ilãds are also left out, for the said lacke of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roses of the windes or pointes of the compasse: For that this is not for Pilots to saile by, but a summarie declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot wel perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would not marueile, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to aduise mee to make a bigger and a better Mappe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam peruenies. Also I know, to set the forme Spherical of the world in Plano after ꝑ true rule of Cosmographie, it would haue bene made otherwise then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not haue bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should haue bene set along by ꝑ line Equinoctial, & so then must be imagined. For ꝑ degrees of longitude neere either

of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them a long the Equinoctiall, it woulde haue made obscure a great part of the mappe. Many other curiosities may bee required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the spicerie, as for that I lacke leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships seruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Iesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527.

ALso this Carde and that which I write touching the variance betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to bee shewed or communicated there with many of that Court. For though there is nothing in it preiudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may bee a cause of paine to the maker: as wel for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for masters, as for that peraduenture it would not sounde well to them, that a stranger shoulde knowe or discouer their secrets: and woulde appeare worst of all, if they vnderstand that I write touching the short way to the spicerie by our Seas. Though peraduenture of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpossible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor elsewhere is it to bee spoken of. For to moue it amongst wise men, it should be had in derision. And therefore to none I woulde haue written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordshippe, to whome boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my selfe. But if it please God that into Englande I may come with your Lordshippe, I will shewe some coniectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordshippe let it bee put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to sende our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring more plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to haue bene so prolixe in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the said Carde had beene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone vnderstande it better then I, or any other that coulde haue made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinum natare. But for that I haue made it after my rude maner, it is necessarie that I be ỹ declarer or gloser of mine owne worke, or els your Lordship should haue had much labour to vnderstande it, which nowe with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossely done. But I knewe you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and holde me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, as king pardon that at this present I write so largely. Iesus preserue your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your seruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia Templariorum LONDINI.

RObertus iacet hîc Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopi auxilium, tristes componere lites,
Dulce huic consilio quoscque iuuare fuit.
Qui pius exaudis miserorum vota precesque,
Christe huic cœli des regione locum.

Ordinances

Ordinances, inſtructions, and aduertiſements of and for the direction *of the intended voyage for Cathaye, compiled, made, and deliuered* by the right worſhipfull M. Sebaſtian Cabota Eſquier, gouernour of the myſterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of Regions, Dominions, Iſlands & places vnknowen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the raigne of our moſt dread ſoueraine Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth ſupreame head.

FIrſt the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the maſters, marchants & other officers, to be ſo knit and accoyded in vnitie, loue, conſoyrmitie, and obedience in euery degree on all ſides, that no diſſention, variance, oy contention may riſe oy ſpying betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage oy hinderance of the voyage: foy that diſcention (by many experiences) hath ouerthroweu many notable intended and likely enterpyiſes and exployts.

2 Item, foy as much as euery perſon hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loyall ſubiects, and liege men to the kings moſt excellent Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſoys, and foy the obſeruation of all lawes & ſtatutes, made foy the pyeſeruation of his moſt excellent Maieſtie, & his crowne Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to ſerue his grace, the Realme, and this pyeſent voyage truely, and not to giue vp, intermit, oy leaue off the ſaid voyage and enterpyiſe vntill it ſhall be accompliſhed, ſo farre forth as poſſibilitie & life of man may ſerue oy extend: Therefoye it behoueth euery perſon in his degree, as well foy conſcience, as foy dueties ſake, to remember his ſaid charge, and the accompliſhment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermoye euery mariner oy paſſenger in his ſhippe, hath giuen like othe to be obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and maſter in his ſhip, foy the obſeruation of theſe pyeſent oyders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter ſhall be made by the 12. counſailers in this pyeſent booke named, oy the moſt part of them, foy the better conduction, and pyeſeruation of the fleete, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be pyompt, readie and obedient in all acts and feates of honeſtie, reaſon, and duetie to be miniſtred, ſhewed & executed, in aduancement and pyeferment of the voyage and exploit: therefoye it is conuenient that this pyeſent booke ſhall once euery weeke (by the diſcretion of the Captaine) be read to the ſaide companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conſcience, duetie and charge.

4 Item, euery perſon by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good will (as farre foyth as him ſhall complie) all, and euery ſuch act and acts, deede and deedes, as ſhalbe to him oy them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captaine general, with the aſſent of the Counſell and aſſiſtants, as well in and during the whole Nauigation and voyage, as alſo in diſcouering and landing, as caſes and occaſions ſhall require.

5 Item, all courſes in Nauigation to be ſet and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, maſters, & maſters mates, with the aſſents of the counſailers, & the moſt nomber of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to pyeuaile, and take place, ſo that the Captaine generall, ſhall in all counſailes and aſſemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the fleete ſhall keepe together, and not ſeparate theimſelues aſunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done oy permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & maſters ſhall ſpeedily come abooyd the Admiral, when and as often as he ſhall ſeeme to haue iuſt cauſe to aſſemble them foy counſaile oy conſultation to be had concerning the affaires of the fleete and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other ſkilful perſons in writing, ſhal dayly write, deſcribe, and put in memoyie the Nauigation of euery day and night with the points, and obſeruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the ſunne, courſe of the moone and ſtarres, and the ſame ſo noted by the oyder of the Maſter and pilot of euery ſhip to be put in writing, the Captaine general aſſembling the Maſters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather ſhal ſerue) to conferre all the obſeruations, and notes of the ſaid ſhips, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes doe agree, and wherein they diſcent and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and concluſion determined, to put the ſame into a common leger, to remaine of recoyd foy the companie: the like oyder to be kept in pyoportioning of the Cardes, Aſtrolabes, and other inſtruments pyepared foy the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterpyiſes and exploits of diſcouering oy landing to ſearch Iles, regions, and ſuch like, to be ſearched, attempted, and enterpyiſed by good deliberation, and common aſſent, determined aduiſedly. And that in all enterpyiſes, notable ambaſſages, ſuites, requeſts, oy

preſentement of gifts, or preſents to princes, to be done and executed by the captaine Generall in perſon, or by ſuch other, as he by common aſſent ſhall appoint or alligne to doe or cauſe to be done in the ſame.

9 Item, the ſteward and cooke of euery ſhip, and their aſſociats, to giue and render to the Captaine and other head officers of their ſhippe weekely (or oftener) if it ſhall ſeeme requiſite, a iuſt or plaine and perfect accompt of expenſes of the victuals, as well fleſh, fiſh, biſket, meate or bread, as alſo of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualing vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them ſo to order and diſpende the ſame, that no waſte or vnprofitable exceſſe be made otherwiſe then reaſon and neceſſitie ſhall commaund.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he ſhal be, ſhalbe tried vntrue, remiſſe, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vſe himſelfe in his charge accordingly, then euery ſuch officer to be puniſhed or remooued at the diſcretion of the Captaine and aſſiſtants, or the moſt part of them, and the perſon ſo remooued not to bee reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remoone, any more for an officer, but to remaine in ſuch condition and place, as hee ſhall be aſſigned vnto, and none of the companie to reſiſt ſuch chaſtiſement or worthie puniſhment, as ſhalbe miniſtred to him moderately, according to the fault or deſert of his offence, after the lawes and common cuſtomes of the ſeas, in ſuch caſes heretofore vſed and obſerued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour ſhalbe found by his labour not meete nor worthie the place that he is preſently ſhipped for, ſuch perſon may bee vnſhipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maieſties realme & dominion, and one other perſon more able & worthy to be put in his place, at the diſcretion of the Captaine and maſters, & order to be taken that the partie diſmiſſed ſhalbe allowed proportionably, the value of that hee ſhall haue deſerued to the time of his diſmiſſion or diſcharge, & he to giue order with ſureties, pawne, or other aſſurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he ſhal haue receiued, which he ſhall not haue deſerued, & ſuch wages to be made with the partie newly placed as ſhalbe thought reaſonable, & he to haue the furniture of all ſuch neceſſaries as were prepared for the partie diſmiſſed, according to right and conſcience.

12 Item, that no blaſpheming of God, or deteſtable ſwearing be vſed in any ſhip, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthie tales, or vngodly talke to be ſuffered in the company of any ſhip, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diueliſh games to be frequented, whereby enſueth not onely pouertie to the players, but alſo ſtrife, variance, brauling, fighting, and oftentimes murther to the vtter deſtruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods moſt iuſt wrath, and ſworde of vengeance. Theſe and all ſuch like peſtilences, and contagions of vices, and ſinnes to be eſchewed, and the offenders once monished, and not reforming, to be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Captaine and maſter, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common ſeruices appointed by the kings Maieſtie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and ſaide in euery ſhip dayly by the miniſter in the Admiral, and the marchant or ſome other perſon learned in other ſhips, and the Bible or paraphraſes, to be read deuoutly and Chriſtianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie prayer of the Nauigants accordingly.

14 Item that euery officer is to be charged by inuentorie with the particulers of his charge, and to render a perfect accompt of the diſtraying of the ſame together with modeſt and temperate diſpending of powder, ſhot, and vſe of al kinde of artillerie, which is not to be miſuſed, but diligently to be preſerued for the neceſſarie defence of the fleete and voyage, together with due keeping of all inſtruments of your Nauigation, and other requiſites.

15 Item, no liquor to be ſpilt on the balaſt, nor filthines to be left within boorde: the cooke roome, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gromals & pages to be brought vp according to the laudable order and vſe of the ſea, as wel in learning of Nauigation, as in exerciſing of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners, be to be kept by the Marchants, and not to be worne, but by the order of the Captaine, when hee ſhall ſee cauſe to muſter or ſhewe them in good aray, for the aduancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to be redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it ſhall be thought conuenient for euery perſon to haue the full vſe of his garment.

17 Item, when any Mariner or any other paſſinger ſhall haue neede of any neceſſarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conſeruation of his health, the ſame ſhall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the aſſignment of the Captaine and Maſter of that ſhippe, wherein ſuch needie perſonne ſhall bee, at ſuch reaſonable price as the ſame coſt, without any gaine to bee exacted

by

by the marchants, the value thereof to be entred by the marchant in his booke, and the ſame to be diſcounted of the parties wages, that ſo ſhall receiue, and weare the ſame.

18. Item the ſicke, diſeaſed, weake, and viſited perſon within booꝛd, to be tendꝛed, relieued, comfoꝛted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery manner of perſon, without reſpect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuſe ſuch labour as ſhall be put to him, foꝛ the moſt benefite, and publike wealth of the voyage, and enterpꝛiſe, to be atchieued exactly.

19. Item if any perſon ſhall foꝛtune to die, oꝛ miſcary in the voyage, ſuch apparell, and other goods, as he ſhall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the oꝛder of the Captaine, and Maſter of the ſhippe, and an inuentoꝛie to be made of it, and conſerued to the vſe of his wife, and chilꝺꝛen, oꝛ otherwiſe accoꝛding to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he ſhall haue deſerued to his death, and what ſhall reſt due to him.

20. Item that the Marchants appointed foꝛ this preſent voyage, ſhall not make any ſhewe oꝛ ſale of any kind of Marchandizes, oꝛ open their commodities to any foꝛren pꝛinces, oꝛ any of their Subiects, without the conſent, pꝛiuitie, oꝛ agreement of the Captaines, the cape Marchants and the aſſiſtants, oꝛ foure of them, whereof the Captaine Generall, the Pilot Maiꝛ, and cape Marchant to be thꝛee, and euery of the pettie Marchants to ſhewe his reckoning to the Cape Marchant, when they, oꝛ any of them ſhall be required: and no commutation oꝛ trucke to be made by any of the pettie Marchants, without the aſſent aboueſaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought oꝛ giuen to the companie, by way of marchandiſe, trucke, oꝛ any other reſpect, to be booked by the Marchants, and to be well oꝛdꝛed, packed, and conſerued in one Maſſe entirely, and not to be bꝛoken oꝛ altered, vntill the ſhippes ſhall returne to the right diſcharges, and inuentoꝛie of all goods, wares, and marchandizes ſo trucked, bought, oꝛ otherwiſe diſpended, to be pꝛeſented to the Gouernour, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants in London, in good oꝛder, to the intent the Kings Maieſtie may be truly anſwered of that which to his grace by his grant of coꝛpoꝛation is limited, accoꝛding to our moſt bound duties, and the whole companie alſo to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezelment ſhall be vſed, but the truth of the whole voyage to be opened, to the common wealth and benefite of the whole companie, and myſterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, oꝛ male engine. King Edwards coꝛpoꝛation.

21. Item no particular perſon, to hinder oꝛ pꝛeiudicate the common ſtocke of the companie, in ſale oꝛ pꝛeferment of his owne pꝛoper wares, and things, and no particular emergent oꝛ purchaſe to be emploied to any ſeuerall pꝛofite, vntill the common ſtocke of the companie ſhall be furniſhed, and no perſon to hinder the common benefite in ſuch purchaſes oꝛ contingents, as ſhall foꝛtune to any one of them, by his owne pꝛoper pollicie, induſtrie, oꝛ chance, noꝛ no contention to riſe in that behalfe, by any occaſion of iewell, ſtone, pearles, pꝛetious mettals, oꝛ other things of the region, where it ſhall chance the ſame to riſe, oꝛ to be found, bought, trucked, permuted, oꝛ giuen: but euery perſon to be bounden in ſuch caſe, and vpon ſuch occaſion, by oꝛder, and direction, as the Generall, Captaine, and the Councell ſhall eſtabliſh and determine, to whoſe oꝛder and diſcretion the ſame is left: foꝛ that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may oꝛ can be giuen.

22. Item not to diſcloſe to any nation, the ſtate of our religion, but to paſſe it ouer in ſilence, without any declaration of it, ſeeming to beare with ſuch lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you ſhall arriue.

23. Item foꝛ as much as our people, and ſhippes, may appeare vnto them ſtrange and wonderous, and theirs alſo to ours: it is to be conſidered, howe they may be vſed, learning much of their natures, and diſpoſitions, by ſome one ſuch perſon, as you may firſt either allure, oꝛ take to be bꝛought abooꝛd your ſhippes, and there to learne as you may, without violence oꝛ foꝛce, and no woman to be tempted, oꝛ intreated to incontinencie, oꝛ diſhoneſtie.

24. Item the perſon ſo taken, to be well entertained, vſed, and apparelled, to be ſet on land, to the intent that he oꝛ ſhe may allure other to dꝛaw nigh to ſhewe the commodities: and if the perſon taken, may be made dꝛunke with your beere, oꝛ wine, you ſhal knowe the ſecrets of his heart.

25. Item our people may not paſſe further into a land, then that they may be able to recouer their pꝛinneſſes, oꝛ ſhips, & not to credit the faire woꝛds of the ſtrange people, which be many times tried ſubtile, and falſe, noꝛ to be dꝛawen into perill of loſſe, foꝛ the deſire of golde, ſiluer, oꝛ riches, and eſteeme your owne commodities aboue all other, and in countenance ſhewe not much to deſire the foꝛren commodities: neuertheleſſe take them as foꝛ friendſhip, oꝛ by way of permutation.

26. Item euery nation and region is to be conſidered aduiſedly, and not to pꝛouoke them by any diſdaine, laughing, contempt, oꝛ ſuch like, but to vſe them with pꝛudent circumſpection, with all gentleneſs, and curteſie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you ſhall haue attained the moſt

worthy place ꝑ may be found,in such sort,as you may returne wᵗ victuals sufficient,prosperously.

27. Item the names of the people of euery Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities,and incommodities of the same,their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same,and what things they are most desirous of,and what commodities they will most willingly depart wᵗ,& what mettals they haue in hils,mountaines,streames,or riuers,in,or vnder the earth.

28. Item if people shall appeare gathering of stones,golde, mettall,or other like,on the sand, your pinnesses may draw nigh, marking what thinges they gather, sing or playing vpon the drumme,or such other instruments,as may allure them to harkening to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments,and voices,but keepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no point or signe of rigour,or hostilitie.

29. Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers house, to dinner,or other parliance, goe in such order of strength,that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods, and ambushes,and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30. Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skinnes, hauing long bowes, and arrowes,be not afraid of that sight: for such be worne often times more to feare strangers,then for any other cause.

31. Item there are people,that can swimme in the sea,hauens,& riuers,naked,hauing bowes and shafts,coueting to draw nigh your ships,which if they shal find not well watched, or warded, they will assalt,desirous of the bodies of men,which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they diue,and so will flee,and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night,in some Islands

32. Item if occasion shal serue,that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voyage,passing such dangers of the seas,perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authors & writers, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succeede for the extremitie of the North pole,lacke of passage,& such like,which haue caused wauering minds,and doubtful heads,not onely to withdraw themselues from the aduenture of this voyage,but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie whereof,when you shall haue tried by experience (most certaine Master of all worldly knowledge) then for declaration of the trueth,which you shall haue experted,you may by common assent of counsell, sende either by land,or otherwaies,such two or one person,to bring the same by credite,as you shal thinke may passe in safetie: which sending is not to be done,but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage,in finding of passage,in towardlines of beneficiall traffike,or such other like, whereby the companie being aduertised of your estates and proceedings,may further prouide, foresee,and determine that, which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall be requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or els otherwise to dispose,as occasion shall serue: in which things your wisedomes and discretions are to be vsed,and shewed,and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondred, for that you be not ignorant,how many persons,as wel the kings Maiestie,the Lords of his honorable Counsell,this whole companie,as also your wiues,children,kinsfolkes,allies,friends,and familiars,be replenished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates,conditions,and welfares,and in what likelihood you be in,to obtaine this notable enterprise,which is hoped no lesse to succeede to you,then the Orient and Occident Indias haue to the high benefit of the Emperour,and kings of Portingal,whose subiects industries,and trauailes by sea,haue inriched them,by those lands and Islands,which were to all Cosmographers, and other writers both vnknowne,and also by apparances of reason voide of experience thought and reputed vnhabitable for extremities of heates,and colds,and yet in deede tried most rich,peopled,temperate,and so commodious,as all Europe hath not the like.

33. Item no conspiracies,parttakings,factions,false tales, vntrue reports, which be the very seedes,& fruites of contention,discord,and confusion, by euil tongues to be suffred,but the same,& all other vngodlines to be chastned charitably with brotherly loue,and alwaies obedience to be vsed,and practised by al persons in their degrees,not onely for dutie, and conscience sake towards God,vnder whose mercifull hand nauigants aboue all other creatures, naturally be most nigh, and vicine,but also for prudent and worldly pollicie,and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subiects,and naturals,with dailie remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduancement of you the trauelers therein, your wiues, and children,and so to endeuour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them,who at their great costes, charges, and

expenses,

expenſes, haue ſo furniſhed you in good ſort, and plentie of all neceſſaries, as the like was neuer in any Realme ſeene, vſed, or knowen requiſite and needefull, for ſuch an exploit, which is moſt likely to be atchieued, and brought to good effect, if euery perſon in his vocation, ſhall endeuour himſelfe according to his charge, and moſt bounden dutie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accompliſh your charge to his glorie, whoſe mercifull hand ſhall proſper your voyage, and preſerue you from all dangers.

In witnes whereof, I Sebaſtian Cabota, Gouernour aforeſaid, to theſe preſent ordinances haue ſubſcribed my name, and put my ſeale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counſellors appointed in *this voyage.*

1 Sir Hugh Willoughbie Knight, Captaine Generall.
2 Richard Chancelor Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, and Pilot generall of the fleete.
3 George Burton Cape Marchant.
4 Maſter Richard Stafford Minister.
5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
6 Iames Dalabere Gentleman,
7 William Gefferſon Maſter of the Bona Speranza Admirall.
8 Stephen Burrowgh Maſter of the Edward Bonauenture.
9 Cornellius Durfurth Maſter of the Confidentia.
10 Roger Wilſon. } Maſters mates.
11 Iohn Buckland. } Maſters mates.
12 Richard Ingram. } Maſters mates.

Exemplar Epiſtolæ ſeu literarum Miſsiuarum, quas illuſtriſsimus *Princeps Eduardus, eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ* Rex, miſit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem. Anno Domini 1553. Regni ſui anno ſeptimo, & vltimo.

EDuardus ſextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuſcunque eſt excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ ſunt ſub vniuerſo cœlo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus veſtris quæ imperio veſtro ſubiacent, cuique veſtrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quòd indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis aliis viuentibus, cor & deſiderium tale, vt appetat quiſque cum aliis ſocietatem inire, amare, & viciſſim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia ſtudeat, ideò cuique pro facultate ſua hoc deſiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conſeruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc deſiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enun longius iter eius rei gratia ingreſſi ſunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc deſiderium fuiſſe declararunt. Inſuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorúmque noſtrorum exempla inuitant, qui ſemper humaniſſimè ſuſceperint & benigniſſimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum ſe protectioni commendantes. Quod ſi omnibus id præſtare æquum eſt, certè mercatoribus imprimis præſtari debet, qui per vniuerſum orbem diſcurrunt, mare circumluſtrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & vtiles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotiſſimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde viciſſim referant, quòd ſuæ regioni vtile ibi repererint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non deſtituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipſi ſint participes rerum quibus illi abundant. Nam Deus cœli & terræ, humano generi maximè conſulens, noluit vt omnia in quauis regione inuenirentur, quò regio opc alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita ſtabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, ſingulíque omnibus benefacere quærerent. Hoc itaque ineundæ ac ſtabiliendæ amicitię deſiderio moti viri quidam regni noſtri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones inſtituerunt, vt inter noſtros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, nóſque rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni

petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & alijs qui cum eo sunt fœtuis nostris fidis & charis, vt pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis priùs incognitas eant, quæsituri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex nostris terris, id quo illi careant. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, sitque amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indissolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in regnis suis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, vt viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quòd homines & ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis, quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis vt nos, & subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cœlo, terra & mari continentur, pérque vitam nostram, & tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum, nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benignè tractabuntur, vt rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, &c. rogauimus, vt humanitate & beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, vt vobis diuturnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quę nullam habeat finem. Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri. Anno 5515. à creato mundo, mense Iiar, 14. die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri.

The copie of the letters missiue, which the right noble Prince *Edward the sixt, sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, inhabiting* the Northeast partes of the world, toward the mightie Empire of Cathay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their companie, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ, 1553. and the seuenth and last yeere of his raigne.

EDward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Iudges, and Gouernours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places vnder the vniuersall heauen: peace, tranquillitie, and honour, be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almightie God hath giuen vnto mankind, aboue all other liuing creatures, such a heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioyne friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receaue mutuall benefites: it is therefore the duetie of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deseruing to all men, and especially to shewe this good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre Countreis. For howe much the longer voyage they haue attemped for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermore also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe inuite vs hereunto, forasmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of friendly minde came to them, as well from Countreis neere hand, as farre remote, commending themselues to their protection. And if it be right and equitie to shewe such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to Marchants, who wandering about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countreis, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they finde there commodious for their owne Countreis: both aswell that the people, to whome they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countreis bring not foorth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such thinges, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth, greatly prouiding for mankinde, would not that all things should be founde in one region, to the ende that one shoulde haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendshippe might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which vniuersall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, mooued hereunto by the same desire, haue instituted and taken vpon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreies, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, & carry out marchandi-

zes

zes, desiring vs to further their enterprise. Who assenting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trustie and faithfull seruants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to Countreies to them heretofore vnknowen, aswell to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to cary vnto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and vs, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene vs both, while they permit vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therefore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whome there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants, free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours vnwilling vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therefore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to aide and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall be able to giue you in recompence. Shew your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should shewe our selues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently be entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that we may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. With all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almightie God, to grant you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yeere from the creation of the world, 5515. in the moneth of Iiar, the fourteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yeere of our raigne.

Iiar. I would read Mair, that is, in the Sarasen language, mixt of Turkish and Aegyptian, Februarie, interpreted by them the moneth to set ships to the sea

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, *to wit, the* Speranza, *which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh VVilloughby*, and all his companie died, being frozen to death. Anno 1553.

The voyage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Islands, and places vnknowen, set foorth by the right worshipfull, Master Sebastian Cabota, Esquire, and Gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London: which fleete being furnished, did set foorth the tenth day of May, 1553. and in the seuenth yeere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the fleete, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the shippes, Marchants, with other officers, and Marriners, as hereafter followeth.

The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the fleete, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine Generall of the fleete. The first ship.

William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.

Roger Wilson, his Mate.

William Gittons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrewes, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralfe Chatterton, Marchants.

Marriners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,

Iohn Brooke, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine.

Iohn VVeb, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

VVilliam VVhite, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goiswine, Carpenters.

Robert

Robert Gwinne, Purser.
Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.
Richard Morgan, Cooke.
Thomas Nashe, his Mate.
VVilliam Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas VValker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.
Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwiche.
Discharged at Harwiche, by reason of sicknes, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.
For pickerie ducked at the yardes arme, and so discharged Thomas Nashe.

The second shippe.

The Edward Bonauenture, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.
Richard Chancelor, Captaine, and Pilot Maior of the fleete.
Stephen Burrowgh, Master of the shipp.
Iohn Buckland, his Mate.
George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Marchants.
Iohn Stafford, Minister.
Iames Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, Iohn Segswike, Thomas Francis, Iohn Hasse, Richard Iohnson, VVilliam Kempe.

Marriners and officers, according to the custome and vse of the Seas.

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.
Iohn VValker, his Mate.
Iames Longe, Iohn Cocks, Gunners.
Thomas VValter, Surgeon.
Peter Palmer, Boateswaine.
Richard Strowde, his Mate.
Iohn Robinson, Iohn Carowe, Thomas Stone, Robert Lishbie, quarter Masters.
Iohn Austen, Steward: Patricke Steuens, his Mate.
Austen Iacks, Cooke.
VVilliam Euery, Cowper.
Griffin VVagham, Carpenter.
Thomas Stellston, Thomas Townes, Iohn Robinson, Iohn White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, Iohn Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Pacie, Thomas Browne, Arthur Pet, George Phibarie, Edward Patterson, William Beare, Iohn Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrowgh, Roger Welford, Iohn Williams.

William Burrough, nowe Clerke of her Maiesties name.

The third ship

The Bona Confidentia, of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.
Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the shippe.
Richard Ingram, his Mate.
Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henrie Dorset, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vse and customes of the Sea.

Henrie Tailer, Master Gunner.
George Thurland, his Mate.
William Hamane, Boateswaine.
Iohn Edwards, his Mate.
Thomas Kirbie, Henrie Dickenson, Iohn Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.
Iohn Reine, Steward.
Thomas Hante, Cooke. William Lassie, his Mate.
Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.
Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, Iohn Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, Iohn Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, Iohn Durisforth.

The *Iuramentum*, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

YOu shall sweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyall subiect in all points, and duties, that to a subiect appertaineth, to our Soueraigne Lord, the Kings Maiestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truely, to the vttermost of your capacitie, wit, and knowledge, serue this present voyage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor sooner intermit the same, vntill you shall haue atchieued the same, so farre forth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleete: you shall giue good, true, and faithfull counsell to the said societie, and to such as shall

haue

haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to diſcloſe the ſecrets, or priuities of the ſame to any perſon by any maner of meane, to the preiudice, hurt, or damage of it. You ſhall miniſter iuſtice to all men vnder your charge, without reſpect of perſon, or any affection, that might mooue you to decline from the true miniſtration of iuſtice. And further, you ſhall obſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, as much as in you lieth, all and ſingular ſuch rules, articles, prouiſions hitherto made, or hereafter to be made for the preſeruation or ſafeconduct of the fleet and voyage, and benefit of the company. You ſhall not permit nor ſuffer the ſtocke or goods of the company to be waſted, imbezeled, or conſumed, but ſhall conſerue the ſame whole and entyre, without diminiſhment, vntill you ſhall haue deliuered, or cauſe to be deliuered the ſame, to the vſe of the company. And finally you ſhall vſe your ſelfe in all points, ſorts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and brother of this company ſhall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe miniſtred to the Maiſter of *the ſhippe, &c.*

YOu ſhall ſweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you according, and to the vttermoſt of your knowledge, and good vnderſtanding in mariners ſcience and craft, ſhall in your vocation doe your beſt to conduct the good ſhippe called the N. &c. whereof you now are Maiſter vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your diſcouerie, and ſo vſe your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, diſcharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the ſame ſhippe, as may be moſt for the benefit and profit of this right worſhipfull fellowſhippe: and you ſhall not priuately bargen, buy, ſell, exchange, barter, or diſtribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatſoeuer (neceſſarie tackles and victualles for the ſhippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit, neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer. And further, If you ſhall know any boatſwaine, mariner, or any other perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, to buy, ſell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, merchandizes, or thinges for priuate account, reckoning or behalfe, you ſhall doe your beſt to withſtand and let the ſame: and if you can not commodiouſly ſo doe, that then before the diſcharge of ſuch goods bought for priuat accoũt, you ſhall giue knowledge therof to the Cape merchant of this ſaid fellowſhip for the time being. And you ſhall not receiue nor take, nor ſuffer to be receiued or taken into your ſaid ſhippe during this voyage any maner perſon or perſons whatſoeuer, going or returning, but onely thoſe mariners which without fraud or guile ſhall be hyred to be of your company, and to ſerue in mariners craft and ſcience onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foreſaid ſhippes being fully furniſhed with their pinneſſes and boates, well appointed with all maner of artillery, and other things neceſſarie for their defence with all the men aforeſaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and haled vnto Detforth, the 10 day of May, 1553.

The 11 day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detforth, paſſing by Greenewich, ſaluting the kings Maieſtie then being there, ſhooting off our ordinance, & ſo haled vnto Blackewall, and there remained vntill the 17 day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackewall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and ſo the ſame night vnto Heyreth. May.

The 18 day from Heyreth vnto Grauelend, and there remained vntill the twentith day: that day being Saturday, from Grauelend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and twentith day.

The 22 day from Tylberie Hope to Hollie hauen.

The 23 day from Hollie hauen, till we came againſt Lee, and there remained that night, by reaſon that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24 day the winde being in the Southweſt in the morning, we ſailed along the coaſt ouer the Spits, vntill we came againſt S. Olyth, about ſixe of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25 day about ten of the clocke, we departed from S. Olyth, and ſo ſailed forward vnto the Naſe, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26 day at fiue of the clocke in the morning, we weyed our anker, and ſailed ouer the Naſe, the winde being at the Southweſt, vntill we came to Harwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28 day.

The ſame day being Trinitie ſunday about 7 of the clocke before noone we weyed our ankers,

and sailed till we came athwart Walsurye, and there came to an anker.

The 29 day from thence to Holmehead, where we staied that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discouerie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30 day of May at fiue of the clocke in the morning we set saile, and came against Yermouth about three leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the sea sixe leagues Northeast, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

June. The first of June the winde being at North contrary to vs, we came backe againe to Harewell, and remained there vntill the 15 day, tarying for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

The 15 day being at Hare well in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning we waied our ankers, and went fourth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sailed vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there staied that night.

The 17 day about fiue of the clocke before noone we went backe vnto Orfordnesse, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Harewell, and abode there three dayes tarying for the winde.

The 23 day of June the winde being faire in the Southwest we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues Northeast: then being past the sands, we changed our course sixe leagues Northnortheast: about midnight we changed our course againe, and went due North continuing in the same vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seuen of the clocke Northnorthwest 42 leagues, to the end to fall with Shotland: then the winde beared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shotland: then we sailed North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, and Northnorthwest, then Southeast, with diuers other courses, trauersing and tracing the seas, by reason of sundrie and manifolde
July. contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of July: and then the sunne entring into Leo, we discouered land Eastward of vs, vnto the which we sailed that night as much as we might: and after we went on shore with our pinnesse, and found little houses to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

In this land dwelt Orcher, as it seemeth. The land was all full of little Islands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Aegeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Forthnesse North and by east, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orthforthnesse and Aegeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues Northwest, and found many other Islandes, and there came to an anker the 19 day, and manned our pinnesse, and went on shore to the Islands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shore and welcomed vs. In which place
Rost Islands. were an innumerable sort of Islands, which were called the Iles of Rost, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minuts. The winde being contrary, we remained there three dayes, and there was an innumerable sort of fowles of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

The 22 day the winde comming faire, we departed from Rost, sailing Northnortheast, keeping the sea vntill the 27 day, and then we drew neere vnto the land, which was still East of vs: then went fourth our pinnesse to seeke harborow, and found many good harbours, of the which we
Stanfew harbour. entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Islandes, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntill the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, & from the fore said Rost about 30 leagues Northnortheast.

August. The 30 day of July about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Islandes Northnortheast, keeping the land still in sight vntill the second day of August: then haling in close aboord the land, to the intent to knowe what lande it was, there came a skiffe of the Island aboord of vs, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed vnto vs, that the
Seynam. Island was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seuentie degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandize there, but onely dryed fish, and traine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the wardhouse,

which

which is the ſtrongeſt holde in Finmarke, and moſt reſorted to by report. But when we would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery ſide, there came ſuch flawes of winde, and terrible whirlwindes, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were conſtrained to take the ſea againe, our pinneſſe being vnſhipt: we ſailed North and by Eaſt, the winde increaſing ſo ſore that we were not able to beare any ſaile, but tooke them in, and lay adrift, to the end to let the ſtorme ouer paſſe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickeneſſe of miſts, we were not able to keepe together within ſight, and then about midnight we loſt our pinneſſe, which was a diſcomfort vnto vs. Aſſoone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpaſt, we looked about, and at the laſt we deſcryed one of our ſhippes to Leeward of vs: then we ſpyed an hullocke of our foreſaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Conſidence, but the Edward we could not ſee. Then the flaw ſomething abating, we and the Conſidence hoyſed vp our ſailes the fourth day, ſayling Northeaſt and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouſe, as we did conſult to do before, in caſe we ſhould part company. Thus running Northeaſt and by North, and Northeaſt fiftie leagues, then we ſounded, and had 160 fadoms, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our courſe the firſt day, and ſailed Southeaſt and by South eight and fortie leagues, thinking thereby to finde the Wardhouſe.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie looſeth the ſight of the Edward.

The eight day much winde riſing at the Weſt Northweſt, we not knowing how the coaſt lay, ſtrooke our ſailes, and lay adrift, where we ſounded, and found 160 fadoms as afore.

The ninth day, the winde bearing to the South Southeaſt, we ſailed Northeaſt 25 leagues.

The tenth day we ſounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could ſee any land, whereat we woondered: then the winde comming at the Northeaſt, we ranne Southeaſt about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the winde being at South, we ſounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire ſand.

The 12 day, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, we lay with our ſaile Eaſt, and Eaſt and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day earely in the morning, we deſcryed land, which land we bare with all, hoiſing out our boat to diſcouer what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was ſo ſhoale, where was very much yſe alſo, but there was no ſimilitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam Eaſt and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

Willowbie his land, in 72 degrees.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the Northeaſt, and the Conſidence being troubled with bilge water, and ſtocked, we thought it good to ſeeke harbour for her redreſſe: then we bare roome the 18 day Southſoutheaſt, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we ſounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we ſounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, ſo ſhoalder and ſhoalder water, and yet could ſee no land, where we maruelled greatly: to auoid this danger, we bare roomer into the ſea all that night Northweſt and by Weſt.

The next day we ſounded, and had 20 fadoms, then ſhaped our courſe, and ranne Weſt Southweſt vntill the 23 day: then we deſcried Lowe land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs vnhabitable. Then we plyed Weſtward along by that land, which lyeth Weſt Southweſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt, and much winde blowing at the Weſt, we haled into the ſea North and by Eaſt 30 leagues. Then the winde comming about at the Northeaſt, we ſayled Weſt Northweſt: after that, the winde bearing to the Northweſt, we lay with our ſailes Weſt ſouthweſt, about 14 leagues, and then deſcryed land, and bare in with it, being the 28 day, finding ſhoale water, and bare in till we came to 3 fadome, then perceiuing it to be ſhoale water, and alſo ſeeing dry ſands, we haled out againe Northeaſt along that land vntill we came to the point thereof. That land turning to the Weſtward, we ranne along 16 leagues Northweſt: then comming into a fayre bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was vnhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bene there, by croſſes, and other ſignes: from thence we went all along the coaſt Weſtward.

The fourth day of September we loſt ſight of land, by reaſon of contrary windes, and the eight day we deſcried land againe. Within two dayes after we loſt the ſight of it: then running Weſt and by South about 30 leagues, we gat the ſight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee ſhoare, we gat vs into the ſea, to the end to haue ſea roome. September.

The 12 of September we haled to ſhoareward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the ſhoare, and the tide almoſt ſpent, we ranne to an anker in 30 fadoms water.

The 13 day we came along the coaſt, which lay Northweſt & by Weſt, & Southeaſt & by Eaſt.

The 14 day we came to an anker within two leagues of the the ſhoare, hauing 60 fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, and found two or three good harborroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ranne still along the coast vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roomer with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in bredth halfe a league, wherein were very may seale fishes, and other great fishes, and vpon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as ‖ guloines, and such other which were to vs vnknowne, and also woonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the yeere farre spent, and also very euill wether, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had beene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men Southsouthwest, to search if they could finde people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure dayes iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes iourney, who in like sort returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

In this hauen they died.

‖ Or, Ellons.

Here endeth Sir Hugh Willoughbie his note, which was written with his own hand.

These two notes following, were written vpon the outside of this Pamphlet, or Booke.

1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonauenture.

2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofoote.

The riuer or hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two shippes perished for colde, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, *concerning this Booke.*

AND whereas (saith he) I haue before made mention how Moscouie was in our time discouered, by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabota, who long before had this secret in his minde: I shall not need heere to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned young man Clement Adams, schoolemaister to the Queenes henchmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

Noua Anglorum, ad Moscouitas nauigatio Hugone Willowbeio *Equite classis præfecto, & Richardo Cancelero Nauarcho.*

Authore Clemente Adamo, Anglo.

Quas ob causas suscepta sit hęc nauigatio, & quibus authoribus & de nauigatione ad Moscouitarum fines.

POstquam merces nostras apud finitimas gentes fordere negotiatores nostri animaduerterunt, quæq; auorum nostrorum memoria certatim a peregrinis mercatoribus expeterentur, imminuto iam precio, etiam exportatæ fastidiosum reperirent emptorem, exoticarum verò mercium precia in immensum extenderentur, Londinenses quidam viri graues ac reipub. suæ imprimis amantes hanc cogitationem susceperunt, quò huic malo mederentur. Nec quærentibus (vt videbatur) remedium defuit, quo tantum incommodum declinarent. Nam cum Hispanorum ac Lusitanorum opes (inuentis nuper nouis terris) magnoperè auctas viderent, eandem viam sibi insistendam rati, nouam nauigationem instituunt. Cum eodem tempore Sebastianus Cabota vir celeberrimus in vrbe moraretur, cœpêre primo cum illo agere, ac seriò consultare, ac re demum inter plures iactata, tandem conuenit tres naues expedire, quibus aquilonaris mundi tractus diligenter perlustratus, nostris etiam pateret, atq; ad ignota regna viam patefaceret. Ad hanc rem tam arduam & difficilem, cum multa forent dispicienda, primum veluti in senatum quendam viros graues, ac prudentiæ spectatæ legunt, qui collatis consilijs sententias suas exponerent, & in omnem euentum salubriter prospicerent. Lectus hic senatulus censuit in rem fore quandam pecuniæ summam publicè cogi, qua tot naues instruerentur. Et ne quisquam priuatim graui pecunia premeretur, placuit vicenas quinas libras viritim colligi: (tantum enim impendebat qui in hoc quasi nouum collegium voluit ascisci.) Coacta itaq; ad sex millia librarum summa

Sebastianus Cabota.

Sex millia librarum coacta.

tres

tres naues mercantur, quarum maximam partem de integro ædificandam,ac reficiendam curant. Qua quidem in re, mercatorumne cura, an fabrorum diligentia, maiori me afficiat admiratione, penitus eſt incertum. Illi enim aſſamenta firmiſſima pulchreq; ſiccata ad nauium fabricam comparant:hi indefeſſo labore, ac arte ſumma,eadem inter ſe committunt,rimis ſtupa obſtructis,ac carinis picatis, vnius etiam imam partem inuento peracri,& ingenioſo muniuerunt. Acceperant enim in quibuſdam Oceani partibus teredines generari, quæ vel craſſiſſima etiamnum robora perforarent. Quo magis ab hoc periculo nauigantes forent ſecuri, partem nauis vndis depreſſam,tenuibus plumbi laminis obducunt.Poſt fabricatas naues,ac armamentis inſtructas, cepit illos non minor viatici ſollicitudo: quod pro temporis ratione, & nauigationis longinquitate fuerat proſpiciendum. Ad hæc, cum proſpicerent Orientalem orbis plagam eſſe petendam,nec illuc peruium mare,niſi Borealem mundi tractũ naucleri tenerent, vbi an pateret aditus iam tum in incerto erat:octodecim menſium commeatu naues inſtruunt, quod quidem hoc conſilio faciunt: cum noſtris per illam immenſi, & horrendi frigoris oram fuerat traijciendũ,prudenter in rem conſulentes,ſex menſium cibaria præbent, quo illuc nauigare,totidem menſium,quo ibi moram facere hiberno cœlo reditum neganter:rurſum tantundem quo remeare poſſint,aſſignant. Poſt repoſitam (vt diximus) penũ,poſt arma omnis generis in naues congeſta,Duces ac quaſi anteſignani tantæ rei deerant:cui etſi multi ſeſe offerrent viri rerum ancipitum ignari,tamen Hugo Willowbeius vir imprimis ſtrenuus, ac non obſcuro loco natus, hanc curam ſibi delegari impenſius poſtulat, cuius facile præ cæteris,cum ob corporis formam (erat enim proceræ ſtaturæ) tum ob ſingularem in re bellica induſtriam a mercatorum collegio habetur ratio. Conſtituitur ergo Nauarchus,aſſignaturq; illi nauis prætoria, ſic vt in cœteras quoq; imperium haberet. Cum de reliquarum præfectis conſultaretur, ac huic muneri multi offerentur, omnium conſenſu vicit Richardus Cancelerus, vir ob multa ingenij documenta ſpectabilis, in quo vno ſumma conficiendi negotij ſpes erat. Hunc aluerat Henricus Sydneius, adoleſcens nobilis, Regiq; Edouardo apprimè charus, qui mercatorum collegium adiens,pro ſingulari ſua facundia coràm in hanc ſententiam verba fecit.

Teredines quæ naues perforant.

Hugo Willowbeius Nauarchus.

Richardus Cancelerus.

Vehementer pium inſtitutum veſtrum amplector (viri honeſtiſſimi) qui pro egregia veſtra erga patriam pietate in rem, & Anglis (vt ſpero) vtilem, ac patriæ honorificam, animo & cogitatione incumbitis. Quem quidem conatum veſtrum, nos quoq; pro viribus adiuuare paramur: nec quicquam nobis tam charum ducimus, quod non libenter huius tam laudabilis propoſiti nomine expenderimus. Imprimíſque mihi gratulor, me illud ingenium fouiſſe, quod vobis tam præclara molientibus,aliquo modo vſui eſſe poſſit. Nihilominus tamen, vos huius rei neſcios eſſe nolim: me Cancelerum eo animo a me dimittere, non quod faſtidiam, vel quod mihi grauis alumnus eſſe videatur, ſed vt promptam in adiuuando veſtro conſilio voluntatem meam pariter intelligeretis, atq; Cancelero meo commendatione mea a vobis debita tribueretur authoritas. Vos illum fama, ego illum experientia, vos verbis, ego rebus, vos ſermone & congreſſu, ego quotidiano conuictu hominis ingenium penitus habeo perſpectum, & exploratum: Nec latere vos debet, (honeſtiſſimi patres) quanta diſcrimina, & veſtro, & patriæ nomine,aditurus eſt. Cuius (ſi propicia numina proficiſcentem ſeruent) nos non immemores eſſe decebit. Nos pecuniolam fortunæ aleæ credimus, ille dulciſſimam vitam ſæuiſſimo mari, & incertis periculorum caſibus exponet. Nos cum notis, amicis, ac cognatis ſuauem, ac placidam vitam tranſigemus, ille dum ignotos, & indomitos nautas in officio continere ſtudebit, quantis laboribus frangetur? quot curis, vigiliiſq; angetur? quas moleſtias deuorare cogetur? Nos patrias ſedes tenebimus, ille extera & ignota regna petet: Ille Barbaris & feris gentibus ſalutem committet, ille etiam monſtrificis ponti belluis caput obiectabit. Quapropter pro periculorum magnitudine, pro officij ſui dignitate, veſtro fauore abeuntem proſequi, & (ſi ſors ferat) vt conſpiciamus reducem, liberaliter quoq; munerari conueniet.

Oratio D. Henrici Sydneij.

Poſtquam hæc, aut non longe alia,multo diſertiſſimè egregius adoleſcens peroraſſet, alius illum contemplari,alius a proximo ſciſcitari,alius (cui nota viri virtus) tacite gaudere,ac arcanam ſpem concipere,illum olim in magnum virũ euaſurum, atq; putare inchoatas has adoleſcentis virtutes magnoperè olim patriam ornaturas.Conticeſcentibus omnibus,grauiſſimis patrum viſum eſt,de orientali orbis tractu quoad eius fieri poteſt ſciſcitari, inueſtigare,ac diligenter perquirere: accerſebantur hoc nomine Tartari duo, qui regi erant ab Equili: aderat interpres, illi per interpretem ſuper patria, ſuper gente, ſuper patrio more interrogati, nihil penitus reſponderunt. Quippe qui(vt falſè quidam palam dixit)poculis exhauriendis potius,quã populorũ moribus diſcendis magis erant aſſueti. Poſt multa vltrò citroq; iactata,tandẽ cenſent, ſoluendi tempus conſtitui,q; multum anni iam conſumptũ viſum eſt pleriſq;, & ſi prolixiorem

moram interponerent, fore vt glacies viam obstrueret. Placuit itaq, omnibus, vt ad vigessimum diem Maij præfecti, nautæq; naues conscenderent: ac ex portu Radlifensi, secundo æstu soluerent. Illi salutatis necessarijs, alius coniuge & natis, alius cognatis & affinibus, alius amico cognatis chariore, ad dictum diem adsunt: solutis iam nauibus, ac reciprocante æstu, leni cursu Grenouicum feruntur, remigibus interim grandiores naues celocibus, seu speculatorijs nauiculis remultantibus. Hi nouo vestitu coloris Veneti eleganter ornati, incumbunt remis atq; æquora verrunt. Cùm nunc proximè Grenouicensem Regiam essent, sub aduenientium famam, effundunt sese aulici, concurrit vulgus, stabat frequens in ripa, prospectat ex fenestris Senatus Regius; alij turrium fastigia ascendunt, vibrantur bombardarum fulmina, Tartariæ voluuntur nubes, Martem sonant crepitacula, reboant summa montium iuga, reboant valles, reboant vndæ, claráque Nautarum percellit sydera clamor, stat alius in puppi, ac gestu quo potest amicis valedicit, alij in foris obambulant, hic cancellatis funibus pendet, ille antennis libratur, alius è summo malo prospectat, in summa, cuiusdam triumphalis pompæ festa facies fuit. At (heu dolor) optimus Rex Eduardus, cuius præcipuè nomine hic tantus apparatus, per valetudinem solus aberat: quorum discessum tristissima illius mors (ac nunquam siccis oculis mihi memoranda) post paucos dies subsecuta est. Volouicum tandem delati figunt naues: inde soluturi, cum aut æstus reciprocatio, aut secundior flatus ad nauigandum inuitaret: nec mora Harouicensem portum petunt, in quo non sine maximo tædio ac summo temporis detrimento diu morantur. Ad postremum tamen nacti idoneam ad nauigandum tempestatem, passis velis in altum feruntur, salutato priùs natali solo, quod an vnquam postea forent reuisuri, penitus ignorabant. Respiciunt subinde tristes, nec lachrymis temperant nonnulli, cogitantes in quàm dubios casus erant ituri, & quàm ancipitem euentum maris erant experituri: Torquebat præter cæteros Richardum Cancelerum præfectum Edouardi Boniuenturi penuriæ metus, nam & pars viatici in portu Harouicensi putrida comperta est, viniq; cadi infirmi ac fragiles. Mouit etiam illum paternus amor: reliquit enim abiens duos filios paruulos orphanos futuros, si asperior aliquis casus ipsum sustulisset: mouit illum miserorum & infœlicium comitũ fortuna, quorum salutem cum sua coniunctam esse sciebat: dum multiplici curarum ambage Canceleri animus excruciatur, tandem post multorum dierum velificationem, tellus procul visa, ad quam Naucleri naues dirigunt: Insulam esse comperiunt Rossam: in hac consumptis aliquot diebus, vlterius nauigant septentrionem petentes, rursum aliæ apparent insulæ: nomen his Crux insularum: post has cum aliquandiu naues vna velificassent, præfectus nauium Willoubeius, vir in consilijs minimè præceps, erecto vexillo, reliquarum nauium primates euocat, vt his consiliorum adiutoribus, & solicitudinum socijs vsus, de reliqua administratione facilius statueret. Illi ex composito adsunt, ac inter cætera conuenit, si qua grauior tempestas ingrueret, ac classiculam disijceret, omnes Vardhousiũ Norduuegiæ portum non incelebrem cursu peterent, quiq; primi incolumes illuc appulissent, dum reliquę naues eò conuenirent, in anchoris expectarent. Eodem die iam in pomeridianum tempus inclinato, circiter quartam, tanta tempestas subitò coorta est, & immensi fluctus tanta vi se incitauerunt, vt naues institutum cursum tenere non possent, sed aliæ aliò, magno sui cum periculo vagè disijcerentur. Inclamat Nauarchus voce qua potest maxima Cancelerum, enixè rogat ne longiùs abscedat: at ille, nec velle, nec si maximè vellet, posse, modò ille Nauarchidis suæ cursum, erat enim velocior suo, temperaret. Verùm nescio quo casu Willobæi nauis dum plenis velis fertur, tanta vi abrepta est, vt aliquot horarum spacio è conspectu penitus euolauerit. Tertia etiam pari euentu ablata comites amisit. Prętoriæ certè celox in puppim illisa, conspicientibus ex ipsa Edouardo nautis, fluctibus est obruta. Reliqui, fati comitũ suorum, qui incolumes nuper redierunt, penitus sunt ignari. Quod si acerbior casus infœlices premit, si pelagi sæuitia innoxios absorbuit, aut si in aliena terra indigi oberrent, digni certè meliore sorte viri, quibusq; si viuant, in patriam reditum; sin crudelior mortis fortuna insontes rapuit, mollem tumulum precemur. Richardus Cancelerus solus cum comitibus relictus, ac incerto reliquorũ casu mæstus, ad destinatum portũ contendit, sociorum aduentum (si salui essent) ibi expecturus. Hic septem dierum mora interposita, cùm se frustra expectatione torqueri videret, nauigationem subire in animo habebat. Cum itaq; omnino certum illi esset, nauem ex portu educere, fortè cum Scotis quibusdam in congressum colloquiumq; venit. Qui cum illius animum exploratum haberent, & eius rationibus optimè consultum cupientes, vehementer illum ab instituto consilio deterrere conantur, ac pericula in maius extollẽtes, eius constantiam labefactare nituntur. At Cancelerus mobilitate ac leuitate ingenij nihil turpius existimans, & persuasissimum habens fortem virũ maius in se dedecus admittere non posse, quàm si metu fractus & debilitatus, periculorũ casus refugeret, Scotorum oratione nihil deterritus, in proposito susceptoq;

ceptoq; conſilio permanſit,ſtatuens aut efficere quod propoſuerat,aut certę morti occumbere. Qui in eadem naue cum Cancelero erant, etſi comitum diſceſſu quos auulſerat tempeſtatis ſæuitia plurimum angerentur,& ancipiti curſus ductu commouerentur,tanta tamen & tam ſecunda voluntate in Cancellerum reperiebantur , vt eius ductu & auſpicijs omnes caſus tentare,ac certum capitis periculum adire non reformidarent. Hoc tam conſtans ſodalium ſtudium ſollicitudinem Ducis non mediocriter auxit. Ille enim pari animo erga illos affectus,metuebat ne quo ſuo errore ſociorum ſaluti malè conſultum videri poſſit. Breuiter poſteaquam ſpem ſuam de reliquarum nauium reditu extenuari & euaneſcere vidit, rurſus fortunam maris experitur,mundíq; inane,ac naturæ damnata petit,eoúſque prouectus,dum omnis nox ablata, ſoliſque continuus fulgor vaſtum mare illuſtraret. Itaque continua luce per aliquot dies vſus, tandem Diuino numine fortunante,in ingentem quendam ſinum deueniunt, qui circiter centum millia paſſuũ latitudine collegit. In hunc penitus ingreſſi,naue ad anchoras deligata, dum circum circa proſpiciant,fortè haud procul cernunt ſchapham piſcatoriam, quam Cancelerus cum paucis ingreſſus adire voluit,ſciſcitaturus ex piſcatoribus,quæ terra,qui populus,qui mores. At illi inuſitata nauis magnitudine perculſi (neque enim tam vaſtę naues in illis regionibus viſuntur) præcipites ſeſe fugæ mandabant: Cæterum Cancelerus fugientes aſſequitur: Illi pauidi ac metu ſemianimes,ad genua ducis aduoluti pedibus oſcula offerunt. At Dux pro ſua ſingulari humanitate placidis oculis intuetur,geſtu ac nutu conſolatur,ſupplicum officia recuſat, proſtratóſq; amplexus in pedes adleuat: Mirum quantum fauoris hæc humanitas illi poſtea conciliarit. Hij enim dimiſſi rumorem diſſipant de noua gente,de humanitate ſingulari. Hæc fama vbi percrebuit,accurrere vulgus,vltrò viaticum offerre, nec commercium recuſare, niſi quod magna religione obſtringerentur, ne principe inconſulto peregrinas merces emerent. Mox docentur noſtri terram eſſe Ruſſiam,atque Moſcouiam, & in illis locis Euan Vaſiliuich (hoc enim erat principi nomen) plurimas nationes imperio ac ditione ſua regere ac gubernare. Viciſſim rogat Barbarus noſtrates, vnde genus ducunt, aut quid petunt in terra aliena. Ad hoc noſtri, ſeſe Angligenas, ab illuſtriſſimo Rege Edouardo ſexto in illũ orbem miſſos,habere ſe ad illorum Principem regis ſui mandata,nec quicquam vltra quærere, quàm principis ſui amicitiam ac popularibus ſuis commercia, qua quidem ex re maximas vtilitates in vtriuſque regni populos collatas iri ſperabant. Non inuitis auribus audiunt hæc Barbari, ac vltrò operam ſuam pollicentur,vt tam æqua & honeſta poſtulatio ad principis ſui aures primo quoque tempore perferretur. Tum Cancelerus à Toparchis, qui cum reliquis confluxerant,commeatum petit ac obſides poſcit in nauem,in tutelam ſuæ ſuorúmq; ſalutis. Cui Toparchæ, ſui arbitrij non eſſe,quid ſtatuat princeps,quod in ſua manu ſit,id velle præſtare, quódque ſolum poſſunt, commeatum pollicentur. Dum hæc aguntur,veredarium clàm dimittunt qui Imperatori renũtiet,de ignotæ gentis appulſu,ſimul vt illius animum explorarent,quid ille ſtatuat. Allatũ nuntium pergratum fuit principi,adeò quidem,vt vltro etiam ad Regiam inuitaret, aut ſi terreſtris itineris longinquitas moleſta ipſis videretur,commerciorum copiam ſuis facit: promittit inſuper,ſi libet ad ſe venire,veredariorum equorum impenſam. Interea Toparchæ diem ex die ducere,varias excuſationes prætexere, nunc reliquorum Topærcharum conſenſum, nunc ardua Reip.negotia ceſſationi ſuæ obtendere,tantiſper tempus proferre cupientes, dum reuerſus nũtius ſe de principis voluntate certiores faceret. Verum Cancelerus poſtquam ſe longa & inani expectatione ſuſpenſum teneri, & tempus data opera extrahi videret, ſeriò inſtat, vt promiſſi fidẽ liberent : quod ſi facere neglexerint,ſe vlteriùs nauigaturũ affirmat. At Moſcouitæ, tametſi adhuc Regiæ voluntatis incerti eſſent,& noſtrorum diſceſſum metuerent,(habebant enim merces,quas illi magnoperè expetebant) comeatu inſtruunt. Atq; ita iter longiſſimũ ac multò moleſtiſſimum ingreſſus eſt. Quod quidem trahis, quarum plurimus illi genti vſus, confecit: trahis geſtantur,trahis onera vehuntur,deniq; vix alia nouerunt vehicula. Huius rei cauſa eſt rigidiſſimum ſolum horrendo gelu Hybernis menſibus concretum,de quo paulò poſt differemus. Maiori itineris parte iam peracta,ſuperuenit veredarius quem ſupra oſtendimus,clam ab Irenarchis dimiſſum qui(quo caſu incertum)à via aberrauerat,ac littora Maris Tartaris vicina petiuerat,ratus ſeſe noſtrorum nauem ibi inuenturum. Hic poſt longum errorem tandem ad noſtros redijt,ac Ducem in via aſſecutus, literas Imperatorias,illas quidem humanitatis pleniſſimas Cancelero attulit. Quibus imperabatur, vt veredi illi comitibúſque ſuis ſine prætio ſuppeditarentur: Quod quidem tanta alacritate ab omnibus in reliquo itinere factitatum eſt, vt in magnam contentionem venerint, & poſt rixam pugnis etiam diſceptarent, vtri veredos ſuos trahæ iungerent. Tandem poſt magnas longiſſimi itineris moleſtias (confecerat enim quindecies centena millia paſſuum) Moſcuam Regiam vrbem delatus eſt: de qua, ac Moſcouitarum Cæſare,déque illuſtribus Moſcouiæ vrbibus,paulò poſt plura ſumus ſcripturi.

Traharum vſus.

Litteræ humaniſſimæ Imperatoris ad Cancelerum.

De

De Moscouia, quæ & Russia dicitur.

MOscouia quæ & Russia alba nominatur, terra est amplissima, hinc inde varijs gentibus contermina, à meridie atque Oriente Tartaris cingitur: Septentrionale latus Oceanus Scythicus ambit. Ad Occidentem tenent Lapones, gens sylvestris, nec vlli populo commercio linguæ nota: post hos Austrum versus incolunt Sueci, dein Finlandia, ab hac Liuonij, iuxta hos Lituani. Pluribus ac maximis fluminibus irrigua est, multísque locis paluſtris. Nobilissima fluminum Rha, quod illi materna idiomate Volgam, Tanais quem Don, Boristhenes quem hodie Neper nominant: horum Rha, atque Boristhenes, eodem lacu orti, immensa terræ spacia peragrant. Rha amœnos amnes in se recipiens, ac ex ipso statim fonte Orientem petens, post varios flexus ac cursus ambages aduenas aquas, suásq; in Caspiũ mare pluribus ostijs exonerat.

Tanais fonte haud spectabili ab ipsa scatebra grandescens, tandẽ in amplum lacũ se diffundit: post euagantes aquas in arctum cogens angustus labitur, ac post aliquot passuum millia, iterum in lacum diffusus (quem Iuan appellant) flexuoso meatu vadit, donec in vicina Volgæ peruenit. Deinde quasi comitem auersatus, transuerso cursu flectens in meridiem contendit, ac Mæoticam paludem petit.

Boristhenes quem ex eodem fonte cum Rha ortum diximus, cognatas aquas in austrum defert, subinde auxiliares amnes recipiens: hic maximas gentes præterluens, tandem in pontum Euxinum sese condit.

Habet & Moscouia lacus, & stagna: lacus etiam deciduo syderum semine, pisces generant: Inter hos principatum tenet Bellij ozera, vel ob hoc præcipuè memorabilis, quod arx munitissima in eo sit extructa, quo Moscouitarum princeps gazam suam confert, si quando bellorum terror premit.

Quod ad Ryphæa iuga spectat perpetuis niuibus candẽtia, vnde veteres Tanaim ortum habere somniarunt, reliquáq; naturæ portenta, quæ Græcia olim finxit, nec nostri qui nuper redierunt, videre, nec Trimestri spatio illic versati, ac Moscouitarũ alloquio vtcunq; imbuti, auditu cognouerunt. Terram esse planam, ac campestrem illi, ac raro in montes assurgere: & qua vergit in Septentrionem latissimos saltus habere. Plurima ibi abies, vnde ad struendas ædes materia. Hi saltus feras alunt, vros, vrsos, lupos nigros, aliámq; feram nostro orbi non visam, quam illi Rossomakkam nominant: rarum feræ ingenium, & spectabile: satura enim & distenta, duorum stipitum angustias quærit, per quas se transmittens, ventris onus (quod alias non egeritur) excolat: vros equites vt plurimum venantur, vrsos pedites lignijs furcis. Septentrionalis tractus tam horrendi frigoris esse dicitur, vt ex humidis lignis in foco structis distillans liquor in stiriam concrescat: tanta diuersitas tantillo spacio, vt hinc prunam, illinc glaciem in eadem face cernas. Postquam hyemare apud illos incipit, assidua gelu incrementa capit, nec se priùs remittit, quàm solis radij nostrum orbem reuisentes canescentem terram fulgore exhilarat, tristéq; gelu tepore soluit. Nautæ certè nostri, qui in naue remanserant ex inferiori stego in foros scandentes, tam subita Lipothymia nõnunquam sunt correpti, vt intermortui subinde ruerent: tanta erat illic rigentis cœli inclementia: Australiora illius aliquantò mitiora sunt.

Frigoris asperitas.

De Moscua Regia vrbe, & de Moscouitarum Rege.

RElíquum est vt promissa opusculi pars à nobis dicatur, déq; Moscua regia vrbe, & de Moscouitarum principe latiùs paulò differamus, cuius imperium amplissimum est, opésq; hoc tempore insignes: Et quoniã ipsa vrbs facilè inter cæteras principatum tenet, meritò sibi primum locum vendicet. Vrbis amplitudo, vt nostri affirmant, Londinum cum suburbio magnitudine æquat. Aedificia habet multa, sed cultu nequaquam nostris conferẽda. Vici plures sunt, sed incomposíti, viæ lapide non sternuntur vt nostræ: ædium parietes lignij sunt, tecta scandulis vt plurimum muniuntur: iũcta oppido arx est & elegans, & munita. Huic à Septentrione annectitur vrbs lateritio muro. Ipsius etiam arcis mœnia, lateribus struuntur, quorum crassities pedes octodecim colligit: ab altera parte sicca fossa munitur castellum, ab altera flumine Vologda alluitur, quod in Orientem tendens sociales aquas Occæ adiungit. Sunt in castro nouẽ ædes sacræ non inuenustæ quas tenent cœnobitæ: habent etiam papam suum, ac quosdam alios præsules, qui omnes vt plurimum in arce degunt: Ipsius certè Principis Regia minus culta, quadratæ formæ, & structuræ humilis, nostrorum palatiorum nitore longè superatur: fenestrarum angustię nunc vitrijs nunc specularibus lumen admittũt. Attalica magnifica nostratiũ principum aulis ornamenta, illis deerant. Vndiq; parietibus adhęrent scamna, neq; id solum in Imperatoris Regia, verum etiã vbíq; in priuatorum ędibus. Exactis iam duodecim ab ingressu in vrbem diebus, adest nuntius ad Regias ædes nostros inuitans. Angli moram pertæsi cupidè paruêre. Itaque in aulam ingressi, honorandum centum Aulicorum cœtũ aureo cultu ad talos

vsque

vſque demiſſo ornatum,conſidere conſpiciunt: Exinde in ſalutatorium admiſſi, mirum quantum fulgor Imperatorius noſtrorum oculos perſtrinxerit. Ruſſorum enim Imperator Regali in ſolio ſublimis,ac aureo diademate inſigniter conſpicuus, regióq; paludamento aurificũ opere ſpectabili ornatus ſedit: aureum bacillum gemmis diſtinctum dextra tenet, ac præter cætera Regalis opulentiæ decora,inerat etiam in vultu maieſtas tanto faſtigio digna: ſtant iuxta hinc & hinc Archigrammateus ac ſilentiarius,& ipſi Regali auro veſtiti. Deinde centum quinquaginta patrum conceſſus, aureo veſtitu magnificus cubiculi ſubſellia vndiq; prætexuit. Poterat tantæ maieſtatis fulgor, poterat tam auguſtus venerãdorum patrum conſpectus inſueto mentem excutere: At Cancelerus conſtanti vultu,Regia maieſtate more ſalutata, Regis Edouardi literas tradit: lectis literis pauca de Regis noſtri incolumitate interrogat: quibus Angli paucis reſpondent:mox à noſtris per Archigrammatea dono Imperatori oblato(quod ipſe nudato capite obtulit,nam antea erat opertus) Moſcouitarum Princeps Anglos in prandij tempus, ad quod ipſos inuitauit,dimittit: poſtquam horas duas in illius cubiculo qui principi eſt à ſupplicibus morati ſunt,accerſit nũtius ad epulas: in aureum palatiũ(vt ipſi nominabant,licet parum excultum) introducti Ruſſorum Cæſarem alto toro aſſidentem argenteo amictu decoratũ, atque altero iam diademate inſignitum offendunt. Noſtri ex aduerſo collocati menſæ accumbunt, ſtat ingens medio in palatio abacus,ab imo quadratus paulum aſſurgit.Huic orbis incũbit,vnde in metam faſtigiatur,latiori ſemper orbe contractiorem ſuſtinente: hunc gaza Regia adornabat, tanta copia vt pondere etiam grauaret. Melior certè pars vaſorum, ac potoriorum omnium ex auro lectiſſimo fabricata.Quatuor ollæ magnitudine conſpicuæ,reliquam aureorum vaſculorum magnificentiam præcipuè illuſtrarunt.Tantæ enim proceritatis extiterunt,vt quinos propè pedes altitudine colligerent: fuerunt etiam argentea quædam Dolia, à noſtris minoribus capacitate non longè differentia,quibus principis potum priuatim ſeruant. Quatuor menſæ ad ſingula Triclinij latera ſingulæ diſpoſitæ ac mundiſſimis mappis ſtratæ,quibus ab humiliori ſolo ternis gradibus erat aſcenſus,celeberrimo conuiuarum cætu inſtruuntur.Hij foris linteati,intúſq; precioſiſſimis pellibus veſtiti,regalem cœnam ornarunt. Cum princeps cultrum vel panem attrectat ſigno crucis frontem prius munit. Qui in amicitia principis palmam tenent,cõſiliorúmq; participes fiunt,eidẽ thoro adhibiti,remotiore loco ab ipſo ſedent. Porrò hic dum expectantur epulæ,veteri ac quaſi auito Moſcouitarum principum more,ipſe Imperator ſingulos conuiuas pane primum donat, cum donorum ſuorum titulo, ac elata voce in hũc modum.Magnus Moſcouitarum Dux,ac ſummus Ruſſiæ Imperator Ioannes Vaſiliuich(deinde qui perfert accipientẽ nominat)te pane donat.Sub hoc aſſurgunt conuiuæ vniuerſi, ac mox reſidunt.Peracto principis munere, celebri dapiferorum pompa incedit Atrienſis, ac ſalutato principe Cygnellum aurea in lance menſæ admouet: mox tollit,ac ſtructori, cum ſeptem comitibus in fruſta diſcerpendũ tradit. Hęc in menſam paulò poſt illata,pari ceremoniæ celebritate conuiuis diſtribuuntur.Dum hæc aguntur & ipſe Atrienſis pane donatus delibat,ac honorata principis celſitudine mox recedit. De reliquorũ ordine miſſuum, cum omninò incompoſitè ſint illati, nihil certi referre poſſunt noſtri.Illud certè conſtat,vniuerſum eſculentorum,ac potoriorum omnium apparatum, quibus centum conuiuis miniſtratum eſt, lectiſſimi auri fuiſſe,menſãſq; ipſas vaſis adeò fuiſſe onuſtas,vt nonnullis etiam in menſa deeſſet locus: Neq; verò ſilentio inuoluendum eſt miniſtros centum quadraginta,aurea veſte ornatos ter ipſo conuiuij tempore cultum mutauiſſe: Miniſtri quoq; panc ac potu donantur ſimili(quo reliqui) modo.Ad poſtremum finito prandio,ac illatis lucernis (erat enim iam mox) conuiuas ac familiares omnes nomine appellat, vt non immeritò mirum videatur tot ac tam varia cognomina principi alioqui occupatiſſimo, memoria non excidere: Donatiui, ac citandorum nominum ratio eſt, vt Moſcouitæ referunt, tum vt familiam probè noſcat, tum vt qui principis amicitia exciderunt hoc modo notentur. Nota.

De re Militari Moſcouitarum.

QVoties finitimorum iniurię principem in bellũ euocant, haud vnquam infra trecenta virorum millia in hoſtem armat. Ex quorum numero, centum circiter millia in aciem ſecũ educens,reliqua in tutelam Imperij in præſidijs aptis in locis diſponit.Colonum nullũ, nullum Mercatorem in militiam legit, tanta enim eſt populi multitudo, vt his domi relictis, iuuentus bellis gerendis abundè ſuppeditetur.Quoſcunq; in expeditionem ducit,proprio ſumptu ſeipſos alunt: pedeſtrem pugnam non nouerunt,equites in aciem procedũt.Arma ſunt his lorica, & galea,lorica foris auro tegitur,vel holoſerico etiam gregario militi.Impenſè iuuat opulentiam oſtentare.Arcu ac ſagittis vtuntur more Turcarum.Lanceas etiam in aciem gerunt: ſtapeda adductiore equitant,idq; vt Turcæ: Genus eſt hominũ,algoris vltra omnem fidem patiens,

ac victus parcissimum.Nam cum tellus alta niue candet,cum terra horrẽdo gelu astricta riget, tamen hic Sarmata, sago stipitibus, vndè ventus ac niues sæuiunt,expasso, exiguum ignem sibi struit, atq; auersus à vento iacet: sagum illi pro tecto est: sagum pro muro: in summa sagũ instar omnium est. Hic incola niuium aqua,è gelido amne petita,ac similagine auenæ admixta,conuiuium suum instruit: ac his dapibus satus,ac lautè pastus,ad ignem decumbit,lateráque huiusmodi lautitiarum crapula defessa,rigenti solo perunt. Huic rigens solum pro pluma, trũcus seu cilex pro ceruicali. Equus etiam non lautiori pabulo nutritus quàm herus,hero est contubernalis. Quàm merito hic ignobilis & obscurus Sarmata, effeminatã ducibus nostris molliciem exprobret,qui cœlo longè clementiore,pellitis ocreis renonibúsq; vtuntur. Hic est gregariorum militum apparatus.At qui illustriori dignitatis sunt loco, instructiores paulò in militiam proficiscuntur. Ipsius quidem Imperatoris apparatus vel tum maximè est insignis: Tentorij enim vela,vt plurimum aurea sunt,spectabili etiamnum plumariorum opere margaritísq; ornata. Quoties cum hoste conferendum est,incomposiri in hostile agmen procurrunt: neque aciem dirigunt (vt mos est nostris) sed in insidijs collocati aduersarios adoriuntur. Ipsorũ equi bidui inediam facilè ferunt. In bello vt plurimum arborum cortices,ac virgultorum mollia his sunt pro pabulo: bimestri spatio hanc tantam penuriam,etiam vegeti,ac fortes & equus & eques non rarò perferũt.Si cuius opera in bello strenua princeps vsus est,hũc prędio aut fundo aliquo donat,in alimentum sui suorúmq;,qui tamẽ ad ipsum Imperatorẽ post eius mortem redit,si nulla proles virilis sexus ipsi contingat: nam si numerosam etiam fœminarum sobolem genuerit,tamen hunc hereditariũ agrum vendicat princeps,nisi quod exiguam fortè partem ad dotandas puellas princeps concedat.Porrò qui Imperatoris munificentia illo modo muneran-tur,graui pecunia astringũtur tot milites in bello alere,cum necessitas postulat, quot illius fundi reditus Imperatoris censura abundè nutrire possit.Haud meliori sunt sorte,quibus hæreditario iure agri contingunt.Nam si moriuntur,nec sobolem masculam reliquerint,decedẽtis prædia fisco Imperatorio statim cedunt.Super hęc,si opimus aliquis,bello inutilis ab Aulicis principi deferatur,quod rei militari in idoneus amplas facultates habeat,quibus multi clari sanguinis viri bello apti nutriantur,mox arcessitur infœlix,opibúsq; quas tantis cum sudoribus, quas tot laboribus per omnem vitam comparauit, tantillo temporis momento exuitur, nisi quod particulam aliquam à principe recipit,ad se,cõiugem,liberos,ac domesticos alendos. Hęc autem à populo Imperatori suo tam alacriter fiunt,vt credas illos aliena restituisse, non sua alieno dedisse.His bonis pro meritis singulorum aulicos suos donat princeps.In Bellis etiam,quo quis sæpius in expeditionẽ mittitur,eo propensiorẽ in se principis fauorem auguratur,etiã cum suis impensis seipsum alat:sicuti antea à nobis dictũ est:tantum est apud omnes ducis sui obsequiũ.

Ingens Regum obseruantia.

De Legatis Ducis Moscouitarum.

NOn minori magnificentia quàm qua diximus, Legatos suos in obeundis negotijs ad exteros reges mittit Moscouita: nam nostris Moscuę agentibus, legatos duos ad Poloniæ Regem iter suscipientes vel ingressos, quingenti Equites ornatissimi comitabantur, quorum melior pars veste aurea,ac serico induebatur, & qui incultissimè cymatili, vt interim equorum strata,auro argentóq; inducta,& spectabili Phrygionum opere ornata silentio transeam:habebant insuper centum sonipedes albos pulcherrimósq;,in quos (si alicuius tædiũ ipsos in itinere cepisset) cum vellent transcenderent. Sed nunc tempus exigit vt ad quasdam alias Moscouitarum vrbes orationem conuertamus,& merces quibus abundant breuiter perstringamus.

Nouogardia.

SEquitur Moscuam celeberrima vrbium Nouogardia, quæ vt illi dignitate est inferior, ita magnitudine non parum superat.Emporium est totius Imperij longè nobilissimum:& licet regiam sedem sibi princeps Moscuæ constituit,fluminis tamen opportunus interlapsus,ac post in mare Sarmaticum exoneratus, facit Mercatorum conuentu, ipsa Regia vrbe celebratiorem. Huic vrbi ob summam optimi lini ac canabis abundantiã, inter reliquas regni vrbes facilè datur palma: vendit etiam coria,mel,& ceram.Instituerunt ibi Collegium mercatorum Flandri, qui pari perfidia vsi apud illos, qua nuper apud nos,priuilegia amiserant, quæ sibi restitui, nostris ibi morantibus enixè à duce postularunt.Hi,audito nostrorum accessu, literas expediũt ad principem,nostros falsis criminibus onerant, & in suspicionem piraticæ vocant, itaq; hortantur vt detineat,ac in vincula conijciat: Hæc cum nostris nuntiata sunt,in summam desperationem adducuntur domum reditionis: Princeps tamen multò illustrissimus, regijs scriptis confirmatus,fidem nequaquam mendacibus literis adhibuit.

Flandrorum Mercatorum mendaces literę ad Regem aduersus nostros.

Yeraslauia.

Yeraſlauia.

CElebratur quoque Yeraſlauia propter coria, ſeuum ac fruges quibus plurimum abundat. Cerarum etiam orbes ibi ſunt venales, licet alijs in locis maior ſit copia: ſita hæc eſt ab vrbe Regia ad lapidem ducentiſſimum: totum interuallum plurimos habet vicos populoſiſſimos: abundant agri frugibus, quas Moſcuam tanta copia conuehunt, vt aliquando antemeridiano videas ſeptingentenas vel octingentenas trahas vltrò citróq; commeantes, fruges, vel ſalſamenta vehentes. Veniunt à milleſimo lapide Moſcuam, mercatum fruges, trahíſque vehunt. Hij ſunt Aquilonis incolæ, nam tanta eſt ibi frigoris immanitas, vt ſegetes non creſcant, aut ſi creſcunt non matureſcunt. Hij ſalſamenta, pelles, & coria, merces afferunt.

Vologda.

VOlogda quingentis quinquaginta millibus paſſuũ interiectis, ab vrbe Metropolitana diſtans, mercimonia habet, ſeuum ac linum, tametſi lini maior vis Nouogardiæ væneat.

Pleſcouia.

PRopter Mellis ceræq; præcipuam vim à mercatoribus frequentatur Pleſcouia.

Colmogora.

MIttit Aquilonaris Ruſſiæ tractus raras ac precioſas pelles: in his ſunt vel præcipui Zabellinæ, Dominarum noſtrarũ ceruicibus imprimis expetitæ: habent etiam pelles martias, vulpinas, candidas, nigras, & rufas, leporinas, & armelinas, aliáſq; Barbaris nominibus dictas, beueres, mingas, miniueras: gignit vicinum mare belluam à Barbaris Mors nominatam: hęc dentium adminiculo rupes ſcandens pabulum petit. Hanc cupiunt Ruſſi ob dentium inſignem vſum, qui non minor his eſt, quam elephantorum noſtratibus. Hæc mercimonia ceruorum dorſis ad oppidum Lampas feruntur. Deinceps mercatores vrbem Colmogoram petunt, atq; ibi Hyberno tempore, celeberrimæ ſunt illarum mercium nundinæ: ſuppeditat hæc vrbs vndiquáque vicinæ regioni affatim ſalem ac ſalſamenta: mittunt & Aquilonares Ruſſi oleum à Barbaris, Trein nominatum, quod in quodam flumine Vna dicto faciunt, licet non ſolum ibi habeatur: coquunt etiam marinam aquam vnde ipſis conſtat vis magna ſalis.

Vna flumen, vel Dwina.

De diſſidentium lite, & quibus arbitris finiantur certamina.

NVnc quoniam de inſignioribus vrbibus ea diximus, quæ locus poſtulauit, ſupereſt vt de iuris forma qua vtuntur Moſcouitæ, quatenus ad notitiam noſtram peruenit, perſcribamus. Si qua lis apud eos oritur, fundorum Dominos, iudices primum conſtituunt: hij ſi componere litem non poſſunt, ſuperiori magiſtratui certamen deferunt. Accuſator à magiſtratu petit, vt liceat ſibi aduerſarium in ius vocare. Mox facta poteſtate ſatellitem vocat ac reum ſiſtit, ac in ius rapit: huius tibias flagris cædit Lictor, donec proferat, qui legi ſatiſdet: at reus ſi eius fidei non ſit, vt vadem inueniat, manibus collo conſtrictis à lictore trahitur, verberibúſq; coúſque afficitur, donec ad dicendam cauſam coram Iudice ſiſtatur. Reus itaque à magiſtratu interrogatus (verbi gratia in quæſtione alieni æris) an in illius ære alieno ſit à quo accuſatur, ille it inficias: Ad hæc Iudex, quî potes inficiari? tum reus, iureiurando. Mox à magiſtratu prohibetur lictor ampliùs verberare, donec certiori fide de lite conſtet: leguleios non alunt: Quiſq; ſibi Aduocatus eſt, atq; accuſantis querela, reíq; defenſio ſupplicum literarum forma principi tradũtur, iuſtã principis ſententiã petentiũ. Ipſe Imperator omnẽ litem maiorum præſertim controuerſiarũ cognoſcit, ac cognita lite ſententiam fert. Ille ſumma æquitate certamina dirimit, quod in ſummæ maieſtatis principe præcipua laude dignũ reor. Id licet ſancto animi propoſito faciat, mirè tamen mali magiſtratus idem peruertunt, quos quidẽ in crimine deprehenſos, ſæueriſſimè princeps vindicat. Ad poſtremum cum vtráq; pars, quibus potuit argumentis, cauſam ſuam confirmauit, rogat Iudex accuſatorem, an vlla cauſæ ſuæ argumenta adhuc ſuperſint? reſpondet ſe vel pugilem ſuum manu ſtrenua etiam in hoſte comprobaturum, ac poſtulat vt ſingulari certamine congredi liceat, copiáque certandi vtríque facta, ambo in mono-

Leguleí non alunt in Moſcouia

monomachiam ruunt: aut si alteruter vel vterque parum strenuus, aut pugnæ minùs habilis sit, pugiles publicos substituunt: habent enim pugiles, quibus solo hoc quæstu victus constat. Hij armati in arenam descendunt: tela sunt vt plurimum claua bellica, & venabulum: fit pugna pedestris. Cuius igitur pugil in certamine superatur, is absque mora in vincula conijcitur, vbi miseris modis tractatur, donec cum aduersario certamen finiat. Præter hæc, si vterq; ortus sit claris parentibus, atque alter alterum priuatum hostem deposcit, annuit Iudex, nec tum vicarijs pugilibus fas est vti. Porro qui splendidiori loco natus est, hostem obscuriori ortum familia, in certamine respuit. Si quis pauper ære alieno astrictus, creditori soluendo non sit, abducit illum creditor, atque eoúsq; opere faciundo exercet, vel alteri operam obærati elocat, donec operando debitum persoluit: sunt qui sponte, se, coniugem, ac liberos opulentioribus per omnem vitam emancipabunt, vt in initio exiguam pecuniolæ summam accipiant, ac pòst pro reliqua vita alimenta capiant: adeo illis vilescit libertas.

Pugiles Mercenarij.

De furum supplicijs.

SI quis furto deprehensus sit, in carcerem conijciunt, ac flagris subinde cædunt, neque ob primam noxam suspendunt, vt nos, atque hanc, legem misericordiæ appellant: qui secundò delinquit, illi nasum præcidunt, ac stigmatis frontem signant: Tertia noxa crucem meretur. Multi, & insignes sunt crumenisecæ: quod si principis seueritas ipsos non tolleret, non esset resistere illorum prouentui.

De Religione.

GRęcæ Ecclesiæ dogma amplectuntur: simulachra Diuorum in templis non admittunt: tabulas tamen diuorum, imaginibus pictas in sacris ædibus frequentes habent: has adorant, his dona offerunt, his cereos accendunt, has etiam sacro fonte aspergunt, alioqui illis nullus est honos. Simulachra nostra nullam diuinitatis vim habere asserunt, quòd in templis dicantur perinde vt à statuarijs emuntur. Priuatis in ædibus statuas instar penatium colunt. Hæ in obscurissima parte domus vt plurimum statuũtur. Si quis domum vicini intrat, primùm omnium penates salutat, etiam cùm non videat: si scamnum aut sella stet in proximo, subinde frontem illidens in sellam, ac crebro capite & corpore nutans larem adorat. Sacrorum ac prophanorum virorum in vestitu nulla diuersitas. Nulli nec sacro nec prophano interdicitur matrimonium. Cæterùm si Ecclesiastici vxor è vita decedat, secundas nuptias repetere non licet. Quocirca ex sacerdotibus (vt vocant) secularibus fiunt plerúmque Monachi, quibus perpetua imperatur castitas. Sacra officia in templis materno idiomate fiunt. Ex pane fermentato Eucharistiam confecrant, ac post confecrationem, lance in capite per templum circumferunt nec participare volentem prohibent. Nouum ac vetus testamentum in templis legunt lingua vernacula tam offensate, vt nec ipse qui legit intelligat. Dum illa leguntur, garrire, confabulari, ac obstrepere licet, in reliquo officio, summam modestiam ac sanctimoniam præ se ferunt. Orationem dominicam decimus quisque haud nouit. At Symbolum Apostolicum, aut Decalogum Moisis nemo aut admodum pauci, aiunt enim rem tam arcanam ac sacram in vulgus temere enuntiari non oportere. Decalogum etiam sanguine Christi antiquatum esse. Humaniores literas omnino respuunt. Cognitionis Græcæ, Latinæ aut Hebraicæ linguæ penitus sunt ignari: singulis annis quaterna celebrant ieiunia quæ ab ipsis diuorum festis denominant. Primum cum nostro quadragesimali ieiunio exordium habet. Secundum diui Petri ieiunium dicitur. Tertio, dat nomen Diua Maria. Quartum, à Philippo nomen capit. Ac sicuti nos quadragesimam nostram à die Mercurij auspicamur, ita illi à die solis: diebus Sabbati carne vescuntur. Hebdomadis has esuriales ferias præcedentibus lacticinijs viuunt. Ac vulgo appellant butyri ieiunia. Hoc tempore mutuò sese inuisunt vicini, ac pacis osculis vicissim excipiunt, in signum mutui amoris ac concordiæ Christianæ. Nam sub illis ieiunandi temporibus frequentiùs quàm aliàs sacrosanctam cœnam adeunt. Post septem dies ab incœpto ieiunio, crebrò inuisunt templa, aut domi sese continent, ac orationi plurimum vacant. Nec illa septimana alio quàm oleribus vescuntur. Exacto septimanæ huius ieiunio, pristinam bibendi intemperiem repetunt, sunt enim bibones insignes. Districtè seruant ieiunia sua, nec vllius rei esum nisi holerum ac salsamentorum tunc temporis sibi indulgent: die Mercurij ac Veneris quauis septimana ieiunare solent.

Secundę nuptię prohibitę ministris.

Quaterna ieiunia singulis annis.

Plurima

Plurima ibi extruuntur Benedictinorum Cænobia: his magni ſunt agrorũ reditus: nam tertiam fundorũ partem totius Imperij tenent Monachi. Iſtis per omnem vitam eſus carnium interdicitur: Alimenta ſunt ſalſamenta, lac & butyrum. Nec ex inſtituto religionis recentes piſces edunt. Quatemis tamen illis quæ memorauimus ieiuniis, ne piſcibus quidem viuunt. Caulibus, ac cucummeribus ſale cõditis, radiculisque (quæ perennare facile faciunt) illis victus conſtat. Potus eſt his valde tenuis ac dilutus. Quotidie in Templis rem diuinam faciunt: ſacrum officium antelucano adeunt, quod aduentante iam die finitur. Circa nonam diei celebratur miſſa. Poſt hanc prandetur: à prandio ſacrum officium repetunt, nec non à cœna. Prandentibus cœnantibuſue legitur euangeliorum interpretatio. Quoties alicuius monaſterij Antiſtes concedit fato, Princeps Cœnobij bona inuadit, armenta, greges, ſuppellectilem, aurum, argentum, rapit. Aut is qui defuncto Antiſtiti dignitate ſuccedit hæc ab imperatore pecunia redimit.

Ædes ſacræ lignijs trabibus contexuntur. Ac plerumque aſſurgit turris ſcandulis tecta. Foris adduntur ædi porticus. In cœmiterijs fabricas ædificant ligneas in quibus librantur campanæ, nunc ſingulæ, nunc binæ, nunc trinæ. Aedes ſacræ.

Non omittenda vt rara ita & ridicula gentis conſuetudo: defunctorum cadauera loculis cõdunt, ac manui cadaueris codicillos indunt. Horum ſumma eſt, defunctum fuiſſe Ruſſum Ruſſorum, fidem amplexum, ac in eadem fide deceſſiſſe. Hæ literæ Diuo Petro mittuntur: lectis literis mox (vt illi aiunt) admittitur, & vt ſyncerioris fidei ſectatori, beatior etiam ſedes quàm Latinis Chriſtianis conceditur. Nos enim ſemichriſtianos eſſe contendunt, ſeſe autem ſynceros ac genuinos. Hæc ſunt indoctæ Barbariei pudenda deliramenta. Mos ſepulturæ.

De idololatris Moſcouitis, Tartaris conterminis.

TArtarorum confinia tenent Moſcouitæ idololatræ. Percelebre eſt illis idolon aurea vetula dictum. Si qua grauior calamitas gentem premit, veluti fames, bellum, vel peſtis, Idolum ſuum ſtatim conſulunt. Quod hoc modo faciunt. Coram ſimulacro proſtrati preces fundunt, mox crepitaculum tympanum in medio ſtatuunt: hoc ſorte lecti circumſtant: Argenteum bufonem tympano imponunt, bacillo concutitur tympanum. Ac cui circumiacentium accedit bufo, protenus interficitur. Statim neſcio quibus Idoli præſtigijs vitæ reſtitutus, malorum cauſas exponit, Itaque placato Idoli numine, non ita multò pòſt publica calamitate liberantur. Aurea vetula Idolum.

De ędium priuatarum forma, ac de cultu populi.

PRiuatorum domus vbiuis truncis abiegnis contexuntur: Inferiori trabe quodam alueo ſuperiacentis rotunditatem ita excipiente, vt hac ſola admiſſura, omnem propemodum flatum excludant. Solent tamen iuncturæ muſcari. Forma ædiũ quadrata eſt, feneſtrę perangustę, per quas impage tranſlucida pelle obducta lumen admittunt. Domorum tecta tabulatis fiunt, arborum corticibus foris inductis. Intus ad parietes lata habent ſcamna. Hęc vulgò pro accubitis, lectorum enim vſus vulgo ignotus. Ignis in Hypocauſtis mane ſtructus, totam domum pro modo, tepidam vel calidam reddit. Vulgi amictus vt plurimum lanius eſt. Piliis vtuntur faſtigiatis, in modum metæ, in quibus etiam nobilitatis eſt inſigne: quò enim porrectiori ac elatiori vtuntur pilio, eò ſplendidiores vulgo habentur. Domus teguntur corticibus Arborum foris.

Concluſio ad Sereniſsimam Reginam *Mariam.*

HÆc ſunt ter Maxima Regina, quæ tui Angli modo reduces retulerunt. Quod ſi per tuam excellentiſſimam Maieſtatem liceat illuc denuò Nauigare, non dubitant tui, ad eas gentes nominis tui fulgorem penetraturum, quæ tribus ſolùm Heroibus, à condito mundo ſine æmulo genitis patuêre. ANNO 1554. Nota.

The newe Nauigation and discouerie of the kingdome of *Moscouia, by the Northeast, in the yeere* 1553 : *Enterprised*

by Sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, and perfourmed by Richard Chanceler, Pilot maior of the voyage. Translated out of the former Latine into English.

Upon what occasions, and by whom this voyage was set out, and of the discouerie of Moscouie by the North.

AT what time our Marchants perceiued the commodities and wares of England to be in small request with the Countreis and people about vs, and neere vnto vs, and that those Marchandizes which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncestors did earnestly seeke and desire, were now neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs caried to their owne portes, and all forreine marchandises in great accompt, and their prises wonderfully raised: certaine graue citizens of London, and men of great wisedome, and carefull of the good of their Countrey, beganne to thinke with themselues, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied: neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the auoyding of so great an inconuenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portingals, by the discouerie and searche of newe trades and Countreis was marueilously increased, supposing the same to bee a course and meane for them also to obteine the like, they thereupon resolued vpon a newe and straunge Nauigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowmed, happened to be in London, they beganne first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speache and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should be prepared and furnished out, for the search and discouerie of the Northerne part of the worlde, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and vnknowen kingdomes.

3. Ships furnished for the discouerie.

And whereas many things seemed necessarie to bee regarded in this so harde and difficult a matter, they first make choyce of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate or companie, which shoulde laye their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide thinges requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money shoulde publiquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And least any priuate man shoulde bee too much oppressed and charged, a course was taken, that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburse the portion of twentie and fiue pounds a piece: so that in short time by this meanes the summe of fiue thousande pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to bee newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wotte not whether I may more admire the care of the Marchantes, or the diligence of the Shippewrightes: for the Marchants, they gette very strong and well seasoned plankes for the building, the Shippewrightes, they with dayly trauaile, and their greatest skill, doe fitte them for the dispatche of the shippes: they calke them, pitche them, and among the rest, they make one most stanche and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine partes of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceth and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therefore that the Mariners, and the rest to be employed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they couer a piece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the shippes, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they afore determined to haue the East part of the worlde sayled vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northerne tract, where as yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolued to victuall the shippes for eighteene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the worlde, they wisely foreseeing it, allowe them fiue moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much more to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much more also for the time of their comming home.

Prouision of victuals for 18. moneths.

Choise of captaines and Pilots.

Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

Nowe this prouision being made and caried aboorde, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and gouernours of so great an enterprise were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some voyde of experience) offered themselues, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well borne, very earnestly requested to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whome before all others, both by reason

of

of his goodly perſonage (for hee was of a tall ſtature) as alſo for his ſingular ſkill in the ſeruices of warre, the companie of the Marchants made greateſt accompt: ſo that at the laſt they concluded and made choyce of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appointed to him the Admirall, with authoritie and commaunde ouer all the reſt. And for the gouernement of the other ſhips although diuers men ſeemed willing, and made offers of themſelues thereunto, yet by a common conſent one Richard Chanceler, a man of great eſtimation for many good partes of witte in him, was elected, in whome alone great hope for the performance of this buſineſſe reſted. This man was brought vp by one maſter Henrie Sidney, a noble young Gentleman and very much beloued of king Edwarde, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent ſpeache or Oration, and ſpake to them after this maner following. Richard Chanceler Grand Pilot borne in Bullſtow.

My very worſhipfull friendes, I cannot but greatly commende your preſent godly and vertuous intention, in the ſerious enterpriſing (for the ſinguler loue you beare to your Countrey,) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land. Which intention of yours (wee alſo of the Nobilitie) are readie to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing ſo deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in ſo commendable a cauſe. But principally I reioyce in my ſelfe, that I haue nouriſhed and maintained that witte, which is like by ſome meanes and in ſome meaſure, to profite and ſteede you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe nowe part with Chanceler, not becauſe I make litle reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderſtande, my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this buſineſſe, and that the authoritie and eſtimation which hee deſerueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experience, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by ſpeache and companie, but I by the dayly triall of his life, haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are alſo to remember, into howe many perils for your ſakes, and his Countreys loue, hee is nowe to runne: whereof it is requiſite that wee bee not vnmindefull, if it pleaſe God to ſende him good ſucceſſe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: Hee committs his life, (a thing to a man of all things moſt deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. We ſhall here liue and reſt at home quietly with our friendes, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and vnrulye Marriners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares ſhall hee trouble and vexe himſelfe, with howe many troubles ſhall hee breake himſelfe, and howe many diſquietings ſhall hee bee forced to ſuſtaine? Wee ſhall keepe our owne coaſtes and Countrey, Hee ſhall ſeeke ſtrange and vnknowen kingdomes. Hee ſhall commit his ſafetie to barbarous and cruell people, and ſhall hazarde his life amongſt the monſtrous and terrible beaſtes of the Sea. Wherefore in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs, and if it fall ſo happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie alſo, liberally to rewarde him. M. Henry Sidney his Oration.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or ſome ſuch like ſpeache, much more eloquently then I can poſſiblie report it, the companie then preſent beganne one to looke vpon another, one to queſtion and conferre with another: and ſome (to whome the vertue and ſufficiencie of the man was knowen) began ſecretly to reioyce with themſelues, and to conceiue a ſpeciall hope, that the man would proooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues alreadie appearing and ſhining to the worlde, would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to ſome ſilence, it ſeemed good to them that were of greateſt grauitie amongſt them, to inquire, ſearche and ſeeke what might be learned and knowen, concerning the Eaſterly part or tract of the world. For which cauſe 2. Tartarians, which were then of the Kings Stable, were ſent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be preſent, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to anſwere nothing to the purpoſe: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merily and openly ſaide) to toſſe pottes, then to learne the ſtates and diſpoſitions of people. But after much adoe and many things paſſed about this matter, they grewe at laſt to this iſſue, to ſet downe and appoint a time for the departure of the ſhippes: becauſe diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the beſt time of the yeere was alreadie ſpent, and if the delaye grewe longer, the way would bee ſtopt and barde by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought beſt by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Marriners ſhould They departed from Ratcliffe the 20. of May 1553.

ſhoulde take ſhipping, and depart from Ratliffe vpon the ebbe, if it ſo pleaſed God. They hauing ſaluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinſefolkes, and another his friendes deerer then his kinſefolkes, were preſent and readie at the day appointed, and hauing waied ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and ſayling eaſely came firſt to Greenewich. The greater ſhippes were towed downe with boates, and oares, and the mariners being all apparelled in Watchet or ſkie coloured clothe, rowed a maine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenewich (where the Court then laye) preſently vpon the newes thereof the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, ſtanding very thicke vpon the ſhoare: the priuie Counſell, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the reſt ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the ſhippes hereupon diſcharge their Ordinance, and ſhoote off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the ſea, inſomuch that the tops of the hilles ſounded therewith, the valleys, and the waters gaue an Eccho, and the mariners they ſhouted in ſuch ſort, that the ſkie rang againe with the noyſe thereof. One ſtoode in the poope of the ſhippe, and by his geſture biddes farewell to his friendes in the beſt maner he coulde. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbes the ſhrowes, another ſtandes vpon the maine yarde, and another in the toppe of the ſhippe. To bee ſhort, it was a very triumphe (after a ſort) in all reſpects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edwarde (in reſpect of whome principally all this was prepared,) hee onely by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe was abſent from this ſhewe, and not long after the departure of theſe ſhips, the lamentable and moſt ſorowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The ſhippes going downe with the tyde, came at laſt to Woolwiche, where they ſtayed and caſt ancre, with purpoſe to depart therehence againe, as ſoone as the turning of the water, and a better winde ſhoulde drawe them to ſet ſaile. After this they departed and came to Harwiche, in which porte they ſtayed long, not without great loſſe and conſuming of time: yet at the laſt with a good winde they hoyſed vp ſaile, and committed themſelues to the ſea, giuing their laſt adieu to their natiue Countrey, which they knewe not whether they ſhoulde euer returne to ſee againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not refraine from teares, conſidering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the ſea they were to make triall of.

Amongſt the reſt Richard Chanceler, the Captaine of the Edwarde Bonauenture, was not a litle grieued with the feare of wanting victuals, part whereof was founde to bee corrupt, and putrified at Harwiche, and the hoggeſheads of wine alſo leaked, and were not ſtanch: his naturall and fatherly affection alſo ſomewhat troubled him, for hee left behinde him his two little ſonnes, which were in the caſe of Orphanes if hee ſpedde not well: the eſtate alſo of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former reſpects after a ſort vnhappie, and were to abide with himſelfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplicitie of ſorowes and cares, after many dayes ſayling, they kenned lande afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ſhippes: and being come to it they lande, and finde it to bee Roſe Iſlande, where they ſtayed certaine dayes, and afterwards ſet ſaile againe, and proceeding towardes the North, they eſpied certaine other Iſlands, which were called the Troſſe of Iſlands. From which places when they were a litle departed, maiſter Willoughbie the Generall, a man of good foreſight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and ſet out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefeſt men of the other ſhippes, that by the helpe and aſſiſtance of their counſels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the ſhippes in the whole voyage, might bee the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempeſt ſhould ariſe at any time, and happen to diſperſe and ſcatter them, euery ſhippe ſhoulde indeuour his beſt to goe to Wardhouſe, a hauen or caſtell of ſome name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there firſt in ſafetie, ſhoulde ſtaye and expect the comming of the reſt.

The very ſame day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, ſo great a tempeſt ſuddenly aroſe, and the Seas were ſo outragious, that the ſhippes coulde not keepe their intended courſe, but ſome were perforce driuen one way, and ſome another way, to their great perill and hazarde: The generall with his lowdeſt voyce, cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earneſtly requeſted him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither woulde nor coulde keepe companie with him, if he ſailed ſtill ſo faſt: for the Admirall was of better ſaile then his ſhippe. But the ſaide Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his ſailes, was carried away with ſo great force and ſwiftneſſe, that not long after hee was quite out of ſight, and the thirde ſhippe alſo with the

ſame

ſame ſtorme and like rage, was diſperſed and loſt vs.

The ſhippe boate of the Admirall (ſtriking againſt the ſhippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the ſight and viewe of the Marriners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are alreadie returned and arriued, they knowe nothing of the reſt of the ſhippes what was become of them. They returne the next peere not knowing what was become of the other 2. ſhips.

But if it be ſo, that any miſerable miſhappe haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the Sea haue deuoured thoſe good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander vp and downe in ſtrange Countreis, I muſt needes ſay they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs wiſh them ſafetie and a good returne, but if the crueltie of death hath taken holde of them, God ſende them a Chriſtian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chanceler with his ſhippe and companie being thus left alone, and become very penſiue, heauie, and ſorrowfull, by this diſperſion of the Fleete, hee (according to the order before taken,) ſhapeth his courſe for Wardhouſe in Norway, there to expect and abide the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes. And being come thither, and hauing ſtayed there the ſpace of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, he determined at length to proceede alone in the purpoſed voyage. And as hee was preparing himſelfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in companie and ſpeache with certaine Scottiſhmen: who hauing vnderſtanding of his intention, and wiſhing well to his actions, beganne earneſtly to diſſwade him from the further proſecution of the diſcouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reaſon that might ſerue to that purpoſe. But hee holding nothing ſo ignominious and reprochfull, as inconſtancie and leuitie of minde, and perſwading himſelfe that a man of valure coulde not commit a more diſhonourable part then for feare of danger to auoyde and ſhunne great attempts, was nothing at all chaunged or diſcouraged with the ſpeaches and wordes of the Scots, remayning ſtedfaſt and immutable in his firſt reſolution: determining either to bring that to paſſe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with maſter Chanceler in his ſhippe, although they had great cauſe of diſcomfort by the loſſe of their companie (whome the foreſaide tempeſt had ſeparated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in reſpect of their doubtfull courſe: yet notwithſtanding, they were of ſuch conſent and agreement of minde with maſter Chanceler, that they were reſolute, and prepared vnder his direction and gouernment, to make proofe and triall of all aduentures, without all feare or miſtruſt of future dangers. Which conſtancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increaſe their Captaines carefulneſſe: for hee being ſwallowed vp with like good will and loue towardes them, feared leaſt through any errour of his, the ſafetie of the companie ſhoulde bee indangered. To conclude, when they ſawe their deſire and hope of the arriuall of the reſt of the ſhippes to bee euery day more and more fruſtrated, they prouided to ſea againe, and maſter Chanceler helde on his courſe towardes that vnknowen part of the world, and ſailed ſo farre, that hee came at laſt to the place where hee founde no night at all, but a continuall light and brightneſſe of the Sunne ſhining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleaſed God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundreth miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and ſomewhat farre within it caſt ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they eſpied afarre off a certaine fiſher boate, which maſter Chanceler, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went towardes to common with the fiſhermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what maner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the ſtrange greatneſſe of his ſhippe, (for in thoſe partes before that time they had neuer ſeene the like) beganne preſently to auoyde and to flee: but hee ſtill following them, at laſt ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) proſtrated themſelues before him, offering to kiſſe his feete: but hee (according to his great and ſinguler courteſie,) looked pleaſantly vpon them, comforting them by ſignes and geſtures, refuſing thoſe dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them vp in all louing ſort from the ground. And it is ſtrange to conſider howe much fauour afterwardes in that place, this humanitie of his did purchaſe to himſelfe. For they being diſmiſſed, ſpread by and by a report abroade of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, of a ſinguler gentleneſſe and courteſie: whereupon the common people came together offering to theſe newe come gueſts victuals freely, and not refuſing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vſe and cuſtome, not to buy any forreine commodities, without the knowledge and conſent of the king.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Ruſſia, or Moſcouie, and that Euan Vaſiliuich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned The diſcouerie of Ruſſia.

farre and wide in thoſe places. And the barbarous Ruſſes aſked likewiſe of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto anſwere was made, that they were Engliſhmen ſent into thoſe coaſtes, from the moſt excellent King Edwarde the ſixt, hauing from him in commaundement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and ſeeking nothing els, but his amitie and friendſhip, and trafique with his people, whereby they doubted not, but that great commoditie and profite would growe to the ſubiects of both kingdomes.

The barbarians heard theſe thinges very gladly, and promiſed their ayde and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hande with ſo honeſt and reaſonable a requeſt.

In the meane time maſter Chancelour intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place, who together with others came aboorde him, and required hoſtages of them likewiſe for the more aſſurance of ſafetie to himſelfe, and his companie. To whome the Gouernours anſwered, that they knew not in that caſe the will of their king, but yet were willing in ſuch things as they might lawfully doe, to pleaſure him: which was as then to afoorde him the benefite of victuals.

Nowe whiles theſe thinges were a doing, they ſecretly ſent a meſſenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriuall of a ſtrange nation, and withall to knowe his pleaſure concerning them. Which meſſage was very welcome vnto him, inſomuch that voluntarily hee inuited them to come to his Court. But if by reaſon of the tedioufneſſe of ſo long a iourney, they thought it not beſt ſo to doe, then hee graunted libertie to his ſubiects to bargaine, and to trafique with them: and further promiſed, (that if it woulde pleaſe them to come to him,) hee himſelfe woulde beare the whole charges of poſte horſes. In the meane time the gouernours of the place differred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuſes, and ſaying one while that the conſent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waighty affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differre their anſwere: and this they did of purpoſe, ſo long to protract the time, vntill the meſſenger (ſent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleaſure.

But Maſter Chauncelour, (ſeeing himſelfe helde in this ſuſpence with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they poſted the matter off ſo often,) was very inſtant with them to performe their promiſe: Which if they woulde not doe, hee tolde them that hee woulde depart, and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moſcouites (although as yet they knewe not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men, who had ſuch wares and commodities as they greatly deſired, they at laſt reſolued to furniſh our people with all thinges neceſſarie, and to conduct them by lande to the preſence of their king. And ſo Maſter Chauncelour beganne his iourney, which was very long and moſt troubleſome, wherein hee had the vſe of certaine ſledds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are caried themſelues vpon ſledds, and all their carriages are in the ſame ſort, the people almoſt not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cauſe whereof is the exceeding hardnes of the ground, congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in thoſe places is very extreeme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will ſay ſomething.

But nowe they hauing paſſed the greater part of their iourney, mette at laſt with the Sledde-man (of whome I ſpake before) ſent to the king ſecretly from the Juſtices or gouernours, who by ſome ill happe had loſt his way, and had gone to the Sea ſide, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue founde our ſhippe. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the laſt in his direct returne, hee mette (as hee was comming) our Captaine on the way. To whome hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courteſie, and in the moſt louing maner that could bee: wherein expreſſe commaundement was giuen, that poſt horſes ſhoulde bee gotten for him and the reſt of his companie without any money. Which thing was of all the Ruſſes in the reſt of their iourney ſo willingly done, that they beganne to quarrell, yea, and to fight alſo, in ſtriuing and contending which of them ſhoulde put their poſt horſes to the ſledde: ſo that after much adoe, and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauailed very neere fifteene hundred miles) maſter Chancelour came at laſt to Moſco, the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the ſeate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himſelfe, and of the principall cities of Moſcouie, wee will ſpeake immediatly more at large in this diſcourſe.

The Emperours courteous letters to M. Chancelour.

Of Moſ-

Of Moſcouie, which is alſo called Ruſsia.

MOſcouie, which hath the name alſo of Ruſsia the white, is a very large, and ſpatious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the Eaſt, it is compaſſed with Tartaria: the Northern ſide of it ſtretcheth to the Scythian Ocean: vpon the Weſt part, boyder the Lappians, a rude, and ſauage nation, liuing in woods, whoſe language is not knowen to any other people: next vnto theſe, more towards the South, is Swecia, then Finlandia, then Liuonia, and laſt of all Lituania. This Countrey of Moſcouie, hath alſo very many, and great riuers in it, and is marſh ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greateſt, and moſt famous amongſt all the reſt, is that, which the Ruſſes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame, is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boriſthenes, which at this day they call Neper. Two of theſe, to wit, Rha, and Boriſthenes, yſſuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receyuing many other pleaſant riuers into it, and running from the very head or ſpring of it towards the Eaſt, after many crooked turnings and windings, diſchargeth it ſelfe, and all the other waters, and riuers, that fals into it, by diuers paſſages into the Caſpian Sea. Tanais, ſpringing from a fountaine of great name in thoſe partes, and growing great neere to his head, ſpreds it ſelfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrow againe, doth ſo runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and there hence, fetching a very crooked courſe, comes very neere to the riuer Volga: but diſdaining as it were, the companie of any other riuer, doth there turne it ſelfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and fals at laſt into the Lake of Mœotis. Boriſthenes, which comes from the ſame head that Rha doth, (as wee ſaide before) carieth both it ſelfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refuſing the mixture of other ſmall riuers: and running by many great and large Countreis, fals at laſt into Pontus Euxinus. Beſides theſe riuers, are alſo in Moſcouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fiſhe by the celeſtiall influence: and amongſt them all, the chiefeſt and moſt principall, is called Bellij Ieſera, which is very famous by reaſon of a very ſtrong Towre built in it, wherein the Kings of Moſcouie reſerue and repoſe their treaſure, in all time of warre, and danger.

The mightie lake of Belli Ieſera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the ſnow lieth continually, and where hence in times paſt it was thought that Tanais the riuer did ſpring, and that the reſt of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde were there to be ſeene, our men which lately came from thence, neither ſawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the ſpace of three moneths, and had gotten in that time ſome intelligence of the language of Moſcouie. The whole Countrey is plaine, and champion, and few hils in it: and towards the North it hath very large and ſpacious woods, wherin is great ſtore of Firre trees, a wood very neceſſarie, and fit for the building of houſes: there are alſo wilde beaſtes bred in thoſe woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolues, and another kind of beaſt vnknowen to vs, but called by them Roſſomakka: and the nature of the ſame is very rare, and wonderfull: for when it is great with young, and ready to bring forth, it ſeeketh out ſome narrow place betweene two ſtakes, and ſo going through them, preſſeth it ſelfe, and by that meanes is eaſed of her burden, which otherwiſe could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the moſt part a horſebacke, but their Beares afoote, with woodden forkes. The north parts of the Countrey, are reported to be ſo colde, that the very ice or water, which diſtilleth out of the moiſt wood, which they lay vpon the fire, is preſently congealed and frozen: the diuerſitie growing ſuddenly to be ſo great, that in one and the ſelfe ſame firebrand, a man ſhall ſee both fire and ice. When the winter doth once beginne there, it doth ſtill more and more increaſe, by a perpetuitie of cold: neither doth that colde ſlake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth diſſolue the colde, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our marriners which we left in the ſhip in the meane time to keepe it, in their going vp onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes ſo ſuddenly taken away, that they eſtſoones fell downe, as men very neere dead, ſo great is the ſharpenes of that cold climate: but as for the South partes of the Countrey, they are ſomewhat more temperate.

The ſharpnes of the winter in Moſcouie.

Of Moſco, the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

IT remaineth, that a larger diſcourſe be made of Moſco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince alſo, as before we haue promiſed. The Empire and gouernment of the King

is

is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And becauſe the citie of Moſco is the chiefeſt of all the reſt, it ſeemeth of it ſelfe to challeng the firſt place in this diſcourſe. Our men ſay, that in bignes it is as great as the Citie of London, with the Suburbes thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenes, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes, and Villages alſo, but built out of order, and with no hauſomnes: their ſtreetes and waies are not paued with ſtone, as ours are: the walles of their houſes are of wood: the roofes for the moſt part, are couered with ſhingle boordes. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Caſtle, ſtrong, and furniſhed with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly towardes the North, with a bricke wall: the wals alſo of the Caſtle are built with bricke, and are in bredth or thickenes eightene foote. This Caſtle hath on the one ſide a drie ditch, on the other ſide, the riuer Volga, whereby it is made almoſt inexpugnable. The ſame Volga trending towardes the Eaſt doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

Their manner of building.

In the Caſtle aforeſayde, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vnhanſome, which are vſed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whome, there is after a ſort, a Patriarke, or Gouernour, and with him other reuerent Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Caſtle. As for the Kings Court and Pallace, it is not of the neateſt, onely in forme it is foure ſquare, and of lowe building, much ſurpaſſed and excelled by the beautie and elegancie of the houſes of the Kings of England. The windowes are very narrowly built, and ſome of them by glaſſe, ſome other by lettiſſes admitte the light: and whereas the Pallaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of clothe of golde, there is none ſuch there: they build and ioyne to all their wals, benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houſes.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue daies in the Citie, there was then a Meſſenger ſent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings houſe: and they being after a ſort wearied with their long ſtay, were very ready, and willing ſo to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there ſate a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there hence being conducted into the chamber of preſence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maieſtie of the Emperour: his ſeate was aloft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldſmithes worke, and in his hande he helde a Scepter garniſhed, and beſet with pretious ſtones: and beſides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maie in his countenance, proportionable with the excellencie of his eſtate: on the one ſide of him ſtood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other ſide, the great Commander of ſilence, both of them arayed alſo in cloth of golde: and then there ſate the Counſel of one hundred, and fiftie in number, al in like ſort arrayed, and of great ſtate. This ſo honorable an aſſemblie, ſo great a Maieſtie of the Emperour, and of the place, might very wel haue amazed our men, and haue daſht them out of countenance: but notwithſtanding, Maſter Chanceler being therewithall nothing diſmaied, ſaluted, and did his dutie to the Emperour, after the manner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of their king, Edward the ſixt. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to queſtion with them, and to aſke them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men anſwered him directly, & in fewe words: hereupon our men preſented ſome thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretarie, which at the deliuerie of it, put off his hat, being before all the time couered: and ſo the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, diſmiſſed them from his preſence: and going into the chamber of him that was Maſter of the Requeſts to the Emperour, & hauing ſtaied there the ſpace of two howres, at the laſt, the Meſſenger commeth, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for ſo they call it, although not very faire) they find the Emperour ſitting vpon a high and ſtately ſeate, apparelled with a robe of ſiluer, and with an other Diademe on his heade: our men being placed ouer againſt him, ſitte downe: in the middes of the roome, ſtoode a mightie Cupboorde vpon a ſquare foote, whereuppon ſtoode alſo a rounde boorde, in manner of a Diamond, broade beneath, and towardes the toppe narrowe, and euery ſteppe roſe vppe more narrowe then another. Vppon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was ſo much, that the very Cupboord it ſelfe was ſcant able to ſuſtayne the waight of it: the better part of all the veſſels, and goblets, was made of very fine golde: and amongeſt the reſt, there were foure pots of very large bignes, which did adorne the reſt of the plate, in great meaſure: for they were ſo highe, that they thought them at the leaſt, fiue foote long. There were alſo vpon this Cupboorde, certaine ſiluer caſkes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Fyrkins, wherein was reſerued the Emperours drinke: on eache ſide of the Hall, ſtoode foure Tables, eache of them laide, and couered with very

K. Edwards letters deliuered.

very cleane table clothes,whereunto the companie aſcended by three ſteps or degrees: all which were filled with the aſſemblie preſent: the gheſtes were all apparelled with linnen without, and with riche ſkinnes within, and ſo did notably ſet out this royall feaſt. The Emperour, when he takes any bread or knife into his hand, doth firſt of all croſſe himſelfe vpon his forehead: they that are in ſpeciall fauour with the Emperour, ſitte vpon the ſame bench with him,but ſomewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate,the Emperour himſelfe,according to an ancient cuſtome of the kings of Moſcouy,doth firſt beſtow a peece of bread vpon euery one of his gheſts,with a loud pronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moſcouie,and chiefe Emperour of Ruſſia,Iohn Baſiliwich, (& then the officer nameth the gheſt) doth giue thee bread.Wherupon all the gheſts riſe vp,and by and by ſit downe again.This done, the Gentleman Vſher of the Hall comes in,with a notable companie of ſeruants, carying the diſhes,and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour,puts a young Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table,and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Caruer, and ſeuen other of his fellowes to be cut vp: which being perfourmed, the meate is then diſtributed to the gheſts,with the like pompe,and ceremonies. In the meane time,the Gentleman Vſher receiues his bread,and taſteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the reſt of the diſhes, becauſe they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true,that all the furniture of diſhes,and drinking veſſels, which were then for the vſe of a hundred gheſts,was all of pure gold, and the tables were ſo laden with veſſels of gold,that there was no roome for ſome to ſtand vpon them.

We may not forget,that there were 140. ſeruitors araied in cloth of golde, that in the dinner time,changed thoſe their habit and apparell, which ſeruitors are in like ſort ſerued with bread from the Emperour,as the reſt of the gheſts.Laſt of all,dinner being ended,and candles brought in,(for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his gheſts and Noble men by their names,in ſuch ſorte,that it ſeemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwiſe occupied in great matters of eſtate,ſhould ſo wel remember ſo many and ſundry particular names.The Ruſſes told our men,that the reaſon thereof,as alſo of the beſtowing of bread in that manner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houſhold: and withall, that ſuch as are vnder his diſpleaſure,might by this meanes be knowen.

Of the diſcipline of warre amongſt the Ruſſes.

VVHenſoeuer the iniuries of their neighbours doe call the King forth to battell, he neuer armeth a leſſe number againſt the enemie,then 300. thouſand ſouldiers, 100. thouſand whereof he carieth out into the field with him,and leaueth the reſt in garriſon in ſome fit places, for the better ſafetie of his Empire.He preſſeth no huſbandmen,nor Marchant: for the Countrey is ſo populous,that theſe being left at home,the youth of the Realme is ſufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare,doe prouide all things of their owne coſt: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horſebacke: their armour is a coate of maile,& a helmet:the coate of maile whout is gilded,or els adorned with ſilke, although it pertaine to a common ſouldier: they haue a great pride in ſhewing their wealth:they vſe bowes,and arrowes,as the Turks do:they carry lances alſo into the field.They ride with a ſhort ſtirrop,after the manner of the Turkes: they are a kinde of people moſt ſparing in diet,and moſt patient in extremitie of colde, aboue all others.For when the ground is couered with ſnowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the froſt, this Ruſſe hanges vp his mantle,or ſouldiers coate,againſt that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues,and ſo making a little fire,lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his ſerues him for his bed,wall,houſe and all: his drinke is the cold water of the riuer,mingled with oatemeale,and this is all his good cheere,and he thinketh himſelfe well, and daintily fedde therewith,and ſo ſitteth downe by his fire, and vpon the harde grounde, roſteth as it were his weary ſides thus daintily ſtuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed,and ſome blocke or ſtone his pillow: and as for his horſe, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his Maſter, faring both alike: how luſtily may this barbarous, and rude Ruſſe, condemne the daintines and nicenes of our Captaines,who liuing in a ſoile and aire much more temperate,yet commonly vſe furred boots, and clokes?But thus much of the furniture of their common ſouldiers.But thoſe that are of higher degrees, come into the fielde,a little better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himſelfe,it is then aboue all other times,moſt notable. The couerings of his tente for the moſt part,are all of gold,adorned with ſtones of great price,and with the curious workemanſhip of plumaſiers: as often as they are to ſkirmiſh with the enemie, they goe forth without any order at all:

all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set vpon the enemie. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barkes of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable manner of liuing, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behaue himselfe valiantly in the fielde, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth vpon him in recompense of his seruice, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be neuer so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodnes, giue some portion of the land amongest them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whosoeuer he be, that is in this sorte rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, he is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when neede shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whome any land fals by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fals into the hands of the Emperour: and moreouer, if there be any riche man amongst them, who in his owne person is vnfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriors might be maintained, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the vnhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, depriued of all his riches, which with great paines, and trauel all his life time, he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children, and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their deserts: & the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is borne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men generally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscouie.

The Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horse, and the greater part of the men were arraied in cloth of golde, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of a blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embrodered: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to vse them at such times, as any wearines came vpon them. But nowe the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeeldeth.

Nouogorode.

Next vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Maiestie inferior to it, yet in greatnes it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Marte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnes of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous, then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe, and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemmings there, sometimes had a house of marchandize, but by reason that they vsed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they lost their priuiledges, a restitution whereof, they earnestly sued for, at the time that our men were there. But those Flemmings hearing of the arriuall of our men in those partes, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirats and rouers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceaued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour beleeuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemmings, vsed no ill intreatie towards them.

The knauery of the Flemmings against our men.

Yeraslaue.

Yeraſlaue.

YEraſlaue alſo is a Towne of ſome good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallowe, and corne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there alſo to be ſolde, although other places haue greater ſtore: this Yeraſlaue is diſtant from Moſco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fieldes yeelde ſuch ſtore of corne, that in conuaying it towardes Moſco, ſometimes in a forenoone, a man ſhall ſee ſeuen hundred or eight hundred ſleds, going and comming, laden with corne and ſalt fiſhe: the people come a thouſand miles to Moſco, to buy that corne, and then carry it away vpon ſleds: and theſe are thoſe people that dwell in the North parts, where the cold is ſo terrible, that no corne doth growe there, or if it ſpring vp, it neuer comes to ripenes. The commodities that they bring with them, are ſalt fiſhe, ſkinnes, and hydes.

Vologda.

VOlogda being from Moſco, 550. miles, yeeldes the commodities of hempe, and flaxe alſo: although the greateſt ſtore of flaxe is ſolde at Nouogrode.

Pleſco.

THe Towne of Pleſco, is frequented of Marchants for the good ſtore of honie, and waxe, that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

THe North parts of Ruſſia yeelde very rare and precious ſkinnes: and amongeſt the reſt, thoſe principally, which we call Sables, worne about the neckes of our Noble women, and Ladies: it hath alſo Martyns ſkinnes, white, blacke, and red Fox ſkinnes, ſkinnes of Hares, and Ermyns, and others, which they call and terme barbarouſly, as Beuers, Minxes, and Miniuers. The ſea adioyning, breedes a certaine beaſt, which they call the Mors, which ſeeketh his foode vpon the rockes, climing vp with the helpe of his teeth. The Ruſſes vſe to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompt, as we doe of the Elephants tooth. Theſe commodities they cary vpon Deeres backes to the towne of Lampas: and from thence to Colmagro, and there in the winter time, are kept great Faires for the ſale of them. This Citie of Colmagro, ſerues all the Countrey about it with ſalt, and ſalt fiſhe. The Ruſſes alſo of the North parts, ſend thither oile, which they call traine, which they make in a riuer called "Vna, "or Dwina. although it be alſo made elſe where: and here they vſe to boile the water of the ſea, whereof they make very great ſtore of ſalt.

Of controuerſies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

HAuing hitherto ſpoken ſo much of the chiefeſt Cities of Ruſſia, as the matter required: it remaineth that wee ſpeake ſomewhat of the lawes, that the Moſcouits doe vſe, as farre forth as the ſame are come to our knowledge. If any controuerſie ariſe among them, they firſt make their Landlords Iudges in the matter, and if they can not ende it, then they preferre it to the Magiſtrate. The plaintif craueth of the ſaid Magiſtrate, that he may haue leaue to enter lawe againſt his aduerſarie: and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bring forth a ſuretie for him: but if he be not of ſuch credite, as to procure a ſuretie, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the Iudge. The Iudge then aſketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintife. If he denies it, then ſaith the Iudge, how canſt thou deny it? the defendant anſwereth, by an othe: thereuppon the officer is commaunded to ceaſe from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no Lawyers, but euery man is his owne Aduocate, and both the complaint of the accuſer, and the anſwer of the defendant, are in manner of petition deliuered to the Emperour, intreating iuſtice at his hands. The Emperour himſelfe heareth euery great controuerſie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worthie of ſpeciall commendation, in the Maieſtie of a Prince. But although he do this with a good purpoſe of mind, yet the corrupt Magiſtrates doe wonderfully pertert

uert the same: but if the Emperour take them in any fault, he doth punish them most seuerely. Now at the last, when eche partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the Iudge demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any more to say for himselfe: he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his Champion, or else intreateth that in fight betwixt themselues, the matter may be ended: which being granted, they both fight it out: or if both of them, or either of them, seeme vnfit for that kind of triall, then they haue publike Champions to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These Champions are armed with yron axes, and speares, and fight on foote, and he whose Champion is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the Iudge granteth it: in which case they may not vse publike Champions. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemne the other, if he be basely borne, and will not fight with him. If a poore man happen to growe in debt, his Creditor takes him, and maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh vp. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and children, bondslaues vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their handes, and so for euer after contents themselues with meate and drinke: so litle accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

IF any man be taken vpon committing of theft, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time, hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoided.

Of their religion.

THey maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no grauen images of saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore, and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water vpon them, without other honour. They say that our images, which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses, they haue images for their houshold saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: he that comes into his neighbours house, doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foome or stoole stand in his way, he oftentimes beateth his browe vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and bodye, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priestes, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receaued, and holde amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priestes, as they call them, are made Monkes, to whome then chastitie for euer is commanded. Their deuine seruice is al done, and said in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand it: they receaue the Lordes Supper with leauened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a sawcer, and prohibite no man from receauing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde, and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe read, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noise: but in the time of the rest of the seruice, they vse very great silence, and reuerence, and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lordes praier, the tenth man amongest them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandements, no man, or at the least, very fewe of them doe either know them, or can say them: their opinion is, that such secrete and holy things as they are, should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Maxime amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandements also are all abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie, they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrue tongues, they are altogether ignorant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate foure seuerall fastes, which they cal according to the names of the Saincts: the first beginnes with them, at the time that our Lent begimnes. The second is called amongst them, the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the

fourth

fourth, and last, beginnes vpon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wensday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Vpon the Satturday they eate flesh: whensoeuer any of those fasting feastes doe drawe neere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they liue altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language, they call those weekes, the fast of butter.

In the time of their fastes, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue, and Christian concord: and then also, they doe more often then at any other time, goe to the holie Communion. When seuen daies are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they often doe either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuennights, they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuennight fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinking, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting daies, they doe it very streightly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fishe, as long as those fasting daies do endure: but vpon euery Wensday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they fast.

There are very many Monasteries, of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great liuings, for their maintenance doe belong: for the Friers and the Monkes, doe at the least possesse the third part of the liuings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire: to those Monkes that are of this order, there is amongest them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eate no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fishe, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eate any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fasting times, whereof we spake before, they eate no fishe at all: onely they liue with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause, and take order to grow and spring, for their vse and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small: for the discharge of their office, they doe euery day say seruice, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such obseruation begin their seruice, that they will be sure to make an ende of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning, they celebrate the Communion. When they haue so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner, they go againe to seruice, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time, while they are at dinner, there is some exposition, or interpretation of the Gospel vsed. Note.

Whensoeuer any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his houshold stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, siluer, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succeed him in his place and dignitie, doth redeeme all those things, and buieth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are couered with shingle boordes. At the doores of their churches, they vsually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set vp their bels, wherein sometimes they haue but one, in some two, and in some also three.

There is one vse and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dieth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corps they put a litle scrole, and in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, hauing receiued the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who reciuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latin church, reputing themselues to bee followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that wee are but halfe christians, and themselues onely to bee the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and childish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling neere to Tartaria.

There is a certaine part of Moscouie, bordering vpon the countries of the Tartars, wherein those Moscouits ꝑ dwel, are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idol amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife, and they haue a custome that whensoeuer any plague or any calamitie doeth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe by and by to consult with their idoll, which they doe after this manner: they fall downe prostrate before the idoll, and praye vnto it, and put in the presence of the same, Aurea vetula, or Zelotibaba.

a cymball, and about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a siluer tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoeuer of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill, or idoll, he is againe restored to life, and then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idoll, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the *apparell of the people.*

THe common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the lower beames do so receiue the round holownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all windes that blowe, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinkes with mosse. The forme and fashion of their houses in all places is foure square, with straight and narow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boordes couered without with the barke of trees: within their houses they haue benches or griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe vpon, for the common people know not the vse of beds: they haue stooues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doeth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Mary.

THese are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subiects newly returned from Russia haue brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherefore if your maiestie shall be fauourable, and graunt a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowme of your name will be spred amongst those nations, whereunto three onely noble personages from the very creation haue had accesse, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia *his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard* Chanceler.

THe Almightie power of God, and the incomprehensible holie Trinitie, rightfull Christian beliefe, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasileuich, by the grace of God Emperour of all Russia, and great Duke of Vlademerskij, Moskouskij, Nouogrodskij, Cazanskii, Pskanskii, Smolenskii, Tuerskij, Hugorskij, Permskii, Veatskii, Bolgarskii, with diuers other lands, Emperour also and great Duke of Nouogoroda, and in the lowe Countries of Chernigouskii, Rezanskii, Volotskii, Refskii, Belskii, Rostouskii, Yaroslauskii, Belocherskii, Oodorskii, Obdorskii, Condinskii, and many other Countreis, Lord ouer all the North coast, greeting.

Iuan Vasileuich, that is to say, Iohn the sonne of Basilius.

Before all right great and worthy of honour, Edward King of England, &c. according to our most hartie and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, and according to our holy Christian faith, and great gouernance, and being in the light of great vnderstanding, our answere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the request of your faithfull seruant, Richard Chanceler, with his companie, as they shall let you wisely know, is thus. In the strength of the twentieth yeere of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes, arriued a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and said, that he was desirous to come into our Dominions, and according to his request hath seene our Maiestie, and "our eies: and hath declared vnto vs your Maiesties desire, as that we should grant vnto your subiects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subiects, to frequent free Marts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and vpon the same to haue wares for their returne. And they haue also deliuered vs your letters, which declare

That is, come into our presence.

declare the ſame requeſt. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that whereſoeuer your faithfull ſeruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be well entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your ſeruant Richard can declare.

And we with chriſtian beliefe and faithfulneſſe, and according to your honourable requeſt, and my honourable commaundement will not leaue it vndone, and are furthermore willing that you ſend vnto vs your ſhips and veſſels, when and as often as they may haue paſſage, with good aſſurance on our part to ſee them harmeleſſe. And if you ſend one of your maieſties counſell to treate with vs whereby your countrey merchaunts may with all kindes of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they ſhall haue their free Marte with all free liberties through my whole dominions with all kindes of wares, to come and goe at their pleaſure, without any let, damage, or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our ſeale which we haue commaunded to be vnder ſealed. Written in our dominion, in our towne and our palace in the caſtle of Moſco, in the yeere ſeuen thouſand and ſixtie, the ſecond moneth of Februarie.

This letter was written in the Moſcouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad ſeale hanging at the ſame, ſealed in paper vpon waxe. This ſeale was much like the broad ſeale of England, hauing on the one ſide the image of a mã an horſeback in complete harneſſe fighting with a dragon. Vnder this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moſcouian letters. Theſe letters were ſent the next yeere after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, waights and meaſures vſed in Ruſſia, written by Iohn Haſſe, in the yeere, 1554.

FOraſmuch as it is moſt neceſſary for all merchants which ſeeke to haue traffique in any ſtrange regions, firſt to acquaint themſelues with the coines of thoſe landes with which they doe intend to ioine in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the higheſt piece to the loweſt, and in what ſort they make their paiments, as alſo what their common waights and meaſures be, For theſe cauſes I haue thought good to write ſome thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the merchants of that new Aduenture, may the better vnderſtand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will ariſe.

No coines of gold in Ruſſia, but all of ſiluer.

Firſt, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Ruſſia hath no other coines then ſiluer in all his land, which goeth for paiment amongſt merchants, yet notwithſtanding there is a coine of copper, which ſerueth for the reliefe of the poore in Moſco, and no where els, and that is but onely for quas, water and fruite, as nuts, apples, and ſuch other like. The name of which money is called Pole or Poles, of which Poles there goe to the leaſt of the ſiluer coines, 18. But I will not ſtand vpon this, becauſe it is no current money among merchants.

Of ſiluer coines there be theſe ſortes of pieces: the leaſt is a Poledenga, the ſecond a Denga, the third, Nowgrote, which is as much to ſay in Engliſh as halfepenie, penie, and two pence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forren countries, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they paſſe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in ſumming of money is this: as we ſay in England, halfepenie, penie, ſhilling and pound, ſo ſay they, Poledenga, Denga, Altine and Rubble: There goeth two Poledengas to a Denga, ſix Dengaes to an Altine, and 23. Altines, and two Dengaes to a Rubble.

The waights in Ruſſia.

Concerning the waights of Ruſſia they are theſe. There are two ſortes of pounds in vſe amongſt them, the one great, the other ſmall: the great pound is iuſt two ſmall pounds: they call the great waight by the name of Beaſemar, and the ſmall they call the Skallawaight: with this ſmall waight they weigh their ſiluer coines, of the which the Emperour hath commaunded to put to euery ſmall pound three Rubbles of ſiluer, and with the ſame waight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almoſt all other wares which come into the land, except thoſe which they waigh by the Pode, as hops ſalt, iron, lead, tinne and batrie with diuers others: notwithſtanding they vſe to weigh batrie more often by the ſmall waight then by the great.

Whenſoeuer you find the prices of your wares rated by the Pode, conſider that to be the great waight, and the pound to be the ſmall. Alſo they deuide the ſmall pound into 48. parts, and they cal the eight and fortieth part a Slotnike, by the which Slotnike the retailers ſell their wares out of their ſhoppes, as Goldſmiths, Grocers, Silkeſellers and ſuch other like as we doe vſe to retaile

by the ounce: and as for their great waight which they call the Beaſemar, they ſell by pode, or ſhippond. The pode doth containe of the great waight, 40. pounds, and of the ſmall 80. there goe 10. podes to a ſhippond.

Yet you muſt conſider that their great waight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13. ounces, but aboue 12. I thinke it be. But for your iuſt proofe, waigh 6. rubbles of Ruſſia money with our pound waight, and then ſhall you ſee what it lacketh: for 6. rubbles of Ruſſia is by the Emperours ſtanderd, the great pound: ſo that I thinke it the next way to know the iuſt waight, as well of the great pound as of the ſmall.

The waight of Wardhouſe.

There is another waight needefull to be knowen, which is the waight of Wardhouſe, for ſo much as they weigh all their dry fiſhe by waight, which waight is the Baſemare, as they of Ruſſia doe vſe, notwithſtanding there is another ſort in it: the names of thoſe waights are theſe: the marke pound, the great pound, the weie, and the ſhippond. The marke pound is to be vnderſtood as our pound, and their great pound is 24. of their marke pound: the weie is 3. great pound, and 8. weie is a ſhippond.

The Ruſſia meaſures.

Nowe concerning their meaſures. As they haue two ſortes of waights, ſo they haue alſo two ſortes of meaſures: wherewith they meaſure cloth both linnen and woollen: they call the one an Areſhine, and the other a Locut: the Areſhine I take to bee as much as the Flaunders ell, and their Locut halfe an Engliſh yard: with their Areſhine they may mete all ſuch ſortes of clothes as commeth into the land, and with the Locut all ſuch cloth both linnen and woollen, as they make themſelues. And whereas wee vſe to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they doe giue nothing but bare meaſure.

They haue alſo a meaſure wherewith they doe mete their corne, which they call a Setfoorth, and the halfe of that an Oſmine: this Setfoorth I take to be three buſhels of London meaſure. And as for their drinke meaſure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I neuer ſawe any true rate, but that ſome was greater then other ſome. And as for the meaſures of Wardhouſe wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference betweene that & the meaſure of Danske, which is halfe an Engliſh ell.

The meaſure of Wardhouſe in cloth, is the meaſure of Danſke.

The Turkes and Armenians pay cuſtome.

Concerning the tolles and cuſtomes of Ruſſia, it was reported to mee in Moſcouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie cuſtome of all the Wares they bring into the Emperours land, and aboue that they pay for all ſuch goods as they waigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which the buyer or ſeller muſt make report of to the Maſter of the beame: they alſo pay a certayne Horſe toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horſe.

The Emperors beame.

The Dutch nation loſt their priuiledges, and renewed them with a great ſumme.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithſtanding for certaine offences, they had loſt their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Sommer to their great charge. It was reported to mee by a Iuſtice of that countrey, that they paied for it thirtie thouſand Rubbles, and alſo that Rye, Dorpte and Reuell haue yeelded themſelues vnder the gouernement of the Emperour of Ruſſia: whether this was a bragge of the Ruſſes or not, I know not, but thus he ſayd, and in deed whiles wee were there, there came a great Ambaſſadour out of Liffeland, for the aſſurance of their priuiledges.

The commodities of Ruſſia.

To ſpeake ſomewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to bee vnderſtood, that there is a certaine place foure ſcore miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there reſorte all the ſortes of Wares that are in the North partes, as Oiles, Salt, Stockfiſhe, Salmon, Fethers and Furres: their Salt they make of ſalt water by the Sea ſide: their Oiles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great ſtore which is brought out of the Bay where our ſhippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to ſell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and ſo ſell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockfiſh and Salmon commeth from a place called Mallums, not farre from Wardhouſe: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Moſco, and their dry fiſhe they carry to Nouogrode, and ſell it there to the Leeflanders.

The Furres and Fethers which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Minkes, Armin, Lettis, Graies, Woolnerings, and white Foxes, with Deere ſkinnes, they are brought thither, by the men of Penninge, Lampne, and Powſtezer, which fetch them from the Samoydes that are counted ſauage people: and the merchaunts that bring theſe Furres, doe vſe to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Batrie, and ſuch other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carrie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Moſco, and ſell them there. The Fethers which come from Penning they doe little eſteeme.

If our merchants doe deſire to know the meeteſt place of Ruſſia for their ſtanding houſe, in mine opinion

opinion I take it to bee Vologda, which is a great towne ſtanding in the heart of Ruſſia, with many great and good townes about it. There is great plentie of corne, victuals, and of all ſuch wares as are raiſed in Ruſland, but ſpecially, flaxe, hempe, tallow and bacon: there is alſo great ſtore of waxe, but it commeth from the Mosko. Vologda and the ſtate thereof.

The towne of Vologda is meeteſt for our merchaunts, becauſe it lieth amongſt all the beſt townes of Ruſſia, and there is no town in Ruſſia but trades with it: alſo the water is a great commoditie to it. If they plant themſelues in Moſco or Nouogrode, their charge will bee great and wonderfull, but not ſo in Vologda: for all things will there bee had better cheape by the one halfe. And for their vent, I know no place ſo meet: it is likely that ſome will thinke the Mosko to be the meeteſt by the reaſon of the court, but by that reaſon I take it to be woꝛſe: for the charge there would be ſo great by crauers and expences, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholy conſumed, which in the other place will bee ſaued. And yet notwithſtanding our merchaunts may bee there in the Winter to ſerue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great merchaunt himſelfe of waxe and ſables, which with good foreſight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are little or none in Moſcouia, beſides thoſe aboue rehearſed: if there bee other, it is brought thither by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes conſidering the charges of cariage ouer land. The emperor of Moſcouie is a merchant himſelfe.

Our merchaunts may doe well to prouide for the Ruſſes ſuch wares as the Dutch nation doeth ſerue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleeue, they ſhall ſerue better and with leſſe charge then they of Rye or Dorpt, or Reuel: for it is no ſmall aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of theſe places, and their charge not little to cary them ouer land to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Ruſſia miles.

This Nouogrode is a place well furniſhed with Flaxe, Waxe, Hides, tallow and many other things: the beſt flaxe in Ruſſia is brought thither and there ſold by the hundred bundels, which is done alſo at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, dwell as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the vtterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to the other.

They haue in Ruſſia two ſortes of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other ſmall: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundles then the ſmall: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the ſmall flaxe there goe 27. or 28. bundles to a ſhippond, there goeth not of the greater ſort aboue 22. or 24. at the moſt. There are many other trifles in Ruſſia, as ſope, mats, &c. but I thinke there wil be no great account made of them. Two ſortes of flaxe.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commiſſion of the *Merchants of this company reſiant in Ruſsia, and at the VVardhouſe, for the ſecond voiage, 1555. the firſt of May, as followeth.*

FIrſt, the Gouernour, Conſuls, Aſſiſtants and whole company aſſembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, iointly and ſeuerally to be Agents, Factors, and Atturnies generall and ſpeciall, for the whole bodie of this companie, to buy, ſell, trucke, change and permutte all, and euery kind and kindes of wares, merchandizes and goods to the ſaid company appertaining, now laden and ſhipped in the good ſhip called ẏ Edward Bonanenture, appointed for Ruſſia, the ſame to vtter and ſell to the moſt commoditie, profite and aduantage of the ſaid corporation, be it for ready money, wares & merchandizes, or trucke, preſently or for time, as occaſion and benefit of the company ſhal require: and all ſuch wares as they or either of them ſhall buy, trucke or prouide, or cauſe to be bought for the company to lade them homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent courſe of merchandizes, ſhall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth alſo to Iohn Brooke for the Wardhouſe, as in the 17. & 18. articles of this commiſſion appeareth.

2 Item, it is alſo committed, as aboue, to the ſaid Agents, to binde and charge the ſaid company by debt for wares vpon credite, as good opportunitie and occaſion ſhall ſerue, with power to charge and bind the ſaid company, and their ſucceſſors for the paiments of ſuch things as ſhall be taken vp for credite, and the ſaid Agents to be relieued, ab opere ſatis dandi.

3 Item, full authoritie and power is committed to the ſayd firſt named factors, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this fleete, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to preſent

the king and Queenes maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the merchaunts presents at such time and place as shall bee thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demaund, and humbly desire of the Emperour such further graunts and priuiledges to bee made to this company, as may bee beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffique with his subiects, according to such instructions as be in this behalfe deuised and deliuered to the Agents, whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend vpō the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shall be thought good.

4 Item, that all the sayd Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behauiours of the people of the countreys where they shall traffique, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Merchants, Mariners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as few debtes as possiblie may be, and to be circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positiue be broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolcs, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that all things passe with quiet, without breach of the publique peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arriue or traffique.

5 Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or elsewhere, in one or moe good townes, where good trade shall bee found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhabite and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warehouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation so euer he bee, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to bee giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shall be obedient to the orders, rules and gouernments of the sayd Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall bee found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehauiour, at the discretion of the sayd Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6 Item, if any person of the sayde ministers shall bee of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not bee reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the sayde Agents to displace euery such person from the place or roume to him here committed, and some other discreete person to occupie the same, as to the sayde Agents by their discretions shall seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall bee found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the sayd Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to bee deliuered to the Iustice of the countrey, to receiue such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the sayde Agents and factours shall daily one howre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall bee most conuenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to bee written by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to bee prouided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or deuise, but to obserue the same exactly, vpon such reasonable payne as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the sayd Agents shall in the ende of euery weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Cashers bookes, reckonings and accounts, firming the same with their handes, but also shall receiue and take weekely the account of euery other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the empteous, and also of the state of the household expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to be firmed by the sayd Agents hands.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take vpon him to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, merchaundizes or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantise of the sayde Agentes vnder their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11 Item, that euery inferiour minister, that is to vnderstand, all Clearkes and pong merchants beyng at the order of the sayde Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and trauaile to all such place, and places, as they or he shall be appointed vnto by the sayd Agents, and effectually to follow and doe all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truly to the most benefit of the company, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bonds of their maisters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at euery moneths ende, all accountes and reckonings shall bee brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoriall, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the

Agents

Agents together with the priuileges, and coppies of letters, may & ſhall be well and truly written by the ſecretarie, in ſuch forme as ſhalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings, may be ſent home with the ſaid ſhippe at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents do diligently learne and obſerue all kinde of wares, as well naturals as forren, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be ſolde for the benefit of the company, and what kinde of our commodities and other thinges of theſe Weſt partes, be moſt vendible in thoſe Realmes with profit, giuing a perfect aduiſe of all ſuch things requiſite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargen with you for the whole maſſe of your ſtocke, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne ſubiectes, then debating the matter prudently among your ſelues, ſet ſuch high prices of your commodities, as you may aſſure your ſelues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at ſuch baſe prices, as you may heere alſo make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue diſtrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they ſuſtaine daily in wages, victualles and other things: all which muſt be requited by the wiſe handling of this voyage, which being the firſt preſident ſhalbe a perpetuall preſident for euer: and therefore all circumſpection is to be vſed, and foreſeene in this firſt enterprize, which God bleſſe and proſper vnder you, to his glory, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maieſtie, and the Lords of the councell haue conceiued great hope, whoſe expectations are not to be fruſtrated. Note.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vſe all wayes and meanes poſſible to learne how men may paſſe from Ruſſia, either by land or by ſea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ſhippes, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauelled perſons, either naturall or forren, ſuch as haue trauelled from the North to the South.

16 Item, it is committed to the ſaid Agents, that if they ſhall be certified credibly, that any of our ſaid firſt ſhippes be arriued in any place whereunto paſſage is to be had by water or by land, that then certeine of the company, at the diſcretion of the Agents ſhall be appointed to be ſent to them, to learne their eſtate and condition, to viſit, refreſh, relieue, and furniſh them with all neceſſaries and requiſites, at the common charges of the company, and to imbrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our ſocietie, to their reioycing and comfort, aduertiſing Sir Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefulneſſe of them and their long abſence, with our deſire to heare of them, with all other things done in their abſence for their commodity, no leſſe then if they had beene preſent.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ſhippes ſhall arriue at this going forth at the Wardhouſe, that their Agents, with Maiſter Chanceler grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouſe, with John Buckland maiſter of the Edward, John Howlet maiſter, and John Robbins pilot of the Philip and Mary, ſhall conferre and conſult together, what is moſt profitable to be done therefore for the benefit of the company, and to conſider whether they may bargen with the captaine of the caſtle, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongſt the coaſt for a large quantitie of fiſh, drie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reaſonable for trucke of cloth, meale, ſalt or beere, and what traineoyle, or other commoditie is to be had there at this time, or any other ſeaſon of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found ſufficient lading for both the ſaid ſhippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in haunting the place, if profit will ſo ariſe to the company, and to conſider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouſe any kinde of lading homeward, and what it may amount vnto, and whether it ſhall be expedient for the Philip to abide at Wardhouſe the returne of the Edward out of Ruſſia, or getting that ſhe may, returne with the firſt good winde to England, without abiding for the Edward, and ſo to conclude and accord certainelie among themſelues vpon their arriuall, that the certainty may (vpon good deliberation) be ſo ordered and determined betweene both ſhippes, that the one may be aſſured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ſhip, according to ſuch order as ſhall be taken betweene them. The Philip and Mary.

18 Item, that John Brooke our merchant for the Wardhouſe take good aduiſe of the reſt of our Agents, how to vſe himſelfe in all affayres, while the ſhippe ſhall be at the Wardhouſe, he to ſee good order to be kept, make bargens aduiſedly, not crediting the people vntill their natures, diſpoſitions and fidelities ſhall be well tried, make no debts, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be truſted then to truſt. Note diligentlie what be the beſt wares for thoſe parts, and how the fiſh falleth on the coaſt, and by what meane it is to be bought at the moſt aduantage, what kindes and diuerſities of ſorts in fiſhes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caſke. Note. Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye and circumſpection to the beere, ſalt, and other liquid wares, and

and not to ſuffer any waſte to be made by the company, and he in all contracts to require aduiſe, counſell, and conſent of the maiſter and pilot, the merchant to be our houſwife, as our ſpeciall truſt is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor cuſtomes of the countrey be broken by any of the compa-ny, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the compa-nie to be quiet, voyd of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, abſteine from all exceſſe of drinking, as much as may be, and in all to vſe and behaue themſelues as to quiet merchants doth, and ought to apperteine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward ſhall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conuenientlie, and profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Ruſſia, and the reſt to be taken in at the Wardhouſe, as by the Agentes ſhall be accor-ded. But by all meanes it is to be foreſeene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any foreen place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertiſementes of the merchantes, with ſuch further aduiſe for the next yeeres prouiſion, as they ſhall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuiolablie to be obſerued, that when the good ſhippes, or either of them (by Gods grace) ſhall returne home to the coaſtes of Eng-lande, that neither of them ſhall ſtaye or touche in any Hauen or Porte of Englande, otherwiſe then winde and weather ſhall ſerue, but ſhall directly ſayle and come to the Porte of the citie of London, the place of their right diſcharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, cheſt, fardell, truſſe, barrell, fatte, or whatſoeuer thing it ſhall be, be brought out of the ſhippe, vntill the companie ſhall giue order for the ſame, and appoint ſuch perſons of the company as ſhall be thought meete for that purpoſe, to take view, and conſider the ſhippe and her lading, and ſhall giue order for the breaking vp of the ſaid bulke, or giue licence by diſcretion, for thinges to be brought to land. And that euery officer ſhall ſhewe the enuoyſe of his charge to him firſt committed, and to examine the waſtes and loſſes, and to deliuer the remainder to the vſe and benefite of the company, according to ſuch order as ſhall be appointed in that behalfe.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willeth, and requireth, not onely all the ſaid Agents, pilots, maiſters, merchantes, clerkes, boatſwaines, ſtewardes, ſkafemaiſters, and all other officers and miniſters of this preſent voyage, being put in charge and truſt daylye to peruſe, reade, and ſtudy ſuch inſtructions as be made, giuen, and deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Ruſſia, Moſcouia, Wardhouſe, and other places, their diſpoſitions, lawes, maners, cuſtomes, vſes, tolles, cartages, coines, weights, numbers, meaſures, wares, merchandizes, commodities, and incommodities, the one to be accepted and embraced, the other to be reiected and vtterly aban-doned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be ſo well taught, perfited, and readily in-ſtructed in all the premiſes, that, by ignorance, no loſſe or preiudice may grow or chance to the com-panie, aſſuring themſelues, that foraſmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured ſo in theſe their inſtructions to them giuen, that euery man may be perfect, and fully learned to eſchew all loſ-ſes, hurts and damages that may inſue by pretenſe or colour of none knowledge, the company entendeth not to allowe, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iuſt cauſe of excuſe, in that which ſhall be miſordered by negligence, the burden whereof ſhall light vpon the negligent offending perſon, eſpecially vpon ſuch as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to do or to attempt any thing, whereby preiudice may ariſe, without the commiſſion of the Agents as a-boue is mentioned, whereunto relation be had. Note.

23 Foraſmuch as it is not poſſible to write and indite ſuch preſcribed orders, rules and com-miſſions to you the Agents and factours, but that occaſion, time and place, and the pleaſures of the princes, together with the operation or ſucceſſe of fortune ſhall change or ſhift the ſame, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the ſaid company doe commit to you their deare and intyre beloued Agentes and factours, to doe in this behalfe for the commoditie and wealth of this com-pany, as by your diſcretions, vpon good aduiſed deliberations ſhall be thought good and beneficiall. Prouided alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credit, and eſtimation of the ſame compa-ny be conſerued and preſerued: which to confirme we beſeech the liuing Lord to his glory, the pub-like benefit of this realme, our common profit, and your praiſes.

Finallie for the ſeruice, and due accomplishment of all the premiſes, euery Agent and mini-ſter of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a corporall othe vpon the Euangeliſtes to ob-ſerue, and cauſe to be obſerued, this commiſſion, and euery part, clauſe and ſentence of the ſame, as muche as in him lyeth, as well for his owne parte as for any other perſon, but alſo haue bounde themſelues and their friendes to the company in ſeuerall ſummes of money, expreſ-ſed in the Actes, and Recordes of this ſocietie, for the trueth and fidelities of them for the beter,

and

and alſo manifeſter teſtification of the truth, and of their othes, promiſes, and bands aforeſaid, they haue to this commiſſion ſubſcribed particularly their ſeuerall handes, and the companie alſo in confirmation of the ſame, haue ſet their ſeale. Yeuen the day, moneth, and yeeres firſt aboue mentioned.

The othe miniſtred to the ſeruants of the fellowſhippe.

YE ſweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye ſhall well, faithfully & truely, and vprightly, and with all your indeuour, ſerue this right worſhipfull company in that order, which by this fellowſhippes Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia &c, ſhall be vnto you committed, by commiſſion, commandement, or other his direction. And that you ſhall be obedient and faithfull to the ſame our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truely and vprightlie, according to the commiſſion, charge, commandement, or other direction of the ſaid Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you ſhall proſecute and doe all that which in you lieth, for the good renowme, commoditie, benefit and profit of the ſaid fellowſhippe: and you ſhall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exerciſe or vſe any trade or feat of merchandizes for your owne priuate account, commodity, gaine or profit, or for the account of or for any other perſon or perſons, without conſent or licence of this ſaid fellowſhippe, firſt obteined in writing. And if you ſhall know or vnderſtand any other perſon or perſons to vſe, exerciſe or doe any trade, traffike or feat of merchandize, to or for his or their owne account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye ſhall truely and plainely diſcloſe, open, vtter and reueale, and ſhew the ſame vnto this ſaid fellowſhippe, without fraud, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth, the companies *firſt Agent in Moſcouie, touching their interteinement in* their ſecond voyage. Anno 1555 the 27 of Nouember in Moſco.

RIght worſhipfull, my duetie conſidered, &c. It may pleaſe your worſhip to vnderſtand, that at the making heereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, ſaue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the riuer out of the boat, and was drowned: and the 11 day of September we came to Vologda, and there we laied all our wares vp, and ſolde very little: but one merchant would haue giuen vs 12 robles for a broad cloth, and he ſaid he would haue had them all, and 4 altines for a pound of ſugar, but we did refuſe it becauſe he was the firſt, and the merchants were not come thither, nor would not come before winter, trulting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithſtanding we did for the beſt. And the houſe that our wares lie in, coſt from that day vntill Eaſter ten robles. And the 28 day of September we did determine with our ſelues that it was good for M. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hattorp, Chriſtopher Hudſon, John Segewicke, Richard Johnſon, and Richard Good, to tarie at Vologda, and M. Chanceler, Henry Lane, Edward Wiſe, Robert Beſt and I ſhould go to Moſco. And we did lade the Emperours ſuger, with part of all ſortes of wares to haue had to the Moſco with vs, and the way was ſo deepe, that we were faine to turne backe, and leaue it ſtill at Vologda till the froſt. And we went forth with poſt horſe, & the charge of euery horſe being ſtill ten in number, comes to 10 s. 7 d. halfe penie, beſides the guides, and we came to the Moſco the fourth day of October, and were lodged that night in a ſimple houſe: but the next day we were ſent for to the Emperour his ſecretarie, and he bad vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and we ſhewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he deſired to ſee them all, and that they might remaine with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and ſo we did: and then we were appointed to a better houſe: and the ſeuenth day the ſecretarie ſent for vs againe, and then he ſhewed vs that we ſhould haue a better houſe, for it was the Emperour his will, that we ſhould haue all things that we did lacke, and did ſend vs meade of two ſorts, and two hens, our houſe free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, ſeuen altines, and two penſe in money, and medow a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our houſe, and to do that whereunto we would ſet him: and we had giuen many rewards before, which you ſhall perceiue by other, and ſo we gaue the meſſengers

Queene Maries letters to the Emperor of Ruſſia.

gers a reward with thankes: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs ready to speake with the Emperour on the morrow. And the letters were sent vs, that we might deliuer them our selues, and we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailes, bowles and pots of siluer, I meane, like washing bowles, all parsell gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of golde, and then vnto the chamber where his grace sat, and there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of golde, and we did our duety, and shewed his grace our queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that he was glad that we were come in health vnto his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs go in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towardes his grace, and none in the chamber sate with their backes towards him, being, I thinke, neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender, but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboord, not mooued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers sortes of wine and medo, to whome we gaue a reward. And afterward we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuileges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be written in the Russe tongue, as we did meane. So first a Russian did write for vs a breuiate to the Emperor, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger priuilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our mindes, and he would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet we haue no answere: but we haue bene required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelour, to know what wares we had brought into the Realme, and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may be had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperour therof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best merchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talke with vs. And so a day was appointed, and we mette in the Secretary his office, and there was the vnder Chancelour, who was not past two yeeres since the Emperours merchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to bethinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that we might come to them as to our owne house, and for merchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our prises of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we could make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse had not beene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sortes of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them iustly, till we did know as well their iust weight as their measures (for in all places where we did come, all weights and measures did vary:) then the Secretary (who had made promise vnto vs before) said, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder seale, & he that was found faulty in the contrary, to buy or sell with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said moreouer, that if it so happen that any of our merchants do promise by couenant at any time to deliuer you any certaine sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be written, according as the bargen is, before a iustice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenant and promise in all points, according to his couenant, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue thereby, he should make it good, if he be worth so much: and in like case we must doe to them, and to that we did agree, saue onely if it were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should be (as God forbid) that the shippe should mischance or be robbed, & the proofe to be made that such kinde of wares were laden, the English merchants to beare no losse to the other merchant. Then the Chancelor said, me thinks you shall do best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100 miles from the right discarge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships shall come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000 miles from Vologda by water, and all our merchants shall bring all our merchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our merchants, neither go empty nor come emptie: for if that they lacke lading homward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come loden againe: so we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: for we shall neuertheless, if we list, haue a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we will in Russland:

The Italians counsell to our people.

The diuersitie of weights & measures in Russia.

Colmogro.

Ruſland. But the three and twentith of this preſent we were with the ſecretary, and then among other talke, we mooued, that if we ſhould tary at Colmogro with our wares, and ſhould not come to Vologda, or further to ſeeke our market, but tary ſtill at Colmogro, and then the merchants of the Moſco and others ſhould not come and bring their wares, and ſo the ſhippes ſhould come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great loſſe and hinderance for vs: then ſayd he againe to vs, that the merchants had beene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they ſhould come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they ſhould not finde wares there ſufficient to ſerue them, that then they ſhould be at great loſſe and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to fall to that: and to that we did anſwere, that after the time that we doe appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they ſhould neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the peere, they ſhould finde that our merchants would haue at the leaſt for a thouſand robles, although the ſhippes were not come: ſo that he ſaid, that then we muſt talke further with the merchants: ſo that as yet I know not, but that we ſhall haue need of one houſe at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then we ſhall be ſure to buy ſome at Vologda, and to be out of bondage. Vologda.

And thus may we continue three or foure peeres, and in this ſpace we ſhall know the countrey and the merchants, and which way to ſaue our ſelues beſt, and where to plant our houſes, and where to ſeeke for wares: for the Moſco is not beſt for any kinde of wares for vs to buy, ſaue onely waxe, which we can not haue vnder ſeuen pence the Ruſſe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden ſixe pence for a pound. And I haue bought more, fiue hundred weight of yarne, which ſtandes me in eight pence farthing the Ruſſe pound one with another. And if we had receiued any ſtore of money, and were diſpatched heere of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we ſhall be ſhortly (you know what I meane) then as ſoone as we haue made ſale, I do intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Pletſco, whence all the great number of the beſt tow flaxe commeth, and ſuch wares as are there I truſt to buy part. And feare you not, we wil do that may be done, if God ſend vs health, deſiring you to prepare fully for one ſhippe to be readie in the beginning of Aprill to depart off the coaſt of England. Nouogrode.

Concerning all thoſe thinges which we haue done in the wares, you ſhall receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carieth theſe from vs is a merchant of Turwell, and he was cauſed to carry theſe by the commandement of the Emperour his ſecretarie, whoſe name is Euan Mecallawiche weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend. And if it pleaſe you to ſend any letters to Dantiſke, to Robert Elſon, or to William Watſons ſeruant Dunſtan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may pleaſe you to incloſe ours in a letter ſent from you to him, written in Polliſh, Dutch, Latine, or Italian: ſo incloſed, comming to the Moſco to his handes, he will conuey our letters to vs whereſoeuer we be. And I haue written to Dantiſke already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence. The Ruſſian ſecretary his name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men ſay, that theſe hundred peeres was neuer ſo warme weather in this countrey at this time of the peere. But as yeſternight we receiued a letter from Chriſtopher Hudſon from a citie called Yereſlaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, ſo that he was faine to tary by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours preſent was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the ſledde did ouerthrow, and the butte of Hollocke was loſt, which made vs all very ſory.

I pray you be not offended with theſe my rude letters, for lacke of time: but as ſoone as ſales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with ſpeed: for the way is made ſo doubtfull, that the right meſſenger is ſo much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect ſent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of theſe: and to ſay the trueth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another ſhift beſide, which I truſt ſhall ſerue the turne till he come, if ſales be made before he be ready, which is and ſhall be as pleaſeth God: who euer preſerue your worſhip, and ſend vs good ſales. Written in haſte.

By yours to command

GEORGE KILLINGWORTH

Draper.

A copie of the first Priuileges granted by the Emperour *of Russia to the English Merchantes, in* the yeere 1555.

IOhn Vasiliwich, by the grace of God, Emperour of Russia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Moscouia, &c. To all people that shall see, reade, heare, or vnderstand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted all Realmes and Dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath need of the amity and commodities of the other, and by meanes thereof, traffike vsed from one to another, and amity thereby increased, and for that as amongst men nothing is more to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnesse, so that it is as troublesome to be vtterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke ayre, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health, considering also how needfull merchandize is, which furnisheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing, and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfying of their delights, and all other thinges conuenient and profitable for them, and that merchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters, in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of merchandizes is receiued and embraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entred into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Upon these respects, and other weighty and good considerations, vs heerunto mooving, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauor of her subiects, merchants, the gouernor, consuls, assistants, and comminalty of merchants aduenturers, for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace especiall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heyres and successors, doe giue and grant, as much as in vs is and lyeth, vnto Sebastian Cabota Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c, Assistants, and to the comminalty of the aforenamed fellowshippe, and to their successours for euer, and to the successours of euery of them, these articles, grants, immunities, franchises, liberties and priuileges, and euery of them heereafter following, expressed and declared, videlicet:

1 First, we for vs, our heyres and successours, do by these presents giue and grant free licence, faculty, authority and power vnto the said Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, and comminalty of the said fellowshippe, and to their successours for euer, that all and singular the merchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, atturneys, seruants, and ministers, and euery of them may at all times heereafter for euer more surely, freely, and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods, and things whatsoeuer, saile, come, and enter into all and singular our lands, countryes, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, ports, iurisdictions and dessraicts by sea, land, or fresh waters, and there tary, abide, and soiourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kinde of merchandizes with all maner of merchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, right condition, state or degrees they bee, and with the same or other shippes, wares, merchandizes, goods, and things, whatsoeuer they be, vnto other Empyres, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty, by sea, land or freshwaters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our Empyre and dominions, and euery part thereof, freely and quietly, without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, prest, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed, or payed, or at any time heereafter to be demanded, taxed, set, leuied, or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, shippes, wares, merchandizes and thinges, of, for, or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, shippes, wares, merchandizes, and thinges of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne special, of vs, our heyres or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and grant to the sayd merchantes, this power and libertie, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, merchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shall be by any meanes, within our dominions, landes, countryes, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time heereafter attached, stayed, arrested, ne disturbed for any debt, duetie

tie, or other thing, for the which they be not principall debters or ſureties, ne alſo for any offence or treſpaſſe committed, or that ſhall be committed, but onely for ſuch as they, or any of them ſhall actually commit, and the ſame offences (if any ſuch happen,) ſhalbe by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the ſaide Marchants ſhall and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie, to name, chooſe, and aſſigne brokers, ſhippers, packers, wayers, meaſurers, wagoners, and all other meete and neceſſarie labourers, for to ſerue them in their feate of Marchandiſes, and miniſter, and giue vnto them and euery of them a corporall othe, to ſerue them well and truely in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may puniſh and diſmiſſe them, and from time to time chooſe, ſweare, and admit other in their place, or places, without contradiction, let, vexation, or diſturbance, either of vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, or of any other our Juſtices, officers, miniſters, or ſubiects whatſoeuer.

4 Item, wee giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Marchants and their ſucceſſours, that ſuch perſon as is, or ſhall bee commended vnto vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, by the Gouernour, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants of the ſaide fellowſhip, reſiant within the Citie of London within the Realme of Englande, to bee their chiefe Factor within this our Empire and Dominions, may, and ſhall haue full power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Engliſhmen, that haue had, or ſhall haue acceſſe, or repaire in or to this ſaide Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part thereof, and ſhall and may miniſter vnto them, and euery of them good iuſtice, in all their cauſes, plaints, quarrels, and diſorders betweene them mooued, and to bee mooued, and aſſemble, deliberate, conſult, conclude, define, determine, and make ſuch Actes, and ordinances, as hee ſo commended with his Aſſiſtants ſhall thinke good and meete, for the good order, gouernement and rule of the ſaide Marchants, and all other Engliſhmen repairing to this our ſaide Empire and Dominions, or any part thereof, and to ſet and leuie vpon all, and euery Engliſhmen, offender or offenders, of ſuch their Actes and ordinances made, and to bee made, penalties, and mulcts by fine or impriſonment.

5 Item, if it happen, that any of the ſaide Marchants, or other Engliſhman, as one or more doe rebell againſt ſuch chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not deſpoſe him, or themſelues to obey them, and euery of them, as ſhall appertaine, if the ſaide Rebels or diſobedients doe come, and bee founde in our ſaide Empire and iuriſdictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promiſe and graunt, that all and euery our officers, miniſters, and ſubiects, ſhall effectually ayde and aſſiſt the ſaide chiefe Factor, or Factors, and their deputies, and for their power ſhall really worke, to bring ſuch rebell or diſobedient Rebels, or diſobedients to due obedience: And to that intent ſhall lende vnto the ſame Factor or Factors, and their deputies vpon requeſt therefore to be made, priſons, and inſtruments for puniſhments from time to time.

6 Item, wee promiſe vnto the ſaide Marchants, and their ſucceſſours vpon their requeſt, to exhibite, and doe vnto them good, exact, and fauourable iuſtice, with expedition in all their cauſes, and that when they or any of them, ſhall haue acceſſe, or come to, or before any of our Juſtices, for any their plaints mooued, and to bee mooued betweene any our Subiects or other ſtranger, and them, or any of them, that them they ſhall bee firſt, and furthwith heard, as ſoone as the partie which they ſhall finde before our Juſtices ſhall bee depeached, which partie being heard furthwith, and aſſoone as may bee, the ſaide Engliſh Marchants ſhall bee ridde, and diſpatched: And if any action ſhall bee mooued by or againſt any of the ſaide Marchants, being abſent out of our ſaide Empire and Dominions, then ſuch Marchants may ſubſtitute an Atturney in all and ſinguler his cauſes to bee followed as neede ſhall require, and as ſhall ſeeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt, and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, and to their ſucceſſours, that if the ſame Marchants or any of them ſhall bee wounded, or (which God forbidde) ſlaine in any part, or place of our Empire, or Dominions, then good information thereof giuen, Wee and our Juſtices, and other officers, ſhall execute due correction and puniſhment without delaye, according to the exigence of the caſe: So that it ſhall bee an example to all other, not to commit the like. And if it ſhall chaunce the Factors, ſeruants, or Miniſters of the ſayde Marchants or any of them, to treſpaſſe or offende, whereby they or any of them ſhall incurre the danger of death or puniſhment, the goods, wares, marchandiſes, and thinges of their Maſters, ſhall not therefore be forfaited, confiſcated, ſpoyled, ne ſeiſed by any means, by vs, our heires, or ſucceſſours, or by any our officers, miniſters or ſubiects, but ſhall remaine to their vſe, franke, free, and diſcharged from all puniſhment and loſſe.

8 Item, wee graunt that if any of the Engliſh nation be arreſted for any debt, hee ſhall not bee layed in priſon, ſo farre, as he can put in ſufficient ſuretie or paune: Neither ſhall any Sergeant, or officer leade them, or any of them to priſon, before he ſhall haue knowen whether the chiefe Factor or factors, or their deputies, ſhal be ſureties, or lying in paune for ſuch arreſted: then the officers ſhall releaſe the partie, and ſhall ſet him or them at libertie.

9 Moreouer, wee giue, graunt, and promiſe to the ſaide Marchants, that if any of their ſhippes or other veſſels, ſhall bee ſpoyled, robbed, or damnified, in ſayling, anckoring or returning, to, or from our ſayde Empires, and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other perſon, whatſoeuer hee or they bee, that then and in ſuch caſe, wee will doe all that in vs is, to cauſe reſtitution, reparation, and ſatisfaction to bee duely made to the ſaide Engliſh Marchants by our letters and otherwiſe, as ſhall ſtande with our honour, and bee conſonant to equitie and iuſtice.

8 Item, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, wee doe promiſe and graunt, to perfourme, maintaine, corroborate, autenticate, and obſerue all and ſingular the aforeſaide liberties, franchiſes, and priuiledges, like as preſently wee firmely doe intende, and will corroborate, autentike, and perfourme the ſame by all meane and way that wee can, as much as may bee to the commoditie and profite of the ſaide Engliſh Marchants, and their ſucceſſours for euer.

And to the intent that all and ſinguler the ſaide giftes, graunts and promiſes, may be inuiolably obſerued and perfourmed, wee the ſaide Iohn Vaſiliuich by the grace of God Emperour of Ruſſia, great duke of Nouogrode, Moſco, &c. for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, by our Imperiall and Lordly worde in ſteade of an othe, haue and doe promiſe by theſe preſents, inuiolably to mainteine and obſerue, and cauſe to bee inuiolably obſerued and maintained, all and ſinguler the aforeſaide giftes, graunts, and promiſes from time to time, and at all and euery time and times hereafter. And for the more corroboration hereof haue cauſed our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Caſtel of Moſco, the 20. day of in the yeere.

The Charter of the Marchants of Ruſsia, graunted *vpon the diſcouerie of the ſaide Countrey, by King* Philip and Queene Mary.

PHilip and Mary, by the grace of God, King and Queene, &c. To all maner of officers, true Iurie men, miniſters and Subiects, and to all other people, as well within this our Realme or els where vnder our obeyſance, iuriſdiction, and rule, or otherwiſe vnto whome theſe our letters ſhall bee ſhewed, ſeene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right truſtie, right faithfull, and welbeloued Counſailers, William Marques of Wincheſter, Lorde high Treaſurer of this our Realme of England, Henry Earle of Arundel, Lord Steward of our houſholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford, Lorde keeper of our priuie Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Lorde Haward of Effingham, Lorde high Admirall of our ſaide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, coaſtes and charges, prouided, rigged, and tackled certaine ſhippes, pineſſes, and other meete veſſels, and the ſame furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie, haue aduaunced and ſet forwarde, for to diſcouer, deſcrie, and finde Iles, landes, territories, Dominions, and Seigniories vnknowen, and by our ſubiects before this not commonly by Sea frequented, which by the ſufferance and grace of Almightie God, it ſhall chaunce them ſayling Northwardes, Northeaſtwards, and Northweſtwardes, or any parts thereof, in that race or courſe which other Chriſtian Monarches, (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heretofore by Seas traſiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their ſaide aduenture, as well for the ‖ glorie of God, as for the illuſtrating of our honour, and dignitie royall, in the increaſe of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our ſubiects of the ſame: And to this intent our ſubiects aboue ſpecified and named, haue moſt humbly beſeeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie, may be graciouſly extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon we inclined to the petition of the foreſaid our Counſailers, ſubiects and Marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nouriſh them in their ſaid godly, honeſt, and good purpoſe, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, & that they may the more willingly, and readily atchieue the ſame, Of our eſpeciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by theſe preſents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto our ſaide right truſtie,

The diſcouerie principally intended for Gods glorie.

truſtie and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counſailers, and the other before named perſons, that they by the name of Marchants aduenturers of England, for the diſcouerie of lands, territories, Iles, Dominions, and Seignories vnknowen, and not before that late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforeſaid, ſhalbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowſhip and communaltie of themſelues, both in deede and in name, and them, by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the diſcouerie of landes, territories, Iles and Seigniories vnknowen, and not by the Seas, and Nauigations, before their ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe by ſea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by theſe preſents, and that the ſame fellowſhip or communaltie from henceforth ſhall be, and may haue one Gouernour of the ſaid fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers.

Sebaſtian Cabota firſt Gouernour of the Moſcouie compaine.

And in conſideration that one Sebaſtian Cabota, hath bene the chiefeſt ſetter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and conſtitute him the ſaid Sebaſtian to be the firſt and preſent gouernour of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, by theſe preſents. To haue and enioy the ſaid office of Gouernour, to him the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota during his natural life, without amouing or diminiſhing from the ſame roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie and their ſucceſſours, that they the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſors after the deceaſe of the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſhall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient, and honeſt, aſſemble themſelues together, or ſo many of them as will, or can aſſemble together, as well within our Citie of London, or elſewhere, as it ſhall pleaſe them in ſuch ſort and maner, as other worſhipfull corporations of our ſaide Citie haue vſed to aſſemble, and there yeerely name, elect and chooſe one Gouernour or two, of themſelues, and their liberties, and alſo as well yeerely during the naturall life of the ſaid Sebaſtian Cabota nowe Gouernour, as alſo at the election of ſuch ſaid Gouernour or gouernours before his deceaſe, to chooſe, name and appoint eight and twentie of the moſt ſad, diſcreete, and honeſt perſons of the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue ſpecified, and 4. of the moſt expert and ſkilfull perſons of the ſame 28. to be named and called Conſuls, and 24. of the reſidue, to be named and called Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls for the time being, which ſhal remaine and ſtand in their authorities for one whole yeere then next following. And if it ſhall fortune the ſaide Gouernour, Conſuls, and aſſiſtants, or any of them ſo to be elected, and choſen as is aforeſaide, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and ſo often, it ſhall and may be lawfull to and for the ſaide fellowſhip, and communaltie, to elect and chuſe of themſelues other Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in the place and ſteade of ſuch as ſo ſhall happen to die, to ſerue out the ſame yeere.

Sir George Barnes, William Garret, Anthonie Huſie, Iohn Suthcot, the firſt 4. Conſuls.

And further we doe make, ordeine, and conſtitute, George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret, Alderman of our ſaide Citie, Anthonie Huſie, and Iohn Suthcot, to be the firſt and preſent 4. Conſuls of the ſaid felowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue & enioy the ſaid offices of Conſuls to them the ſaid George Barnes, William Garret, Anthonie Huſie, & Iohn Suthcot, for terme of one whole yeere next after the date of theſe our letters patents: And wee doe likewiſe, make, ordeine and conſtitute Sir Iohn Greſham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde, knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir, Iohn Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdſon, Iohn Hopkins, William Watſon, Willia Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Ieffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Ellot, Iohn Sparke, Blaſe Sanders, and Miles Mording, to be the firſt and preſent 24. Aſſiſtants to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, and Conſuls, and to the ſaide felowſhip and communaltie by theſe preſents, to haue and enioy the ſaid offices of aſſiſtants to them for terme of one whole yeere, next after the date of theſe our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires & ſucceſſours, as much as in vs is, will & graunt by theſe preſents vnto the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, felowſhip & company of Marchants aduenturers aforeſaid, & to their ſucceſſours, that the ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, 4. Conſuls, & 24. aſſiſtants, that now by theſe patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the ſaid felowſhip, & communaltie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which ſhalbe then preſent, ſo frō time to time to be choſen, ſo that there be 15. at the leaſt, wholy agreed therof. the ſaid Gouernour or gouerners, or one of them, & 2. of the ſaid Cōſuls ſhalbe there, & 12. of the reſidue of the ſaid nomber of 15. ſhalbe of the ſaid aſſiſtants, and in the abſence of ſuch Gouernour, that then 3. of the ſaide Conſuls, and 12. of the ſaide aſſiſtants at the leaſt for the time being, ſhal & may haue, vſe, and exerciſe ful power & authorite, to rule & gouerne all and ſinguler the Marchants of the ſaid fellowſhip and communaltie, & to execute, & do full and

ſpeedie iuſtice to them, and euery of them, in all their cauſes, differences, variances, controuerſies quarrels, and complaints, within any our Realmes, dominions and iuriſdictions onely mooued, and to be mooued touching their Marchandiſe, traffiques, and occupiers afoꝛeſaide, oꝛ the good oꝛder oꝛ rule of them oꝛ any of them.

Alſo wee foꝛ vs, our heires and ſucceſſoꝛs, ſo much as in vs is, doe likewiſe by theſe preſents graunt, that the ſaid Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie, and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may haue perpetuall ſucceſſion, and a common Seale which ſhall perpetually ſerue foꝛ the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie. And that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall and may be foꝛ euer able perſons, and capaꝛ in the lawe, foꝛ to purchaſe and poſſeſſe in fee and perpetuitie, and foꝛ terme of life, oꝛ liues, oꝛ foꝛ terme of yeere oꝛ otherwiſe, landes, tenements, rentes, reuerſions, and other poſſeſſions, and hereditaments, whatſoeuer they bee, by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Nauigations, foꝛ the diſcouerie of landes, territoꝛies, Iles, Dominions, and Seignioꝛies vnknowen, and beꝛoꝛe the ſaide laſt aduenture oꝛ enterpꝛiſe by Seas not frequented, as beꝛoꝛe is ſpecified, and by the ſame names, ſhal and may lawfully alien, graunt, lett and ſett the ſame, oꝛ any part thereof to any perſon oꝛ perſons, able in the lawe to take and receiue the ſame. So that they doe not graunt noꝛ alien the ſame, oꝛ any part thereof into mortmaine, without ſpeciall licence of vs, our heires oꝛ ſucceſſours, firſt had and obtained.

Alſo, wee foꝛ vs, our heires and ſucceſſours haue graunted, and by theſe pꝛeſents doe graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, and communaltie of the ſaide Marchants and to their ſucceſſours, that they and their ſucceſſours, ſhall, and may lawfully purchaſe vnto them and their ſucceſſoꝛs foꝛ euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatſoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of 3. ſcoꝛe 6. pounds, thirteene ſhillings and foure pence of lawfull money of Englande and not aboue, as well of ſuch landes, tenements, and hereditaments, as bee holden oꝛ ſhall bee holden of vs, our heires oꝛ ſucceſſours, as of any other perſon oꝛ perſons, the ſtatutes pꝛouided againſt alienations into mortmaine, oꝛ any of them, oꝛ any article oꝛ clauſe in them oꝛ any of them contained, oꝛ any other lawe, cuſtome, ſtatute, oꝛ pꝛouiſion to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding. And that they by the name of the Gouernour, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers, foꝛ the diſcouerie of landes, territoꝛies, Iles, dominions, and Seignioꝛies vnknowen by the Seas and Nauigations, and not beꝛoꝛe the ſaide late aduenture oꝛ enterpꝛiſe by Seas frequented as afoꝛeſaide, ſhall and may bee able in the lawe, to impleade, and be impleaded, to anſwere, and to be anſwered, to defende, and to bee defended beꝛoꝛe whatſoeuer Iudge oꝛ Iuſtice, tempoꝛall oꝛ ſpirituall, oꝛ other perſons whatſoeuer, in whatſoeuer court, oꝛ courtes, and in all actions perſonall, reall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaintes of nouel diſſeiſon, and alſo in all plaintes, ſuites, quarrels, affaires, buſineſſes and demaundes whatſoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the ſaide fellowſhippe and communaltie, and the affaires and buſineſſe of the ſame onely, in as ample maner and foꝛme, as any other coꝛpoꝛation of this our Realme may doe.

Moꝛeouer, wee foꝛ vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe pꝛeſents doe giue and graunt vnto the ſaide Gouernour Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhippe, and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers afoꝛeſaide, and to their ſucceſſours, that the ſaide Gouernour, oꝛ Gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſours, in maner, foꝛme, and nomber afoꝛe rehearſed, ſhall haue full powꝛer and authoꝛitie from time to time hereafter, to make, oꝛdeine, eſtabliſh and erect all ſuch ſtatutes, actes and oꝛdinances, foꝛ the gouernement, good condition, and lawdable rule of the ſaid fellowſhippe and communaltie of Marchants aduenturers afoꝛeſaide, as to them ſhalbe thought good, meete, conuenient and neceſſarie, and alſo to admitte vnto the ſaide Coꝛpoꝛation and fellowſhippe to be free of the ſame, ſuch and as many perſons, as to them ſhall bee thought good, meete, conuenient, and neceſſarie. And that euery ſuch perſon oꝛ perſons, as ſhall foꝛtune hereafter to bee admitted into the ſaide fellowſhippe, communaltie and coꝛpoꝛation, ſhall from the time of his oꝛ their admittance, bee free of the ſame: And alſo wee will, and by theſe pꝛeſents graunt foꝛ vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, vnto the ſaide Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip, communaltie, of Marchant aduenturers afoꝛeſaide, and to their ſucceſſours, that the Gouernour, oꝛ gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſame, in maner, foꝛme, and nomber afoꝛe rehearſed, and their ſucceſſours, foꝛ the time being, ſhall, and may haue full powꝛer and authoꝛitie by theſe pꝛeſents from time to time, as to them ſhall ſeeme good, to limit, ſett, oꝛdeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, foꝛfeitures, & impꝛiſonments, oꝛ any of them vpon any offender of the ſaide fellowſhippe and communaltie, foꝛ any offence touching the ſame fellowſhip

ſhip and communaltie, and alſo that all acts and ordinances by them or their ſucceſſours to bee made, which time ſhall thinke not neceſſarie or preiudiciall to the ſaid fellowſhip or communaltie, at all times to reuoke, breake, fruſtrate, anihilate, repeale and diſſolue at their pleaſure and libertie. And further, wee will that if any of the ſaide fellowſhip and communaltie ſhalbe founde contrarious, rebellious, or diſobedient to the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaide aſſiſtants for the time being, or to any ſtatutes, acts or ordinances, by them made or to bee made, that then the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, and the ſaide aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and nomber aboue ſpecified, for the time being, ſhall and may by vertue of theſe preſents, mulct, and puniſh euery ſuch offender or offenders, as the qualitie of the offence requireth, according to their good diſcretions.

And further, we will that none of the ſaide offender or offenders, ſhall decline from the power of the ſaide Gouernour, or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, in maner, forme, and nomber aboueſaide for the time being: ſo alwayes, that the ſaide acts, ſtatutes and ordinances, doe onely touche and concerne the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, and the ſaide fellowſhippe and communaltie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the ſame fellowſhip and communaltie, and none other; And ſo alwayes, that ſuch their acts, ſtatutes and ordinances, bee not againſt our prerogatiue, lawes, ſtatutes, and cuſtomes of our Realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the ſeuerall duetie of any our ſubiects, towardes vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, nor contrary to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours, heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and ſucceſſours to bee made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor alſo to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalties and Citizens of our citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any perſon or perſons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iuſtly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchiſes, priuiledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of any graunt, gift, or letters patents, by vs, or any our progenitours, heretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreouer, we for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours, will, and by theſe preſents, doe graunt vnto the ſaid Gouernours, Conſuls, aſſiſtants, fellowſhip and communaltie of our Marchants aforeſaid, that their ſaid Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants, and their ſucceſſours for the time being, in maner, forme and nomber aboue rehearſed, ſhall haue ful power and authoritie to aſſigne, conſtitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforeſaide Citie of London, as alſo in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or elswhere within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Seriant or Seriants to the fellowſhip or communaltie of the ſaid Marchants, and that the ſame Seriant or Seriants, ſhall and may haue full power and authoritie by theſe preſents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery perſon and perſons, of the ſaide fellowſhippe and communaltie conuict, and that ſhalbe conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any ſtatutes, acts, ordinances, to be made by the ſaide Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants for the time being.

And further, wee will and alſo graunt for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, that the ſaide officer or officers, ſhall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for diſobedience in this behalfe (if neede bee) to ſet handes, and arreſt, as well the body and bodies, as the goods and chattels of ſuch offender, and offenders, and tranſgreſſers, in euery place and places not franchiſed: and if it ſhall fortune any ſuch offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to bee in any Citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or other place franchiſed or priuiledged, where the ſaide officer or officers, may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Maior, ſhiriffes, bayliffes, and other head officers, or miniſters, within euery ſuch Citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or place or places franchiſed, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the Gouernour or gouernours, Conſuls and aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip, in nomber and forme aforeſaid, vnder the common ſeale of the ſaid fellowſhip & communaltie for the time being, ſhall, & may attach and arreſt the body or bodies of ſuch offender or offenders, as alſo take, and ſeiſe the goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender or offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and the ſame bodie and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery ſuch offender and offenders, being within any ſuch place or places franchiſed, and euery part thereof ſo attached and ſeazed, ſhall according to the tenor and purport of the ſaid precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the ſaide officer, or officers of the aforeſaide fellowſhippe, and communaltie.

And further, we wil & graunt for vs, our heires & ſucceſſours by theſe preſents, that al, & euery ſuch

Maior, shiriffe, bayliffe, or other head officers or ministers, of any citie, borowe, towne incorporate, or other places franchised, shall not bee impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courtes, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, wee of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successours, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, vnto the saide Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and comminaltie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successours, and to the Factor, and Factors, assigne and assignes of euery of them, full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Iles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, whersoeuer before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags, and Enlignes, with their shippe, shippes, barkes, pinnesses, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Marriners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costes and expences, for to trafique, descrie, discouer and finde, whatsoeuer Ile, Islands, countreis, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers & streames, as wel of Gentile, as of any other Emperour, king, prince, gouernour or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shalbe, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the saide late aduenture or enterprise vnknowen, and by our Marchants and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any maner of denying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to bee had or taken by any our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successors for the same.

14. Philip and Queene Mary hereby doe disanul Pope Alexanders diuision.

And we haue also graunted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the said Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe and comminaltie, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fasten our banners, standerds, flags, and Enlignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Ile, or maine lande, which shalbe by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesaide, and that the said fellowship and comminaltie, and their successors, Factors and assignes and euery of them, shall and may subdue, possesse and occupie, all maner cities, townes, Iles, and maine landes of infidelitie, which is or shall bee by them, or any of them newly founde or descried, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall bee by them, or any of them newly discouered or founde vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

Anno 1554.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our Subiects in this last ‖ yeere attempted by Navigation, towardes the discouerie and disclosure of vnknowen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almightie God to cause one of the three shippes by them first set foorth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arriue, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lorde Iohn Basiliuich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomerskie, great duke of Moscouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitte the Captaine, and Marchants our subiects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also receiued and intertained them very gratiously, and honourably, graunting vnto them by his letters addressed vnto vs, franke accesse into all his Seigniories and Dominions, with licence freely to trafique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandise, with diuers other gratious priuiledges, liberties and immunities specified in his saide letters vnder his Signet: Knowe yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for vs our heires, and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these Presents doe giue and graunt vnto the same Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshippe, and comminaltie aboue named, and to their successours, as much as in vs is, that all the maine landes, Iles, portes, hauens, creekes, and Riuers of the said mightie Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. And all, and singuler other landes, Dominions, territories, Iles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the Sea of all and other Emperour, king, prince, rulers and gouerners, whatsoeuer he or they before the said late aduenture or enterprise not knowen, or by our foresaide Marchants and subiects by the seas, not cõmonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcel thereof lying Northwards, Northeastwards, or Northwestwards, as is aforesaid, by sea shal not be visited, frequented nor haũted by any our subiects, other then of ẏ said company & felowship, & their successors without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the Gouernour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said fellowship

The Moscouites priuiledges vnto the Englih.

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lowſhip,and Communaltie aboue named,or the more part of them, in manner and number aforeſaid,for the time being,vpon paine of forfeiture, and loſſe, as well of the ſhippe, and ſhippes, with the appertenances,as alſo of all the goods,marchandize, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe our Subiects,not being of the ſaid fellowſhippe,and Communaltie, which ſhall attempt or preſume to ſaile to any of thoſe places,which be,or hereafter ſhall happen to be founde, and traffiked vnto,the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of vs,our heires,and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſaide fellowſhippe, and Communaltie. And if it ſhall fortune,any ſtranger,or ſtrangers,for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the ſame Marchants, their factors,Deputies,or Aſſignes, or any of them,in ſailing, going,or returning at any time in the ſaide aduenture,or for to ſaile or trade to or from any thoſe places, lands,or coaſtes, which by the ſaide Marchants,their Factors,Deputies,and Aſſignes haue bene,or ſhall be deſcried, diſcouered, and found,or frequented,as well within the coaſtes and limits of gentilitie, as within the dominions and Seigniories of the ſaid mightie Emperour and Duke, and of all, and euery other Emperour,King,Prince,Ruler,and Gouernour whatſoeuer, he, or they be,before the ſaide late aduenture or enterpriſe not knowen by any our ſaid Marchants, and ſubiects,by the ſeas not commonly frequented,and lying Northwards,Northweſtwards,or Northeaſtwards as aforeſaid,then we will,and grant,and by theſe preſents doe licence, and authorize for vs, our heires, and ſucceſſors, the ſaid Marchants,their Factors,Deputies,and Aſſignes, and euery of them, to doe their beſt in their defenſe,to reſiſt the ſame their enterpriſe,and attempts. Willing therefore, and ſtraightly commanding,and charging,all and ſingular our Officers,Maiors,Sherifes,Eſcheators, Conſtables,Bailifs,and all,and ſingular other our Miniſters,and Liege men,and Subiects whatſoeuer,to be aiding,fauouring,helping,and aſſiſting vnto the ſaid Gouernour,or Gouernours,Conſuls,Aſſiſtants,fellowſhip,and Communaltie,and to their Succeſſors, and Deputies, Factors, Seruants,and Aſſignes,and to the Deputies,Factors, and Aſſignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the premiſſes, as wel on land,as in the ſea,from time to time,and at all times, when you,or any of you,ſhall be thereunto required. In witnes whereof,&c. Anno 1555.

Apud Weſtmonaſterium,6. die Feb. Annis regnorum noſtrorum,primo & ſecundo.

Certaine inſtructions deliuered in the third voyage,Anno 1556. *for Ruſſia,to euery Purſer,and the reſt of the ſeruants,taken for the* voyage,which may ſerue,as good and neceſſary directions, to all other like aduenturers.

1 FIrſt you ſhall before the ſhippe doth begin to lade,goe abooard, and ſhal there take,and write one inuentorie,by the aduiſe of the Maſter, or of ſome other principall officer there abooard,of all the tackle,apparel, cables, ankers, ordinance,chambers,ſhot,powder,artillerie,and of all other neceſſaries whatſoeuer doth belong to the ſaid ſhip: and the ſame iuſtly taken, you ſhall write in a booke,making the ſaid Maſter,or ſuch officer priuie of that which you haue ſo written,ſo that the ſame may not be denied, when they ſhall call accompt thereof: that done,you ſhall write a copie of the ſame,with your owne hand, which you ſhall deliuer before the ſhippe ſhall depart,for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iuſtly anſwered the ſame, when time ſhall require: and this order to be ſeene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the purſers of the companies owne ſhippe, in any wiſe.

2. Alſo when the ſhippe beginneth to lade,you ſhall be ready a booard with your booke,to enter ſuch goods as ſhall be brought a booard,to be laden for the companie,packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell,truſſe,or packet, coroua, cheſt,fatte,butt, pipe,puncheon,whole barrell,halfe barrell,fyrkin, or other caſke, maunde, or baſket, or any other thing,which may,or ſhall be packed by any other manner of waies,or deuiſe. And firſt, all ſuch packes,or truſſes, &c. as ſhal be brought abooard to be laden,not marked by the companies marke, you ſhall doe the beſt to let that the ſame be not laden, and to inquire diligently to knowe the owners thereof,if you can,and what commoditie the ſame is,that is ſo brought abooard to be laden: if you can not know the owners of ſuch goods,learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke,as alſo to ſend or bring worde thereof to the Agent, and to ſome one of the foure Marchants with him adioyned,ſo ſpeedily as you can,if it be here laden,or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforeſaid: and when the ſaid ſhippe hath receaued

ceiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you shal make a iust copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainly, which you shal likewise deliuer to the sayd booke keeper to the vse aforesaid.

3 Also when the ship is readie to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you haue receiued of any person or persons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed from any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you receiued, you shall not cary with you, without you be licenced so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesayd: and such others as doe passe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you shall all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Russia: and also if you haue or doe receiue, or shal know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or readie money to bee imploied in Russia, or to bee deliuered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as be the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you shall before the shippe doeth depart, declare the same truely to the said Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the ship is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboord, you shall diligently foresee and take heede, that there passe not any priuie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence & warrant of one of ẏ Gouernours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there bee any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the vttermost of your power: And for that there may no such priuy person passe vnder the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall vpon the waying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you haue neither more nor lesse, but iust the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must haue in remembraunce, that if it shall chaunce the ship to bee put into any harbour in this coast by contrary windes or otherwise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bring your letters, write that which he must haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a daily note of the voiage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not daily in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage wil haue the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voiage, you shall for the companies profit, and for good husbanding of the victuals aboord, call vpon the Boatswaine and other of the company to vse such hookes and other engines as they haue aboord to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesayd: and if there bee no such engines aboord, then to prouide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Baie of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a shore with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you haue to deliuer to the Agent there: and if he bee not there at your comming a land, then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best: but goe not your selfe at any hand, nor yet from aboord the ship, vnlesse it bee a shore to treate with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applie diligently to haue done so speedily as may bee. And for the discharging of the goods there in in the Baie, to bee caried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there bee none other goods sent a shore then the companies, and according to the notes entered in your booke as aforesayd: if there bee, enquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Also

9. Alſo there a ſhoare, and likewiſe aboord, you ſhall ſpie, and ſearch as ſecretly as you may, to learne and knowe what bargaining, buying, and ſelling there is, with the Maſter, and the mariners of the ſhippe, and the Ruſſes, or with the companies ſeruants there: and that which you ſhall perceaue and learne, you ſhall keepe a note thereof in your booke, ſecretly to your ſelfe, which you ſhall open, and diſcloſe at your comming home, to the Gouernours, and the Aſſiſtants, in ſuch ſort, as the truth of their ſecret trades, and occuppings may be reuealed, and knowen. You ſhall need alwaies to haue Argos eies, to ſpie their ſecret packing and conueyance, as well on land, as aboord the ſhippe, of and for ſuch furres, and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vſe to buy, packe, and conuey hither. If you will be vigilant, and ſecrete in this article, you can not miſſe to ſpie their priuie packing one with another, either on ſhoare, or aboord the ſhippe: worke herein wiſely, and you ſhall deſerue great thanks of the whole companie.

10. Alſo at the lading againe of the ſhippe, you ſhall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke, all ſuch goods and marchandize, as ſhall be brought and laden, which you ſhall orderly note in all ſortes as heretofore, as in the ſecond article partly it is touched: and in any wiſe, put the Maſter and the companie in remembrance, to looke and foreſee ſubſtantially, to the roomaging of the ſhippe, by faire meanes or threats, as you ſhall ſee and thinke will ſerue for the beſt.

11. Thus when the ſhippe is fully laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a ſhoare to the Agent for your letters, and diſpatch away: you ſhal demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the truth thereof, you ſhall repaire to the companies ſtorehouſe there, at S. Nicholas, to ſee if there be any goods left, in the ſaid ſtorehouſe: if there be, you ſhall demand why they be not laden, and to note what kind of goods they be, that be ſo left: and ſeeing any of the ſhippes there, not fully laden, you ſhall put the Agent in remembrance to lade thoſe goods ſo left, if any ſuch be to be laden, as is aforeſaide. And thus God ſending you a faire wind, to make ſpeede and away.

12. Finally, when God ſhall ſende you to arriue againe vpon this coaſt in ſafetie, either at Harewhich, or els where, goe not you a land, if you may poſſible, to the ende, that when you be gone a ſhoare, there may no goods be ſent priuily aſhoare to be ſolde, or els to be ſolde aboord the ſhippe, in your abſence, but keepe you ſtill aboord, if you can by any meanes, for the cauſes aforeſaid, and write the companie a letter from the ſhippe of your good arriuall, which you may conuey to them by land, by ſome boy or marriner of the ſhippe, or otherwiſe as you ſhall thinke beſt: and likewiſe when God ſhall ſend you and the ſhippe, into the riuer here, doe not in any wiſe depart out of the ſhippe that you be in, vntill the companie doe ſeud ſome other aboord the ſhippe, in your ſteede and place, to keepe the ſaid ſhippe in your abſence.

The Nauigation and diſcouerie toward the Riuer of Ob, *made by Maſter Stephen Burrowe, Maſter of the Pinneſſe called* the Serchethrift, with diuers things worth the noting, paſſed in the yeere, 1556.

WE departed from Ratliffe to Blackewall, the 23. of Aprill. Saturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays. April 25.

The 27. being Sunday, the right Worſhipfull Sebaſtian Cabota, came aboord our Pinneſſe at Graueſende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had viewed our Pinneſſe, and taſted of ſuch cheere as we could make them aboord, they went on ſhoare, giuing to our Mariners right liberall rewardes: and the good olde Gentleman, Maſter Cabota, gaue to the poore moſt liberall almes, wiſhing them to pray for the good fortune, and proſperous ſucceſſe of the Serchethirſte, our Pinneſſe. And then at the ſigne of the Chriſtopher, he and his friends banketted, and made me, and them that were in my companie, great cheere: and for very ioy that he had to ſee the towardnes of our intended diſcouerie, he entred into the dance himſelfe, amongſt the reſt of the young and luſtie companie: which being ended, he, and his friends departed moſt gently, commending vs to the gouernance of Almightie God. 27

Tueſday we rode ſtill at Graueſende, making prouiſion for ſuch things as we wanted. 28

Wenſday in the morning, we departed from Graueſende, the wind being at Southweſt, and that night we came to an anker thwart of our Ladie of Hollands. 29

Thurſday at three of the clocke in the morning, we waied, and by eight of the clocke, we were at an anker in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboord the Edward Bonauenture, where 30

where the Worſhipfull companie of Marchants appointed me to be, vntill the ſaid good ſhippe
Note. arriued at Wardhouſe. Then I returned againe into the pinneſſe.

Maye.

1 Friday being the firſt day of May, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, the wind being at South eaſt, and by Eaſt, we waied, and went into Orwell hauen.

2 Saturday at fiue of the clocke in the morning, the winde being at South, and by Weſt, wee went into the Wands, but at two of the clocke at afternoone, the wind ſhifted, and came vp at Eaſt and by North, and began to blow a good gale: and at foure of the clocke, we waied, and went againe into Harewich.

4 Munday at three a clocke in the morning, we came againe out of Harewich, the wind being at Weſt Northweſt, and by eight of the clocke, we were thwart of Orfordneſſe, and then the winde ſhifted, and came at South ſoutheaſt: and at two of the clocke, we were thwart of Sowlde, and there we tooke in our ſailes, and ſtaied for the pinneſſe vntil foure of the clocke, which pinneſſe we ſent thither the third day, to fetch certaine men, and neceſſaries for the Philip and Marie, and then we ſet off Northeaſt, vntil ſixe of the clocke: at the ſame time Yarmouth ſteeple was off vs Weſt Northweſt, eight leagues, and then we ſet our courſe North.

5 From that vntil Tueſday ſixe a clocke in the morning, North 18. leagues. From that vntill a South ſunne North, and by Weſt, the latitude being 54. degrees and a halfe, the wind being at this preſent at Southweſt, and by Weſt.

6 From that vntil Wenſday ſixe of the clocke in the morning, North, and by Weſt: and at this preſent ſixe a clocke the wind ſhifted, and came at Weſt northweſt: we had the latitude this day, in
The variation of the compas. 55. degrees, 14. minuts: the variation of the compaſſe, from North to Eaſt almoſt 13. degrees.

7 From that vnto a weſt ſunne, fiue leagues northeaſt: and at this preſent the wind ſhifted to the northeaſt.

From that vntill Thurſday ſixe a clocke in the morning, 5. leagues northweſt, and by north.

From that vntill a ſouth ſunne, three leagues northweſt: we ſounded at this preſent, and had 45. fadome, and ſmall mingled white and blacke ſand, and ſome mathes like Hering bones. We had the latitude this day at noone, in 55. degrees, 23. minuts.

From that vntill a weſt ſunne, north, ſixe leagues.

8 From that vntill Friday, a ſouthweſt ſunne, Eaſt ten leagues, the wind at north a ſtiffe gale.

9 From that vntill Saturday, a northeaſt ſunne, ſixe leagues ſouthweſt, and then we caſt about to the Northward, the wind being at Weſt, and by north.

From that vntill a ſouthweſt ſunne, northeaſt, and by north, eight leagues, and then the winde ſhifted to the northwards.

From that vntill a weſt ſunne, two leagues Eaſt, and by north.

10 From that vntill Sunday three of the clocke in the morning, ſixe leagues Eaſt, and by north, the wind at northweſt.

11 From that vntill Munday, an Eaſt ſunne, ſoutheaſt, and by South, 13. leagues and a halfe.

From that vnto a ſouth ſouthweſt ſunne, three leagues ſouth ſouthweſt, and then the winde ſhifted, and came at weſt, and by north.

From that vntill a weſt ſunne, north northweſt.

12 From that vntill Tueſday in the morning, three of the clocke, north northweſt, 25. leagues, and then north and by weſt.

From that vnto a ſouth ſunne north, and by weſt, 14. leagues, and then it waxed thicke, and the wind came at the northweſt, and by weſt.

From that vntill a northweſt ſunne, Eaſt northeaſt, and halfe a point to the Northwards, foure leagues ſcant.

13 From that vntill Wenſday, a ſouth ſunne northeaſt, and by Eaſt, and then we were in 57. degrees, 57. minuts.

From that vnto a Northweſt ſunne, Eaſt northeaſt, foure leagues.

14 From that vntill the 14. day, a ſouth ſunne, three leagues and a halfe, Eaſt northeaſt, and then we caſt about, the wind being at northeaſt,

15 This Friday we were within 7. leagues of the ſhoare, on the coaſt of Norway: the latitude at a ſouth ſunne, 58. degrees and a halfe, where we ſaw three ſailes, beſide our owne companie: and thus we followed the ſhoare or land, which lieth north northweſt, north, and by weſt, and northweſt and by north, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Satur

Saturday at an Eaſt ſunne, we came to S. Dunſtans Iſland, which Iſland I ſo named. It was off vs Eaſt, two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeaſt: the latitude this day at a ſouth ſunne, 59. degrees, 42. minutes. Alſo the high round mountaine bare Eaſt of vs, at a South ſunne: and when this hill is Eaſt of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lieth North, and halfe a point Welterly, from this ſaide South ſunne, vnto a North ſunne twentie leagues Northnorthweſt alongſt the ſhoare. S. Dunſtans Iſland. 16

Upon Sunday at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, the farthеſt land that we could ſee that lay Northnorthweſt, was Eaſt of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eaſtwards of the North, which head land I iudge to be Scowtſneſſe. At ſeuen of the clocke, we changed our courſe, and went North, the winde being at Southſoutheaſt, and it waxed very thicke and miſtie, and when it cleered, we went Northnortheaſt. At a South ſunne we loſt ſight of the Serchethrift, becauſe of the miſte, making our way North. And when we loſt ſight of the ſhoare, and pinneſſe, we were within two leagues and a halfe of the ſhoare: the laſt land that we ſawe, when this miſte came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scowtſneſſe, lay Northnortheaſt, and Southſouthweſt, and we made our way North, vntill a Weſt ſunne fiue leagues. 17

From that vntil Munday three a clocke in the morning, ten leagues, Northnortheaſt: and then we went North, and by Eaſt, becauſe the winde came at the Weſt Southweſt with thicke myſte: the latitude this day at a South ſunne ſixtie three degrees and a halfe truely taken: at this ſeaſon we had ſight of our Pinneſſe againe. 18

From that vntill Tewſday a South ſunne North northeaſt, fourtie foure leagues, and then Northeaſt. From a South ſunne vntill eight of the clocke, fifteene leagues Northeaſt. 19

From that vntill Wedneſday, a South ſunne North northeaſt, except the firſt watch Northeaſt: then had we the latitude in ſixtie ſeuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. Frō that vnto a Northweſt ſunne, eighteene leagues Northeaſt, and then we were within two leagues of the ſhore, and ſaw the high land to the Southwardes of Lowfoote breake out through the miſte, and then wee went North and by Eaſt. 20

From the ſayd Northweſt ſunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North, and by Eaſt, ten leagues and a halfe: and then Northnortheaſt vntill a South ſunne, the Latitude being ſixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre paſt ſeuen of the clocke, Northnortheaſt, eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then wee went Northeaſt, ten leagues. From that, three leagues and a halfe, Eaſt Northeaſt, and then wee ſawe the lande through the cloudes and hazye thwarte on the broade ſide of vs, the winde being then at the South ſouthweſt. 21 22

From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning, Eaſt Northeaſt, and to the Northwardes fourtie eight leagues, and then the winde came vp at North, we being abooarde the ſhore, and thwart of the Chappel, which I ſuppoſe is called Kedilwike: then we caſt the ſhippes head to the Seawardes, becauſe the winde was very ſcant: and then I cauſed the Pinneſſe to beare in with the ſhore, to ſee whether ſhe might finde an harborough for the ſhips or not, and that ſhe found and ſawe two roaders ride in the ſounde: and alſo they ſawe houſes. But notwithſtanding, God be praiſed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occaſion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinneſſe bare her Myſſen maſt ouer boorde with flagge and all, and loſt the flagge: with the maſt there fell two men ouer boorde, but God be prayſed, they were ſaued: the flagge was a token, whereby wee might vnderſtand whether there were a good harbour there or not. 23 Kedelwike Chappell.

At a North ſunne the North cape (which I ſo named the firſt voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eaſtwards of the foreſayd Chappell from the Eaſtermoſt poynt of it. The North cape ſo named by Steuen Borough.

Iune.

The ſeuenth.

THe ſunday we weyed in Corpus Chriſti Bay, at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne: the Bay is almoſt halfe a league deepe: the head lande which is Corpus Chriſti poynt, lyeth Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, one league from the head of the Baye, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the leaſt two leagues ouer: ſo doe I imagine from the faire foreſande to Corpus Chriſti point tenne leagues Southeaſt, and by Eaſt: It floweth in this Baye, at a South and by Weſt moone full ſea. From that we weyed vntill ſeuen a clocke at afternoone twentie leagues Southeaſt, and by South: and then we tooke in all our ſayles, becauſe it was then verie myſtie, and alſo we met with much yce, that ranne out of the Baye, and then we went South Southeaſt with our foreſayle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordinance, which was out of the Edward, which bade vs farewell, and then we ſhot off another piece, and bade her farewell.

farewell: we could not one ſee the other, becauſe of the thicke miſte: at a Northweſt ſunne, it began ſomewhat to cleere, and then we ſawe a head land, and the ſhoare trended to the Southweſt ward, which I iudged to be about Croſſe Iſland: it was of vs at a noꝛth noꝛthweſt ſunne, weſt ſouthweſt.

8 From this noꝛth noꝛthweſt ſunne, vntill Munday, we went Southeaſt, and this moꝛning we came at anker among the ſhoales that lie off, of point Looke out, & noꝛtheaſt, and by Eaſt ſunne, the wind being at Eaſt ſoutheaſt. At this point Looke out, a ſouth Moone maketh a full ſea. Cape good foꝛtune lieth from the Iſle of Croſſes ſoutheaſt, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out, lieth from Cape Good foꝛtune, Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Lookeout Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and halfe a point to the ſouthwards, and betweene them are ſixe leagues. There is betweene theſe two points, a Baye that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of ſhoales, and dangers. At a ſoutheaſt ſunne we waped, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at Eaſt ſoutheaſt: and at a ſoutheaſt ſunne, we came to an anker, being then a full ſea, in fiue fadoms and a halfe water. It lieth at this place where we roade, and alſo at point Lookeout, foure fadome water. At a Weſt noꝛth weſt ſunne

9 we waied, and dꝛiued to the windewards, vntill Tueſday, a noꝛth noꝛtheaſt ſunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Colaye, in eight fadome water. Cape S. Bernarde lieth from S. Edmonds point, ſoutheaſt, and by ſouth, and betwixt them are ſixe leagues, and alſo betwixt them is the Riuer Colaye, into which Riuer wee went this euening.

10 Wenſday we roade ſtill in the ſaid Riuer, the winde being at noꝛth: we ſent our ſkiffe a lande to be dꝛeſſed: the latitude of the mouth of the Riuer Cola, is ſixtie fiue degrees, foꝛtie and eight minuts.

The latitude of Colaye.

11 Thurſday at 6. of the clocke in the moꝛning, there came abooꝛd of vs one of the Ruſſe Lodiaes, ro wing with twentie oares, and there were foure and twentie men in her. The Maſter of the boate pꝛeſented me with a great loafe of bꝛead, and ſixe ringes of bꝛead, which they call Colaches, and foure dꝛied pikes, and a pecke of fine oatemeale, and I gaue vnto the Maſter of the boate, a combe, and a ſmall glaſſe: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to dꝛinke, the tide being ſomewhat bꝛoken, they gently departed. The Maſters name was Pheother.

A Ruſſe Lodia.

Whereas the tenth day, I ſent our pinneſſe on ſhoare to be mended, becauſe ſhe was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter, and thꝛee men moꝛe to helpe him, the weather chanced ſo, that it was Sunday, befoꝛe they could get abooꝛd our ſhippe. All that time they were without pꝛouiſion of victuals, but onely a litle bꝛead, which they ſpent by Thurſday at night, thinking to haue come abooꝛd when they had liſted, but wind and weather denied them: inſomuch that they were faine to eate graſſe, and ſuch weedes, as they could finde then aboue grounde, but freſh water they had plentie, but the meate with ſome of them could ſcant faine by reaſon of their queazie ſtomackes.

14 From Thurſday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the moꝛning, our barke did ride ſuch a roade ſted, that it was to be maruelled, without the helpe of God, howe ſhe was able to abide it.

In the bight of the ſoutheaſt ſhoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in fiue fadome, oꝛ foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you ſhall haue no lande noꝛth Noꝛtheaſt of you then. I pꝛooued with our pinneſſe, that the depth goeth on the ſoutheaſt ſhoare.

18 Thurſday we waied our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea ſeuen oꝛ eight leagues, where we mette with the winde farre noꝛtherly, that of foꝛce it conſtrained vs to goe againe backe into the ſaide Riuer, where came abooꝛd of vs ſundꝛy of their boates, which declared vnto me that they were alſo bound to the noꝛthwards, a fiſhing foꝛ Moꝛſe, and Salmon, and gaue me liberally of their white and wheaten bꝛead.

Lodias hauing 24. men a peece.

As we roade in this riuer, we ſawe daily comming downe the riuer many of their Lodias, and they that had leaſt, had foure and twentie men in them, and at the laſt they grewe to thirtie ſaile of them: and amongſt the reſt, there was one of them whoſe name was Gabriel, who ſhewed me very much friendſhippe, and he declared vnto me, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fiſhing foꝛ Salmons, and Moꝛſes: inſomuch that hee ſhewed mee by demonſtrations, that with a faire winde wee had ſeuen oꝛ eight daies ſailing to the Riuer Pechora, ſo that I was glad of their companye. This Gabriel pꝛomiſed to giue mee warning of ſhoales, as hee did indeede.

From Colaye to Pechora is but 7. oꝛ 8. daies ſailing.

21 Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gaue me a barrell of meede, and one of his

ſpeciall

ſpeciall friends gaue me a barrell of beere, which was caryed vpon mens backs, at leaſt two miles.

Munday we departed from the riuer Cola, with all the reſt of the ſaid Lodias, but ſailing before the winde, they were all too good for vs: but according to promiſe, this Gabriel and his friend did often ſtrike their ſailes, and taryed for vs for laking their owne company. 22 The curteſie of one Gabriel.

Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne we were thwart of Cape S. John. It is to be vnderſtood, that from the Cape S. John vnto the riuer or bay that goeth to Pezen, it is all ſunke land, and full of ſhoales and daugers, you ſhall haue ſcant two fathom water, and ſee no land. And this preſent day we came to an anker thwart off a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the ſaid Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and before night there were aboue 20 ſaile that went into the ſaid creeke, the winde being at the Northeaſt. We had indifferent good landfang. 23 A good & neceſſary note.

This afternoone Gabriel came abooard with his ſkiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good companie that he kept with vs ouer the ſhoales with two ſmall puoyr combes, and a ſteele glaſſe, with two or three trifles more, for which he was not vngratefull. But notwithſtanding, his firſt company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wedneſday being Midſummer day, we ſent our ſkiffe a land to ſound the creeke, where they found it almoſt drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground. 24

Although the harborough were euill, yet the ſtormy ſimilitude of Northerly windes tempted vs to ſet our ſailes, and we let ſlip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwayes in ſuch iournyes varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the winde did ſhrinke ſo ſuddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and before we could haue flatted the ſhippe before the winde, we ſhould haue beene on ground on the lee ſhore, ſo that we were conſtrained to let fall an anker vnder our ſailes, and rode in a very breach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his ſkiffe, and ſo did ſundry others alſo, ſhewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpoſe, for they were likely to haue beene drowned for their labor, in ſo much that I deſired Gabriel to lend me his anker, becauſe our owne ankers were too bigge for our ſkiffe to lay out, who ſent me his owne, and borrowed another alſo and ſent it vs. Then we layd out one of thoſe ankers, with a hawſer which he had of 140 fathom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we ſhorted vpon the ſaid warpe the anker came home, ſo that we were faine to beare the end of the warpe, that we ruſhed in vpon the other ſmall anker that Gabriel ſent abooard, and layd that anker to ſeawards: and then betweene theſe two ankers we trauerſed the ſhippes head to ſeawards, and ſet our foreſaile and maine ſaile, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawſer, and ſo gat the ſea to our friend, and tryed out all that day with our maine coyle.

The Thurſday we went roome with Cape S. John, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheaſt wind, and for a need, for a North and by Weſt winde. 25

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eaſtſoutheaſt, and plyed for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawſer: & as ſoone as we were at an anker, the foreſaid Gabriel came abooard of vs, with three or foure more of their ſmall boats, and brought with them of their Aquauitæ and meade, profeſſing vnto me very much friendſhip, and reioyced to ſee vs againe, declaring that they earneſtly thought that we had bene loſt. This Gabriel declared vnto me, that they had ſaued both the ankers and our hawſer, and after we had thus communed, I cauſed 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabbin, where I gaue them figs, and made them ſuch cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of them, there came another of their ſkiffes abooard, with one who was a Kerill, whoſe name afterwards I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, and Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Colay, which is not far from the riuers mouth. This foreſaid Kerill ſaid vnto me that one of the ankers which I borowed was his, I gaue him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene ſufficient. And as I continued in one acuſtomed maner, that if the preſent which they brought were worthy interteinment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therfore I regarded him but little. And thus we ended, and they tooke their leaue and went a ſhore. At their comming a ſhore, Gabriel and Kerill were at vnconuenient words, and by the eares, as I vnderſtand: the cauſe was becauſe the one had better interteinment then the other: but you ſhall vnderſtand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, becauſe there were 17 lodias of Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company. 26

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbors, which were in number 28 of them at the leaſt, and all of them belonging to the riuer Colay. Twentie eight lodias belonging to Cola.

And as I vnderſtood, Kerill made reckoning that ꝑ hawſer which was faſt in his anker ſhould 27

haue beene his owne, and at first would not deliuer it to our boat, insomuch that I sent him word that I would complaine vpon him, wherupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their comming on shore this Kerill welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to helpe our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his coller of pearles, and came aboord againe, and brought his present with him: and thus hauing more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vaineglorious, I badde him welcome, and gaue him a dish of figges: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

28 After their departure from vs, we weyed, and plyed all the ebbe to the winde wards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waxed very stormy, so that of force we were constrayned to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which storme we lost our skiffe at our sterne, that we bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntill the fourth of July. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minuts. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge 10 fathoms, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rocks, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue aboue 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

The latitude of Cape S. Iohn 66 degrees 50 minuts.

Earth swimming aboue water like wood.

Iulie.

4 Saturday at a Northnorthwest sunne, the winde came at Eastnortheast, & then we weyed, and plyed to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be seene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hill. Then I iudged them, as it afterwards proued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furres, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

5 Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone, we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed, and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windewards.

6 Munday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hilles, which hilles beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. Iohn.

7 Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast from the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselues within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

At a North sunne we weyed, and plyed to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hilles, and the land beginneth to lie North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waxe deepe.

The latitude 68 degrees and a halfe.

At a Northwest sunne, we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where we had good plenty of fish, both haddocks and cods, riding in 10 fathom water.

8 Wednesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the head land, which is called Caninoz, the winde being at East and by North.

9 Thursday the winde being skant we turned to windewards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degrees 40 minuts.

10 Friday we turned to the windeward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anker, we saw the similitude of a storme rising at Northnorthwest, and could not tell where to get rode nor succor for that winde, and harborough we knew none: and that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shore. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the the forsaid Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, and then we weyed, and followed him, and went East and by South, the winde being at Westnorthwest, and very misty.

11 Saturday we went East southeast & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called

called Mozgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Camnoz, and we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were paſt in ouer the barre, it wared deeper, for we had 5 fathoms, 4 and a halfe, and 3 fathom, &c. our barke being mored, I ſent ſome of our men to ſhoare to prouide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of yoong fowle, as gulles, ſeapies, and others, whereof the Ruſſes would eat none, whereof we were nothing ſorry, for there came the more to our part. Mozgiouets an harboz. Drift wood.

Sunday our men cut wood on ſhoare, and brought it aboord, and we balaſted our ſhippe with ſtones. 12

This morning Gabriel ſaw a ſmoke on the way who rowed vnto it with his ſkiffe, which ſmoke was two leagues from the place where we road: and at a Northweſt ſunne he came aboord againe, and brought with him a Samoyd, which was but a yong man: his apparell was then ſtrange vnto vs, and he preſented me with three yoong wilde geeſe, and one yoong barnacle. A Samoyd.

Munday I ſent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs a boord eight barricoes of freſh water: the latitude of the ſaid Mozgiouets is ſixtie eight degrees and a tierſe. It floweth there at a Southſouthweſt moone full ſea, and hyeth two fadome and a halfe water. 13

At a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we departed from this place, and went Eaſt 25 leagues, and then ſaw an Iſland North and by Weſt of vs eight leagues, which Iſland is called Dolgoiene: and from the Eaſtermoſt part of this Iſland, there lyeth a ſand Eaſt and by South ſeuen leagues long. 14 Dolgoiene an Iſland. This ſand ſeemeth to be it wherevpon Charles Jackman periſhed.

Wedneſday at a North and by Eaſt ſunne, Swetinoze was South of vs 5 leagues.

This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fathom water. Pechora.

Thurſday we road ſtill. 15

Friday I went on ſhoare, and obſerued the variation of the compaſſe, which was three degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt: the latitude this day was ſixtie nine degrees tenne minuts. 16 17 The variation of the compas.

From two or three leagues to the Eaſtward of Swetinos, vntil the entring of the riuer Pechora, it is all ſandy hilles, and towards Pechora the ſandy hilles are very low.

It highеth on the barre of Pechora foure foot water, and it floweth there at a Southweſt moone a full ſea.

Munday at a North and by Eaſt ſunne, we weyed, and came out ouer the ſayd dangerous barre, where we had but fiue foot water, inſomuch that we found a foot leſſe water comming out then we did going in. I thinke the reaſon was, becauſe when we went in, the winde was off the ſea, which cauſed the ſandes to breake on either ſide of vs, and we kept in the ſmootheſt betweene the breaches, which we durſt not haue done, except we had ſeene the Ruſſes to haue gone in before vs: and at our comming out the winde was off the ſhoare, and fayre wether, and then the ſands did not appeare with breaches as at our going in: we thanke God, that our ſhippe did draw ſo little water. 20

When we were a ſeaboord the barre, the winde ſcanted vpon vs, and was at Eaſtſoutheaſt, inſomuch that we ſtopped the ebbes, and plyed all the flouds to the windewards, and made our way Eaſtnortheaſt. 21

Tueſday at a Northweſt ſunne we thought that we had ſeene land at Eaſt, or Eaſt & by North of vs: which afterwards proued to be a monſtrous heape of yce. Yce.

Within a little more then halfe an houre after we firſt ſaw this yce, we were incloſed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull ſight to ſee: for, for the ſpace of ſixe houres, it was as much as we could do to keepe our ſhippe alooke from one heape of yce, and beare roomer from another, with as much winde as we might beare a coarſe. And when we had paſt from the danger of this yce, we lay to the Eaſtwards cloſe by the winde.

The next day we were againe troubled with the yce. 22

Thurſday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerly. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minuts. 23 The latitude 70 degrees. 11 minuts.

We had not runne paſt two houres Northweſt, the winde being at Northnortheaſt and Northeaſt and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of yce: we wethered the head of it, and lay a time to the ſeawards, and made way Weſt 6 leagues.

Friday at a Southeaſt ſunne, we caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Northnortheſt: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minuts. 24

On S. James his day bolting to the windewards, we had the latitude at noone in ſeuentie degrees twentie minuts. The ſame day at a Southweſt ſunne, there was a monſtrous Whale 25

aboord of vs, ſo neere to our ſide that we might haue thruſt a ſword or any other weapon in him, which we durſt not doe for feare he ſhould haue ouerthrowen our ſhippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs ſhowted, and with the cry that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboue water of his backe as the breath of our pinneſſe, and at his falling downe, he made ſuch a terrible noyſe in the water, that a man would greatly haue maruelled, except he had knowne the cauſe of it: but, God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we eſpyed certaine Iſlands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fathom, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a Northeaſt ſunne, & named the Iſland S. Iames his Iſland, where we found freſh water.

S. Iames Iſland.

26 Sunday, much winde blowing, we rode ſtill.

27 Munday I went on ſhoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minuts: the variation of the compaſſe, was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the Weſt.

The variation of the compas 7 degrées and a halfe.

Tueſday we plyed to the Weſtwards alongſt the ſhoare, the winde being at Northweſt, and as I was about to come to anker, we ſaw a ſaile comming about the point, whereunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I ſent a ſkiffe aboord of him, and at their comming aboord, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man ſaid he had beene in our company in the riuer Colay, and alſo declared vnto them, that we were paſt the way which ſhould bring vs to the Ob. This land, ſaid he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to ſay, the New land: and then he came aboord him ſelfe with his ſkiffe, and at his comming aboord he tolde me the like, and ſaid further, that in this Noua Zembla is the higheſt mountaine in the world, as he thought, and that Camen Bolſhay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I ſaw it not: he made me alſo certaine demonſtrations of the way to the Ob, and ſeemed to make haſte on his owne way, being very lothe to tary, becauſe the yeere was farre paſt, and his neighbour had fet Pechora, and not he: ſo I gaue him a ſteele glaſſe, two pewter ſpoones, and a paire of veluet ſhethed knifes: and then he ſeemed ſomewhat the more willing to tary, and ſhewed me as much as he knew for our purpoſe: he alſo gaue me 17 wilde geeſe, and ſhewed me that foure of their lodias were driuen perforce from Caminoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loſhake.

28 The relation of Loſhake. The way to the riuer of Obbe. A mightie hill in Noua Zembla. Loſhake.

29 Wedneſday, as we plyed to the Eaſtwards, wee eſpyed another ſaile, which was one of this Loſhaks company, and we bare roome, and ſpake with him, who in like ſort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thurſday, we plyed to the Eaſtwards, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt.

31 Friday, the gale of winde began to increaſe, and came Weſterly withall, ſo that by a Northweſt ſunne we were at an anker among the Iſlands of Vaigats, where we ſaw two ſmall lodias, the one of them came aboord of vs, and preſented me with a great loafe of bread: and they tolde me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who ſeemed to be the cheefeſt among them in killing of the morſe.

The Iſlands of Vaigats.

There were ſome of their company on ſhore, which did chaſe a white beare ouer the high clifs into the water, which beare, the lodia that was aboord of vs, killed in our ſight.

This day there was a great gale of winde at North, and we ſaw ſo much yce driuing a ſeaboord, that it was then no going to ſea.

Auguſt.

1 Saturday I went a ſhore, and there I ſaw three morſes, that they had killed: they held one tooth of a morſe, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare ſkinne at three robles and two robles: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoids on the great Iſland, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houſes, but only couerings made of deere ſkinnes, ſet ouer them with ſtakes: they are men expert in ſhooting, and haue great plenty of deere.

Samoyds.

This night there fell a cruell ſtorme, the winde being at Weſt.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of ſnow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Munday we weyed and went roome with another Iſland, which was fiue leagues Eaſtnortheaſt from vs: and there I met againe with Loſhake, and went on ſhore with him, and he brought me to a heape of the Samoyds idols, which were in number aboue 300, the worſt, and the moſt vnartificiall worke that euer I ſaw: the eyes and mouthes of ſundry of them were bloudy, they had the ſhape of men, women, and children, very groſly wrought, & that which they had made for other parts, was alſo ſprinkled with bloud. Some of their idols were an olde ſticke with two or three notches, made with a knife, in it. I ſaw much of the footing of the ſaid Samoyds, and of the ſleds that they ride in. There was one of their ſleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, and there I ſaw a deere ſkinne which the fowles had ſpoyled: and before certaine of their idols blocks were made

The maners of the Samoyds.

as

as high as their mouthes, being all bloudy, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their ſacrifice: I ſaw alſo the inſtruments, whereupon they had roaſted fleſh, and as farre as I could perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the ſpit.

Loſhake being there preſent, tolde me that theſe Samoyds were not ſo hurtfull as they of Ob are, and that they haue no houſes, as in deed I ſaw none, but onely tents made of deere ſkinnes, which they vnderpoppe with ſtakes and poles: their boats are made of deere ſkinnes, and when they come on ſhoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their carriages they haue no other beaſtes to ſerue them, but deere onely. As for bread and corne they haue none, except the Ruſſes bring it to them: their knowledge is very baſe, for they know no letter. The Samoids of the Ob, very hurtfull and thiewd people.

Tueſday we turned for the harborough where Loſhaks barke lay, whereas before we road vnder an Iſland. And there he came aboord of vs, and ſaid vnto me: if God ſend winde and weather to ſerue, I will goe to the Ob with you, becauſe the moſſes were ſkant at theſe Iſlandes of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he ſaid he would goe to the riuer of Narmezay, where the people were not altogether ſo ſauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: he ſhewed me that they will ſhoote at all men to the vttermoſt of their power, that can not ſpeake their ſpeech. 4

Wedneſday we ſaw a terrible heape of yce approch neere vnto vs, and therefore we thought good with all ſpeed poſſible to depart from thence, and ſo I returned to the Weſtwards againe, to the Iſland where we were the 31 of July. 5

Thurſday I went a ſhoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minuts: and the variation of the compaſſe was 8 degrees from the North to the Weſt. 6 The latitude. The variation of the compaſs.

Loſhake and the two ſmall Lodias of Pechora departed from this Iſland, while I was on ſhoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I maruelled why he departed ſo ſuddenly, and went ouer the ſhoales amongſt the Iſlands where it was impoſſible for vs to follow them. But after I perceiued them to be weather wiſe.

Friday we road ſtill, the winde being at Northnortheaſt, with a cruell ſtorme. The yce came in ſo abundantly about vs at both ends of the Iſland that we road vnder, that it was a fearefull ſight to beholde: the ſtorme continued with ſnow, raine, and haile plenty. 7

Saturday we road ſtill alſo, the ſtorme being ſomewhat abated, but it was altogether miſty, that we were not able to ſee a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeaſt and by Eaſt. 8

Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Iſland, the winde being at Southeaſt and as we were cleere a ſea boord the ſmall Iſlandes and ſhoales, it came ſo thicke with miſtes, that we could not ſee a baſe ſhotte from vs. Then we tooke in all our ſailes to make little way. 9

At a Southeaſt ſunne it wared cleere, and then we ſet our ſayles, and lay cloſe by the winde to the Southwards alongſt the Iſlands of Vaigats. At a Weſt ſunne we tooke in our ſayle againe becauſe of the great miſt and raine. We ſounded at this place, and had fiue and twenty fathoms water, and ſoft blacke oze, being three leagues from the ſhoare, the winde being at South and by Eaſt, but ſtill miſty.

Munday at an Eaſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 40 fathoms, and oze, ſtill miſty: at noone we ſounded againe, and had 36 fathom, ſtill miſty. 10

Tueſday at an Eaſtnortheaſt ſunne, we let fall our anker, in three and twenty fadome, the miſt ſtill continuing. 11

Wedneſday at three of the clocke in the morning the miſt brake vp, the winde being at Northeaſt & by Eaſt, and then we ſaw part of the Iſlands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went Eaſtſoutheaſt cloſe by the winde: at a Weſt ſunne we were at an anker vnder the Southweſt part of the ſaid Vaigats, and then I ſent our ſkiffe to ſhoare with three men in her, to ſee if they might ſpeake with any of the Samoyds, but could not: all that day was rainie, but not windie. 12

Thurſday the winde came Weſterly, ſo that we were faine to ſeeke vs another place to ride in, becauſe the winde came a ſeaboord land, and although it were miſty, yet we followed the ſhoare by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a Weſt ſunne the miſt brake vp, ſo that we might ſee about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a ſound. 13

This afternoone we tooke in two or three ſkiffes lading of ſtones to balaſt our ſhippe withall. It hyeth heere foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

Friday we road ſtill in the ſound, the winde at Southweſt, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it wared againe miſty. 14 The vncertainty of ebbing & flowing.

15 Saturday there was much winde at Weſt, and much raine, and then againe miſtie.

16 Sunday was very miſty, and much winde.

17 Munday very miſty, the winde at Weſtnorthweſt.

18 Tueſday was alſo miſty, except at noone: then the ſunne brake out through the miſt, ſo that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minuts: the afternoone was miſty againe, the winde being at Weſtnorthweſt.

19 Wedneſday at three of the clocke afternoone the miſt brake vp, and the winde came at Eaſtnortheaſt, and then we weyed, and went South & by Eaſt, vntill ſeuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had ſight of the ſandy hilles that are to the Eaſtwards of the riuer Pechora. At a Northweſt ſonne we tooke in our maine ſaile, becauſe the winde increaſed, and went with foze ſaile Weſt-northweſt, the winde being at Eaſtnortheaſt: at night there grew ſo terrible a ſtorme, that we ſaw not the like, although we had indured many ſtormes ſince we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke ſuch monſtrous and terrible ſeas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer faileth them at need, that put their ſure truſt in him.

20 Thurſday at a Southſouthweſt ſunne, thanks be to God, the ſtorme was at the higheſt, & then the winde began to ſlake, and came Northerly withall, and then I reckoned the Weſtermoſt point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Weſtſouthweſt ſunne we ſet our maine ſaile, and lay cloſe by the winde, the winde being at Northweſt and by North, making but little way, becauſe the billow went ſo high: at midnight we caſt about, and the ſhippe caped Northnortheaſt, making little way.

They were within 15 leagues of Pechora.

21 Friday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minuts, and we ſounded, and had 29 fathoms ſand, and in maner ſtremy ground. At a Weſt ſunne we caſt about to the Weſtwards, and a little after the winde came vp at Weſt.

23 Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a tierſe, we ſounded heere, and had nine and fortie fathoms and oze, which oze ſignified that we drew towards Noua Zembla.

They returne the 22 of Auguſt.

And thus we being out of all hope to diſcouer any more to the Eaſterward this yere, we thought it beſt to returne, and that for three cauſes.

The firſt, the continuall Northeaſt and Northerly windes, which haue more power after a man is paſt to the Eaſtwardes of Caninoz, then in any place that I doe know in theſe Northerly regions.

Second, becauſe of the great & terrible abundance of yce, which we ſaw with our eyes, and we doubt greater ſtore abideth in thoſe parts: I aduentured already ſomewhat too farre in it, but I thanke God for my ſafe deliuerance from it.

Third, becauſe the nights waxed darke, and the winter began to draw on with his ſtormes: and therefore I reſolued to take the firſt beſt winde that God ſhould ſend, & plie towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to ſee if we might do any good there, if God would permit it.

This preſent Saturday we ſaw very much yce, and were within two or three leagues of it: it ſhewed vnto vs as though it had beene a firme land as farre as we might ſee from Northweſt off vs to the Eaſtwards: and this afternoone the Lord ſent vs a little gale of winde at South, ſo that we bare cleere off the Weſtermoſt part of it, thanks be to God. And then againſt night it waxed

24 calme againe, and the winde was at Southweſt: we made our way vntill Sunday noone Northweſt and by Weſt, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at Southweſt: there was a billow, ſo that we could not diſcerne to take the latitude exactly, but by a reaſonable geſſe.

25 Munday there was a prety gale of winde at South, ſo that we went Weſt and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minuts: we had little winde all day: at a Weſtnorthweſt ſunne we ſounded, and had 29 fathoms, blacke ſandy oze, & then we were Northeaſt 5 leagues from the Northeaſt part of the Iſland Colgoieue.

26 Tueſday, the winde all Weſterly, we plied to the winde wards.

27 Wedneſday, the winde was alſo Weſterly, and calme: we had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minuts, we being within 3 leagues of the North part of the Iſland Colgoieue.

28 Thurſday, we went roome about the Weſtermoſt part of the Iſland, ſeeking where we might finde a place to ride in for a Northweſt winde, but could finde none, and then we caſt about againe to the ſeawards, and the winde came at Weſtſouthweſt, and this morning we had plenty of ſnow.

29 Friday, the winde being at Southweſt and by Weſt, we plyed to the windewards.

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plyed to the Weſtwards, and at afternoone the miſt brake vp, and then we might ſee the land ſeuen or eight leagues to the Eaſtwards of Caninoz:

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we ſounded a little before and had 35. fadomes and oze. And a while after we ſounded againe, and had 19. fadome and ſand: then wee were within 3. leagues and a halfe of the ſhoze, and towards night there came downe ſo much wind, that we were faine to bring our ſhip a trie, and laid her head to the Weſtwards.

Sunday, the winde became moze calme, and then it waxed very miſtie: At noone wee caſt about to the Eaſtwards, the wind being at South, and ranne eight howers on that boozd, and then we caſt about and caped Weſt ſouthweſt: we ſounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay. 30

Munday we doubled about Canuoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that wee might kill ſome fiſh if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Muſe, which Muſes were there ſo plentie, that they would ſcarcely ſuffer any other fiſh to come neere the hookes: the ſaid Muſes caried away ſundry of our hookes and leads. 31

A little after at a Weſt Sunne, the winde began to blow ſtoꝛmie at Weſt ſouthweſt, ſo that we were faine to weie and forſake our fiſhing ground, and went cloſe by the wind Southweſt and Southweſt and by Weſt, making our way South ſouthweſt.

September.

TEwſday at a Weſt Sunne, we ſounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeſhels: I reckoned Canuoze to be 24. leagues Noꝛthnoꝛtheaſt from vs. 1

The eleuenth day we arriued at Colmogro, and there wee Wintered, expecting the approch of the next Sommer to proceed farther in our intended Diſcouerie foꝛ the Ob: which (by reaſon of our imploiments to Wardhouſe the next Spring foꝛ the ſearch of ſome Engliſh ſhips) was not accoꝛdingly perfoꝛmed. 11

A diſcourſe of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambaſſador from the Emperor of Ruſſia, in the yeere of Chriſt, 1556. and in the third yeere of the raigne of Queene Mary, ſeruing for the third voiage to Moſcouie. Regiſtred by M. Iohn Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recoꝛded by writing and autenticall teſtimonie, partly foꝛ memoꝛie of things done, and partly foꝛ the veritie to be knowen to poſteritie in time to come, that whereas the moſt high and mightie Euan Vaſiliuich Emperoꝛ of all Ruſſia, great duke of Volidemer, Moſcouia, and Nouogrode, Emperoꝛ of Caſſan, and of Aſtrachan, loꝛd of Piskie, and great duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permiskie, Viatskie, Boligarskie, and Sibieriskie, Emperoꝛ and great duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countries, Charnogoskie, Rizanskie, Volodſkie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Roſtoskie, Yeraſlaueskie, Bialazarskie, Woodarskie, Opdorskie, Condinskie, and many other countries, and loꝛd ouer all thoſe partes, in the yeere of our Loꝛd God, enſuing the account of the Latin church, 1556. ſent by the ſea from the poꝛt of S. Micholas in Ruſſia, his right honoꝛable ambaſſadoꝛ ſirnamed Oſep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the moſt famous and excellent ꝑinces, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Auſtria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine & Brabant, counties of Haſpurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambaſſadoꝛ and Oꝛatoꝛ with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with certain preſents and gifts mentioned in the foote of this memoꝛial, as a manifeſt argument and token of a mutual amitie and friendſhip to be made and continued betweene their maieſties and ſubiects reſpectiuely, foꝛ the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Oꝛatoꝛ was the 20. day of July, imbarked and ſhipped, in, and vpon a good Engliſh ſhip named the Edward Bonauenture, belõging to the Gouernour, Conſuls and company of Engliſh merchants, Richard Chanceler being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland maſter of the ſaid ſhip. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foꝛeſaid Ambaſſadoꝛ, and merchants at ſeuerall accounts, goods and merchandizes, viz. in ware, trane oile, tallow, furres, felts, yarne and ſuch like, to the ſumme of 20000. li. ſterling, together with 16. Ruſſies attendant vpon the perſon of the ſaid Ambaſſadoꝛ. Quer and aboue ten other Ruſſies ſhipped within the ſaid Baie of S. Micholas, in one other good ſhip to the ſaid company alſo belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the ſaid Oꝛatoꝛs and merchants to the value of 6000. li. ſterling, as by the inuiſes and letters of lading of the ſaid ſeueral ſhips (whereunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ſhips comming in good oꝛder into the ſeas, & trauerſing Foure ſhips.

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the ſame in their iourney towards the coaſt of England, were by contrary windes and extreme tempeſts of weather ſeuered the one from the other, that is to ſay, the ſaid Bona Speranza with two other Engliſh ſhips alſo appertaining to the ſaid company, the one ſirnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coaſt of Norway into Drenton water, where the ſayd Confidentia was ſeene to periſh on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie perſons ſeemed to Winter there, whereof no certaintie at this preſent day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary, arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteene day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſeuen. The Edward Bonauenture trauerſing the Seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of November of the aforeſayd yeere of our Lorde, one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie and ſixe, arriued within the Scottiſh coaſt in a Baie named Pettiſlego, where by outragious tempeſts and extreme ſtormes, the ſayd ſhip being beaten from her ground tackles, was driuen vpon the Rockes on ſhore, where ſhe brake and ſplit in pieces, in ſuch ſorte, as the grand Pilot vſing all carefulneſſe for the ſafetie of the bodie of the ſayde Ambaſſadour and his traine, taking the boate of the ſayd ſhip, truſting to attaine the ſhore, and ſo to ſaue and preſerue the body, and ſeuen of the companie or attendaunts of the ſayde Ambaſſadour, the ſame boate by rigorous waues of the Seas, was by darke night ouerwhelmed and drowned, wherein periſhed not onely the bodie of the ſaid grand Pilot, with ſeuen Ruſſies, but alſo diuers of the Mariners of the ſayd ſhip: the noble perſonage of the ſayde Ambaſſadour with a few others (by Gods preſeruation and ſpeciall fauour) onely with much difficultie ſaued. In which Shipwracke not onely the ſayde ſhip was broken, but alſo the whole maſſe and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and rauenous people of the countrey thereunto adioyning, rifled, ſpoyled, and caried away, to the manifeſt loſſe and vtter deſtruction of all the lading of the ſayd ſhip, and together with the ſhip, apparell, ordinaunce and furniture belonging to the company, in value of one thouſand pounds, of all which was not reſtored towards the coſtes and charges to the ſumme of 500. li. ſterling.

The Edward Bonauenture arriued in Scotland, in the Baie of Pettiſlego, Nouember 7. 1556.

Rich. Chancelor drowned.

As ſoone as by letters addreſſed to the ſayd companie, and in London deliuered the ſixt of December laſt paſt, it was to them certainely knowen of the loſſe of their Pilote, men, goods and ſhip, the ſame merchaunts with all celeritie and expedition, obteined not onely the Queenes maieſties moſt gracious and fauourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the counſell of Scotland for the gentle comforting and entertainment of the ſayde Ambaſſadour, his traine and companie, with preſeruation and reſtitution of his goods, as in ſuch miſerable caſes, to Chriſtian pitie, princely honour and meere Juſtice appertaineth, but alſo addreſſed two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie, and eſtimation, videlicet, Maſter Lawrence Huſſie doctor of the Ciuile lawe, and George Gilpin with mony, and other requiſites into the Realme of Scotland, to comforte, ayde, aſſiſt, and relieue him and his there, and alſo to conduct the Ambaſſadour into England, ſending with them by poſte a Talmach or Speachman for the better furniture of the ſeruice of the ſayde Ambaſſadour, truſting thereby to haue the more ample and ſpeedie redreſſe of reſtitution: which perſonages vſing diligence, arriued at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the three and twentieth day of the ſayde moneth of December, who firſt viſiting the ſayd Ambaſſadour, declaring the cauſes of their comming and Commiſſion, ſhewing the letters addreſſed in his fauour, the order giuen them for his ſolace and furniture of all ſuch things as hee would haue, together with their daily and readie ſeruice to attend vpon his perſon and affaires, repaired conſequently vnto the Dowager Queene, deliuering the letters.

Whereupon, they receiued gentle anſweres, with hope and comfort of ſpeedie reſtitution of the goods, apparell, iewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene ſent firſt certaine Commiſſioners with an Harold of Armes to Pettiſlego, the place of the Shipwracke, commaunding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all ſuch perſons (no degree excepted) as had any part of ſuch goods as were ſpoyled and taken out or from the Ship, to bring them in, and to reſtore the ſame with ſuch further order as her grace by aduiſe of her counſell thought expedient: by reaſon whereof, not without great laboures, paynes and charges (after long time) diuers ſmall parcels of Waxe, and other ſmall trifling things of no value, were by the poorer ſorte of the Scottes brought to the Commiſſioners, but the Jewels, rich apparell, preſents, gold, ſiluer, coſtly furres, and ſuch like, were conueied away, concealed and vtterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the requeſt of the ſayd Ambaſſadour, cauſed diuers perſons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called perſonally before her princely preſence, to anſwer to the ſaid ſpoile, & really to exhibite and bring in all ſuch things as were ſpoiled and violently taken, & caried out of the ſame,

whereof

whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shewed, but also the things themselues found in the hands of the Scottish subiects, who by subtile and craftie dealings, by conniuence of the commissioners, so vsed (or rather abused) themselues towards the same Ozator and his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigated with daily attendaunce and charges, the 14. day of Februarie next ensuing, diffidulting any reall and effectuall rendring of the sayd goods and merchandizes and other the premisses, vpon leaue obtained of the sayd Queene, departed towards England, hauing attending vpon him the said two English gentlemen and others (leauing neuertheless in Scotland three Englishmen to pursue the deliuerie of such things as were collected to haue bene sent by ship to him into England: which being in Aprill next, and not before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arriued) came the 18. day of Februarie to Barwike, within the dominion and Realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maiesties letters and commaundement, honourably receiued, vsed and intertained by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the daily iourneis done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth: he prosecuting his voiage vntill the 27. of Februarie, approched the citie of London within twelue English miles, where hee was receiued with fourescore merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as well in order of men seruants in one vniforme liuerie, as also in, and vpon good horses and geldings, who conducting him to a merchaunts house foure miles from London, receiued there a quantitie of golde, veluet and silke, with all furniture thereunto requisite, wherewith he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of Februarie, he was by the merchants aduenturing for Russia, to the number of one hundred and fortie persons, and so many or more seruaunts in one liuerie as aboue said, conducted towards the Citie of London, where by the way hee had not onely the hunting of the Fox and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes maiesties commaundement was receiued and embraced by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by her grace for his intertainment: hee being accompanied with diuers lustie knights, esquiers, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred horses, led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchaunts rich apparelled, was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footecloth of Orient crimosin veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most glorious fashion, of the present, and gift of the sayde merchaunts: whereupon, the Ambassadour at instant desire, mounted, riding on the way towardes Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The lord Maior accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receiue him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle betweene the sayd lord Maior and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of seruaunts and apprentises following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and repleni shing all streetes in such sort as no man without difficultie might passe) into his lodging situate in Fant church streete, where were prouided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serue him at all meales, and other seruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, vntill the third day of May: during which time, daily, diuers Aldermen and the grauest personages of the sayd companie, did visite him, prouiding all kind of victuals for his table and his seruants, with all sortes of Officers to attend vpon him in good sort and condicion, as to such an Ambassadour of honour doth, and ought to appertaine.

His departure from Scotland towards England.

1557. Febr. 27.

His honourable receiuing into the Citie of London.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented vnto him on the Queenes maiesties behalfe, for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparell, one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of gold raised with crimosin veluet, a piece of crimosin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet, a piece of Damaske purpled, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite, hee abode expecting the kings maiesties repaire out of Flaunders into England, whose highnesse arriuing the one and twentie of March, the same Ambassadour the fiue and twentieth of March, being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day twelue moneth hee tooke his leaue from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes maiesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the sayd Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Westminster bridge, was there receiued with fiue lordes, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Priuie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie and other

coun-

counsellers, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richlie decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, giuen two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embraced, was with much honour and high entertainment, in sight of a great confluence of people, lordes and ladies eftsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by assignement of the Kings and Queenes maiesties, repaired, and conferred with him secretely two graue counsellers, that is, the lord bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretarie to their highnesse, who after diuers secret talkes and conference, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the grauitie, wisedome, and stately behauiour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed vnder the great seale of England.

Finally, concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the great seale of England, to him by the said counsellers deliuered, doth appeare.

The foure and twentieth of Aprill, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord Ambassadour was eftsoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right noble the lordes Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence (where after his Oration made, and thankes both giuen and receiued) hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, hee was with speciall honour ledde vnto the Chappell, where before the Kings and Queenes maiesties, in sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein, hee accompanied with the Duke of Norfolke, the lordes last aboue mentioned, and many other honourable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he eftsoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally, as before.

Foure goodly ships of the merchants prouided for Russia, 1557.

The time of the yeere hasting the profection and departure of the Ambassadour, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kindes of merchandizes apte for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same shippes in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Grauesende, where the same Ambassadour with his trayne and furniture, was imbarked towards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to bee remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayde Ambassadour in England, the Agentes of the sayde merchaunts did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to bee laden in an English shippe hired purposely to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to bee deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the Maior, and diuers worshipfull mens houses, feasting and banketting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sightes of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorable spectacles. And also the said nine and twentie day of Aprill, the sayd merchaunts assembling themselues together in the house of the Drapers hall of London, exhibited, and gaue vnto the sayde Ambassadour, a notable supper garnished with Musike, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of Wine being drunke to him in the name and liew of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole companie with most liberall and friendly hearts, did frankelie giue to him and his, all maner of costes and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London, during his abode there, and vntill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part, as a testimonie and witnesse of their good hearts, zeale and tenderneslie towards him and his countrey.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza, no worde nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriuall of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchaunts, who in good gard set him aboord the noble ship, the Primrose Admirall to the Fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and partes after many embracements and diuers farewels not without expressing of teares.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the counsellers, videlicet, the bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes maiesties repaying to the lord Ambassa-

ambaſſadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highneſſe letters of recommendations vnder the great ſeale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly written, but alſo on their maieſties behalfe, gaue, and deliuered certaine notable preſents to the Emperours perſon, and alſo giftes for the lord Ambaſſadours proper vſe and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder written appeareth, with ſuch further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bene heard: whereby it appeareth howe well affected their honours bee to haue and continue amitie and traffique betweene their honours and their ſubiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maieſties haue ſhewed of their princely munificences and liberalities, ſo haue likewiſe the merchaunts and fellowſhip of the Aduenturers, for and to Ruſsia, manifeſted to the world their good wils, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenſed voyage, as by the diſcourſe aboue mentioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to bee recited in this preſent memoriall, doth and may moſt clearely appeare, the like whereof is not in any preſident or hiſtory to be ſhewed.

Foraſmuch as it may bee doubted how the Ship named the Edward Bonauenture, receiued ſhipwracke, what became of the goods, how much they were ſpoiled and deteined, how little reſtored, what charges and expenſes enſued, what perſonages were drowned, how the reſt of the Ships either arriued or periſhed, or how the diſpoſition of almightie God hath wrought his pleaſure in them, how the ſame ambaſſadour hath bene after the miſerable caſe of ſhipwracke in Scotland vnreuerently abuſed, and conſequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertained, vſed, honoured, and finally in good ſafetie towards his returne and repaire furniſhed, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly diſmiſſed, to the intent that the trueth of the premiſſes may bee to the moſt mightie Emperour of Ruſsia, ſincerely ſignified in eſchewment of all euents and miſfortunes that may chance in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambaſſadours perſon, traine and goods, this preſent memoriall is written and autentikely made, and by the ſayde Ambaſſadour his ſeruaunts, whoſe names bee vnderwritten, and traine in preſence of the Notarie, and witneſſes vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Giuen the day, moneth, and peere vnderwritten, of which inſtrument into euery of the ſayde Ships, one teſtimoniall is deliuered, and the firſt remayneth with the ſayd compame in London.

Giftes ſent to the King and Queenes maieſties of England by *the Emperour of Ruſsia, by the report of the Ambaſſadour, and ſpoyled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.*

1. Firſt, ſixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
2. Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and clawes.
3. Item, foure liuing Sables with chaines and collars.
4. Item, thirtie Luſarnes large and beautifull.
5. Item, ſixe large and great ſkinnes very riche and rare, worne onely by the Emperour for worthineſſe.
6. Item, a large and faire white Jerfawcon for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Gooſe, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of ſiluer, the hoopes guilt, vſed for a lure to call the ſayd Hawke.

Giftes ſent to the Emperour of Ruſsia by the King and Queens *Maieſties of England.*

1. Firſt, two rich pieces of cloth of Tiſſue.
2. Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
3. Item, one fine Violet in graine.
4. Item, one fine Azur cloth.
5. Item, a notable paire of Bigandines with a Murrian couered with Crimoſin veluet and gilt nailes.
6. Item, a Male and Female Lions.

Gifts

Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and aboue such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriuall.

1 First, a chaine of gold of one hundred pound.
2 Item, a large bason and ewer, siluer and gilt.
3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant vpon the Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.

Isaak Fwesscheneke.
Demitre.
Gorbolones.
Symonde.
Yeroffia.
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboue mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the realme of England, the aboue named honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea, Ambassadour and Orator aboue mentioned, personally constituted and present, hauing declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquier, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his Interpreter sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie and personages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, as well for his owne person as for his seruants aboue named, who did not subscribe their names as is aboue mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the request of the sayd master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the merchaunts haue to these presents vnderwritten, set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere aboue written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Iudde. George Barne. William Chester. } Knights.
Rafe Greeneaway. } Aldermen of London.
Iohn Mersh Esquier.
Iohn Dimmocke.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best aboue mentioned.

The voiage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, & the Philip & Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

23 VPon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchthrift from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the East.

26 Wednesday we came to the Island called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berozoua, that floweth here at an East and by South Noone full sea.

29 Saturday in the morning wee departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berôzoua Gooba, whereupon wee came to an anker at a low water, and sounded the sayd Barre with our two

two Skiffes, and founde in the beſt vpon the ſhoaldeſt of the barre, 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in ſpring ſtreames 3. foote water: and an Eaſt moone maketh a full ſea vpon this barre.

Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berozoua, and plied along by the ſhoalds in fiue fadome, vntill I had ſight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee caſt about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coya Reca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southſouthweſt, and Northnortheaſt, and betweene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eaſtwards of Coſcaynos. Coſcaynos and the middes of the Iſland called Mondeuſtoua oſtroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South, and by Eaſt, North and by Weſt, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may ſay from the Seabord part of the barre to Coſcaynos, are 3. leagues and a halfe. 30. Coia Reca. Coſcanos.

Munday at a Northeaſt and by Eaſt ſunne, we were thwart of Coſcaynos.

Dogs noſe lieth from Coſcaynos Northnorthweſt, and betweene them are 8. leagues: and Dogs noſe ſheweth like a Gurnerds head, if you be inwardly on both ſides of it: on the low point of Dogs noſe there ſtandeth a croſſe alone. 31. Dogs noſe.

Iune.

FRom Dogs noſe to fore noſe, are 3. leagues, North and by Weſt. 1.

The 2. day of June I went on ſhoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs noſe, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a ſhoare at this place, at an Eaſt Moone full ſea, and the ſhippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southſoutheaſt moone. So that it is to be vnderſtoode, that when it is a full ſea on the ſhoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compaſſe at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the Eaſt. 2. The variation of the Compaſſe 4. degrees.

This day the Northnorthweſt winde put vs backe againe with Dogs noſe, where a ſhip may ride thwart of a Salt houſe, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landfange for a North and by Weſt winde: which Salt houſe is halfe a mile to the Southwardes of Dogs noſe. 3.

Friday at a Southſouthweſt Sunne, wee departed from this Salt houſe. It is to bee noted that foure miles to the Northwardes of Dogs noſe, there growe no trees on the banke by the water ſide: and the bankes conſiſt of fullers earth. Ouer the cliffes there growe ſome trees: ſo that Dogs noſe is the better to be knowen becauſe it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not ſeene in all that Countrey. 4.

A head of Fore noſe a league from the ſhoare, there are 15. fadome: betwixt Fore noſe and Zolatitſa, there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Fore noſe. Fore noſe.

Sunday I ſounded the barre of Zolatitſa, which the Ruſſes tolde me was a good harborow, but in the beſt of it I found but 4. foote water. 6.

Munday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Pentecoſt ſixe leagues South of vs. 7. Point Pentecoſt.

Wedneſday I went on lande at Croſſe Iſland, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes. 9. Croſſe Iſland.

We being one league Northeaſt of Croſſe Iſland, I ſawe the lande on the Eaſtſide, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eaſt Southeaſt of vs 9. leagues. Cape good fortune.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe Northeaſt from Croſſe Iſland.

There are 2. Iſlands 5. leagues Northnortheaſt from Cape grace, the Southermoſt of them is a litle long Iſland almoſt a mile long, and the Northermoſt a little round Iſlande, and they are both hard aboord the ſhoare. Cape grace.

Cape Race is from the Southermoſt Iſland North and by Weſt, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that ½ halfe a league Northnorthweſt, there is another point. Betweene which point and Cape Race, the Ruſſes haue a Stanauiſh or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Weſtwards of the ſaid point, there is a ſhoale bay. Cape Race.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, wee had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within halfe a league of the ſhoare in this latitude I found it to be a full ſea at a North and by Eaſt moone. I had where we roade, two and twentie fadome, and the tallow which is taken vp is ful of great broken ſhels, and ſome ſtones withal like vnto ſmall ſand conieled together. 10.

From a South ſunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by Eaſt, wee driued

to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the shippes head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we sounded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this pre-
Frost in June. sent day was very misty, with frost on the shrowds as the miste fell.

11. Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the miste brake vp a litle, the winde being at North and by West a stiffe gale, our shrowdes and roapes ouer head being couered with frost, and likely to be a storme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islandes (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the harborow at this place at a Southsoutheast moone ful sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a South-
Tri Ostroue. southwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostroue.

You may come in betweene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sounde, and if you borrowe on any side, let it bee on the greatest Islande, and you shall haue at a lowe water, foure fadome, and three fadome and a halfe, and three fadome, vntill that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betweene the Northermost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sande. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sounde to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboorde, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes doe last vnto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbor for Northerly windes, when you come out of the sea hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giuing the Island a faire birth, and as you shoote towardes the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northerly windes, in foure fadome, fiue, sixe and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island, (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a shippe in: the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16. This storme of Northerly winde lasted vntill the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came
Ice. Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shoare at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a
The variation. halfe from the North to the East.

17. Thursday being faire weather, and the winde at North, wee plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day three leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sande, and broken shels. And when the flake came wee waped and made aboorde to the shoare-wards, and had
18. within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sande: a man may finde roade there for a Northwinde, and so to the Westwards.

Two leagues to the Southwarde of Corpus Christi point, you may haue Land fange for a North and by Eastwinde, and from that to the Westwardes in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sande, and amongst the sande little pong small limpets, or such like as growe vpon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare, are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesaid, but the pong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwardes of Corpus Christi point is the vttermost lande, which lande and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to the Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at North-
19. northwest, with miste and frost, at noone the sunne appeared through the miste, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

21. Munday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or ra-
Corpus Christi point. ther more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken cockle shels, with brannie sande, but the broken shels very thicke.

22. Tuesday in the morning wee were shotte a head of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Soti-
Cape Gallant. noze. And as we were shotte almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the winde came vp at the Northwest, and after to the Northwardes, so that wee were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we founde good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betweene S. Iohns Islands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, wee tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboorde vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the nomber of sixteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of the men could speake the

Russe

Ruſſe tongue: I aſked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the nomber of 100. men, beſides women and children, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to ſeeke meate among the rockes, ſaying, If wee gette no meate, wee eate none. I ſawe them eate rocke weedes as hungerly, as a cowe doeth graſſe when ſhe is hungrie. I ſawe them alſo eate foules egges rawe, and the yong birdes alſo that were in the egges.

I obſerued certaine wordes of their language, which *I thought good to ſet downe for their vſe, that hereafter* ſhall haue occaſion to continue this voyage.

COwghtie coteat, what call you this.
Poddythecke, come hither.
Auanchythocke, get thee hence.
Anna, farewell.
Teyrue, good morrowe.
Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.
Paſſeuellie, a friend.
Olmuelke, a man.
Captella, a woman.
Alke, a ſonne.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.
Oyuie, a head.
Cyelme, an eye.
Nenna, a noſe.
Nealma, a mouth.
Pannea, teeth.
Neughtema, a tongue.
Seaman, a beard.
Peallee, an eare.
Teappat, the necke.
Voapt, the haire.
Keat, a hand.
Soarme, fingers.
Iowlkie, a legge.
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.
Sarke, wollen cloth.
Lein, linnen cloth.
Payte, a ſhirt.
Toll, fire.
Keatſe, water.
Murr, wood.
Vannace, a boate.
Ariea, an oare.
Nurr, a roape.
Peyue, a day.
Hyr, a night.
Peyuezea, the Sunne.
Manna, the Moone.
Laſte, ſtarres.
Cozam volka, whither goe you.
Ottapp, ſleepe.
Tallye, that.
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.
Iſckie, a yeere.
Keſſe, Sommer.
Talue, Winter.
Iowkſam, colde.
Parox, warme.
Abrye, raine.
Youghang, yce.
Keatikye, a ſtone.
Sellowpe, ſiluer.
Solda, golde.
Tennae, tinne.
Veſkue, copper.
Rowadt, yron.
Neybxs, a knife.
Axſhe, a hatchet.
Leabee, bread.
Ieauegoet, meale.
Peencka, the winde.
Iowte, a platter.
Kemnie, a kettle.
Keeſtes, gloues.
Sapege, ſhoes.
Conde, a wilde Deare.
Poatſa, the labouring Deare.

Their wordes of nomber *are theſe as followeth.*

OFfte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Kegdeem,	7.
Kaffts,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Oſtretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.

Vittie nombelocke,	15.	Nelly locke,	40.
Cowtnombelocke,	16.	Vittè locke,	50.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.	Cowtelocke,	60.
Kafts nombelocke,	18.	Keydemlocke,	70.
Owght nombelocke,	19.	Kaffftelocke,	80.
Coffteylocke	20.	Oughchetelok,	90.
Colmelocke,	30.	Tewet,	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from S. Iohns Island: to the Westwards thereof, a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and oazie sand.

Iuana Creos.

Iuana Creos, is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.

S. Georges Island.

The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or 7. Islands, lyeth from Iuana Creos Northwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues and a halfe. The vttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape cõfort lyeth Northwest, and by North, Southeast, and by South.

Cape Comfort

Under the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, vnto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.

S. Peters Islands.

From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaide, vnto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.

26 S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a castle vpon it.

S. Pauls Island.

S. Pauls Islands lye from S. Peters Islands Northwest, and to the Westwardes, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandie bay, and there may be founde a good roade for Northerly windes.

Cape Sower beere.

Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest, and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.

Kildina.

Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lyeth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betwene them seeming many Islands in it.

Cape Bonauenture.

From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Nauologe is a faire point, whereon standeth a certaine blacke, like an emptie butt standing a head.

Kegor.

From Chebe Naualoch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a point to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homets standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.

27 It floweth where we road this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. fadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the misse came downe so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where wee had 33. fadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head.

Domshaff.

Wardhouse.

28 Sunday at afternoone, we came into ỹ Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very misty. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some newes, and to see whether they coulde heare any thing of our ‖ shippes.

‖ Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidentia and the Philip and Marie. Whereof the two first were lost.

29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come frõ Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they said that he would bring newes with him.

At a Northwest, and by North sunne, we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.

30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the wind at East Southeast, so that we were faine to goe in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not drawe past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds frõ the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of ‖ Dronton, and three or foure Norway peaghes, belonging to Northbarne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whome was the Boxrow-masters sonne of Dronton, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Dronton, and departed from thence for England in Marche: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that hee had bought her sailes for his shippe. Then the Dutch-men caried mee to their Boothe, and made mee good cheere, where I

‖ Or, Trondon.

The Philip and Marie. The bona Confidentia cast away.

sawe

ſawe the Lappians chepen of the ſaide Dutchmen, both ſiluer platters and diſhes, ſpoones, gilt rings, ornament for girdles of ſiluer and gilt, and certaine things made to hange about the necke, with ſiluer chaines belonging to them.

The Dutchmen bring hither mightie ſtrong beere, I am certaine that our Engliſh double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would laſt.

Here I ſaw the Dutchmen alſo haue courſe cloth, both blewe, greene and redde, and ſad horſe-flesh colour. And hither they bring alſo Ottars caſes and fore caſes, both blacke and redde: our Engliſh fore caſes are but counterfaits vnto them.

They would not let me vnderſtand any of their prices, but as I otherwiſe vnderſtood, they bartered 2. load of ſiluer for 100. of ſtockfiſh, and 2. loade is a doller. And the Dutch men told me, that they had made a notable good yeere this preſent yeere 1557. They tolde mee that they ſhould be faine to goe to Wardhouſe with one lading, and lay it on land there, and ſo come againe and fetch another. The Borrowmaſters ſonne told me, that he would go to Amſterdam with his lading of ſtockfiſh, who gaue me a barrel of ſtrong beere, and brought in aboorde our ſhippe himſelfe.

After this I went among the Ruſſes and Kerils, who offred me fiſh to ſel, and likewiſe the Lappians deſired me to looke vpon their fiſh. I made them anſwere, that I had now no wares nor money to barter with them, and ſaid that I came only to ſee if I might meete with our Engliſh ſhips. Then they deſired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I ſaid vnto them, if I ſhould come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fiſh ynough to ſerue the Dutchmen and vs alſo. They anſwered me, that if more ſhips did reſort thither, there would more people labour to kil and make fiſh: and further they ſaid, that ſome of them came thither a fiſhing 8. weekes iourney with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more ſpeedily then horſes will.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils & Lappians, the Emperour of Ruſſia his deputie (who was there together the tribute of the Lappians) ſent for me to come to his tent, who after familiar ſalutations made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ſhippes came thither. I anſwered him, becauſe we knew not the place before now, neither yet heard of any faire that was kept there. Then ſaid he, if you wil come hither, here would more people reſort to kill fiſh, I thinke it good (ſaid he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one Engliſh ſhippe ſhould come thither.

Becauſe I ſaw the ſeruants of the king of Denmarke there alſo gathering the tribute, I aſked Vaſſille pheothrouiche the Ruſſe deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we ſhould come to this Kegor. And he ſaide, no, they ſhould not: for this lande is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians ſolde no fiſh, vntil the ſaid deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to ſell. I aſked him what wares were beſt for vs to bring thither, and he ſaide, ſiluer, pearles, cloth, blewe, red and greene. Meale, ſtrong beere, wine, pewter, fore caſes, and golde.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Ruſſia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. He tolde me that the Riuer Cola is litle more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kegor, where we ſhould haue great plentie of ſalmon, if coyne were any thing cheape in Ruſſia: for then poore men would reſort thither to kill ſalmon.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, becauſe they could not ſell all their fiſh, and that they ſolde, was as pleaſed the Dutchmen, and at their owne price. I aſked the Kerils at what price they ſold their fiſh to the Ruſſes, and they ſaid good cheape: we ſell 24. fiſhes for 4. altines, I thinke they ſolde litle aboue 20. pence, the 25. fiſhes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the beſt ſtockefiſh is made at Kegor. I ſawe at Vaſillees tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, and likewiſe ſwords with other weapons: Otherwiſe I ſawe no weapons there.

I was alſo conueyed to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I ſawe a paire of bilbowes: and I aſked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they ſaid no, but onely for their owne companie if they ſhould chaunce to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be truſted, for they will ſteale as well as the Ruſſes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, becauſe the winde was ſcant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eaſtwards of the point Kegor, and ſent to land, and baked two batches of bread, in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their owne prouiſion.

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued *in and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1557. toward the Bay* of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Raze to be made and returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.

FIrst, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the Iohn Euangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchants aduenturers, that the aboue named foure shippes, shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and trauaile together in one flote, ginge, and conserue of societie, to be kept and indissolubly to be seuered, but vnited within continuall sight, so farrefoorth as (by winde and weather) by possibilitie shall or may be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the Primerose, shalbe Admirall of this flote, and that Anthonie Ienkinson Gentleman, shalbe captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and folow her in all courses, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without the aduice, consent and agreement of the saide Captaine, the Master, his mate, and two other officers of the said shippe, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said Anthonie is and shalbe reputed & taken for Captaine generall of the said flote together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his aboade and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordeined, that if any one or moe of the said 3. shippes shalbe out of sight, either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the shippes shall tacke or take of their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consortment exactly in all points.

5 It is also constituted, that if the ships shalbe seuered by misle or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admiral shal make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or otherwise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall sende and come aboord the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Nauigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entries be dayly made of their Nauigations put in writing & memorie, and that the yong Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and obserue the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principal rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailers, shalbe attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor broth, or other liquor be spilt vpon the balast, or other place of the shippe, whereby any anoyance, stinke, or other vnsauorines shall grow in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time dissship any artificer or English seruingman or apprentice out of the Primerose into any of the other three shippes, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient, and most meete to serue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the gunners and cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be eschewed and auoyded.

12 Item, that singuler care & respect be had to the ports of the ship, as well in Nauigation as in harborow, & especially in lading and vnlading of the ships, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred & made to agree in eschuement of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Wardhouse no treacherie, inuasion, or other perill of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes or companies, that do mislike this newe found trade by seas to Russia, or would let and hinder the same, whereof no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde & weather wil serue, it is thought good rather to go by the Wardhouse, then to

come

come in and ancre there, leſt any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted againſt vs, our goods and ſhippes as aboue.

15. It is thought good that Richard Iohnſon, late ſeruant to M. Chanceler, ſhal be ſent home in this next returne, to inſtruct the companie of the ſtate of the Countrey, and of ſuch queſtions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertiſements and reſolutions, in ſuch doubts as ſhall ariſe here: and that he ſhall haue the roome of the Captaine in ſuch ſort, as Maſter Ienkinſon is in this preſent cocket aſſigned vnto. And if Iohnſon can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the ſaid place, then any other perſon to be preferred thereunto, as by the diſcretion of our ſaid Captaine, with conſent of our Agents, ſhall be thought meete and apt to ſupply the ſame.

16. Prouided alway, that the ſhippes returning, be not diſfurniſhed of one ſuch able man, as ſhall occupie the Captaineſhip in like order, as is, and hath bene in ſuch caſe appointed, as reaſon and good order requireth.

17. Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuiſes, made and prouided for the good order of our ſhippes, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrarie or diuerſe, to theſe articles, and the contents of the ſame, ſhall be, and ſtand in ful force and effect, to be in all reſpects obſerued and kept of all and euery perſon, and perſons, whome the ſame doth or ſhall touch or concerne.

In witneſſe of the premiſſes faithfully to be obſerued, and kept, the owners and Maſters of the ſaid foure ſhippes, together with the ſaid Captaine, to theſe ſeuenteene articles, contained in two ſheetes of paper, haue ſubſcribed their hands. Giuen in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Lord God, 1557.

¶ Owners of the Primeroſe.
Andrewe Iudde.
William Cheſter.
Anthony Hickman.
Edward Caſteline.
¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangeliſt.
Andrew Iudde.
William Cheſter.
¶ Owner of the Anne.
Iohn Dimocke.
¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
R. T.

The firſt voyage made by Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, from *the Citie of London, toward the land of Ruſsia, begonne the twelfth* day of Maye, in the yeere, 1557.

FIrſt by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the ſaid Citie, and the ſame day at Grauеſend embarked my ſelfe in a good ſhippe, named the Primeroſe, being appointed, although vnworthy, chiefe captaine of the ſame, and alſo of the other three good ſhippes, to ſay, the Iohn Euangeliſt, the Anne, and the Trinitie, hauing alſo the conduct of the Emperour of Ruſſia, his ambaſſadour, named Oſep Nepea Gregorewich, who paſſed with his companie in the ſaid Primeroſe. And thus our foure tall ſhippes being well appointed, aſwell for men and victuals, as other neceſſarie furniture, the ſaide twelfth day of the moneth of Maye, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the ſaide Grauеſende, in the after noone, and plying downe the Thames, the wind being Eaſterly, and faire weather, the 13. day we came a ground with the Primeroſe, vpon a ſand called the Blacke taile, where we ſate faſt vntill the 14. day in the morning, and then God be praiſed, ſhe came off: and that day we plied downe as farre as our Ladie Holland, and there came to an anker, the wind being Eaſterly, and there remained vntill the 20. day: then we weyed and went out at Goldmore gate, and from thence in at Baſcy ſlade, and ſo into Orwel wands, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the ſaide Goldmore gate, the Trinitie came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the ſaide gate, and was like to be bilged and loſt. But by the aide of God, at the laſt ſhe came off againe, being very leake: and the 21. day the Primeroſe remaining at an anker in the wands, the other three ſhippes bare into Orwel hauen, where I cauſed the ſaide Trinitie to be grounded, ſearched, and repaired. So we remained in the ſaid hauen, vntill the 28. day: and then the winde being weſterly, the three ſhippes that were in the hauen, weied and came foorth, and in comming foorth,

the

the Iohn Euangeliſt came on ground vpon a ſand, called the Andros, where ſhe remained one tide, and the next full ſea ſhe came off againe, without any great hurt, God be praiſed.

The 29. day in the morning, all foure ſhips weied in the Wands, and that tide went as farre as Orfordneſſe, where we came to an anker, becauſe the wind was northerly: And about ſixe of the clocke at night, the wind vered to the Southweſt, and we weyed anker, and bare cleare of the neſſe, and then ſet our courſe north eaſt, and by north, vntill midnight, being then cleare of Yarmouth ſands. Then we winded North and by Weſt, and North northweſt, vntill the firſt of June at noone, then it waxed calme, and continued ſo, vntill the ſecond day at noone: then the winde came at Northweſt, with a tempeſt, and much raine, and we lay cloſe by, and caped North Northeaſt, and Northeaſt, and by North, as the winde ſhifted, and ſo continued vntill the third day at noone: then the winde vered Weſterly againe, and we went North our right courſe, and ſo continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the winde vered to the Northweſt againe, and blewe a freſh gale, and ſo continued vntill the ſeuenth day in the morning, we lying with all our ſhippes cloſe by, and caping to the Northwards: and then the winde bering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coaſt of England againe, and fell ouerthwart Newe caſtel, but went not into the hauen, & ſo plied vpon the coaſt the eight day & the ninth.

June.

The tenth day, the winde came to the North Northweſt, and we forced to beare roomer with Flamborow head, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the ſeuententh day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe North and by Eaſt, and ſo continued the ſame with a meary winde, vntill the 21. at noone, at which time we tooke the Sunne, and had the latitude in 60. degrees. Then we ſhifted our courſe, and went North Northeaſt, and North eaſt, and by north, vntil the 25. day. Then we diſcouered certaine Iſlands, called Heilick Iſlands, lying from vs northeaſt, being in the latitude of 66. degrees, 40. minuts. Then we went north and by Weſt, becauſe we would not come too nigh the land, and running that courſe 4. houres, we diſcouered, and had ſight of Roſt Iſlands, ioyning to the maine land of Finmarke. Here the Sunne continueth in ſight aboue the horizon, almoſt 2. moneths together, day and night. Thus continuing our courſe along the coaſt of Norway, and Finland, the 27. day we tooke the Sunne, being as far ſhot as Lofoote, and had the latitude in 69. degrees. And the ſame day in the afternoone, appeared ouer our heads a raine bowe, like a ſemicircle, with both ends vpward. Note that there is between the ſaid Roſt Iſlands, and Lofoote, a whirle poole, called Maleſtrand, which from halfe ebbe, vntil halfe flood, maketh ſuch a terrible noiſe, that it ſhaketh the rings in the doores of the inhabitãts houſes of the ſaid Iſlands, ten miles of. Alſo if there commeth any Whale within the current of the ſame, they make a pitiful cry. Moreouer, if great trees be caried into it by force of ſtreames, & after with the ebbe be caſt out againe, the ends & boughes of them haue bene ſo beaten, that they are like the ſtalkes of hempe that is bruiſed. Note, that all the coaſt of Finmarke is high mountaines, and hils, being couered all the yeere with ſnowe. And hard aboord the ſhoare of this coaſt, there is 100. or 150. fadoms of water in depth. Thus proceeding and ſayling forward, we fell with an Iſland, called Zenam, being in ꝑ latitude of 70. degrees. About this Iſland, we ſaw many Whales, very monſtrous, about our ſhips, ſome by eſtimation of 60. foote long: and being the ingendring time, they roared and cried terribly. From thence we fel with an Iſland, called Kettelwicke. This coaſt from Roſt vnto Lofoote, lieth north & ſouth, and from Lofoote to Zenam, northeaſt & ſouthweſt, and from Zenam to Kettelwike, eaſt northeaſt, & weſt ſouthweſt. From the ſaid Kettelwike we ſailed eaſt & by north 10. leagues, & fell with a land, called Inger ſound, where we fiſhed, being becalmed, & tooke great plenty of Cods. Thus plying along the coaſt, we fel with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the northermoſt land that we paſſe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71. degrees, & 10. minuts, and is from Ingerſound Eaſt, and to the northwards 15. leagues. And being at this North Cape the 2. day of July, we had the ſunne at north 4. degrees aboue the Horizon. The 3. day we came to Wardhouſe, hauing ſuch miſts that we could not ſee the land. This Wardhouſe is a Caſtle ſtanding in an Iſland 2. miles from the maine of Finland, ſubiect to the king of Denmarke, & the Eaſtermoſt land that he hath. There are 2. other Iſlands neere adioyning vnto that, whereon the Caſtle of Wardhouſe ſtandeth. The inhabitants of thoſe 3. Iſlands, liue onely by fiſhing, & make much ſtockefiſh, which they dry with froſt: their moſt feeding is fiſh, bread and drinke they haue none, but ſuch as is brought them from other places. They haue ſmall ſtore of cattell, which are alſo fed with fiſhe. From Wardhouſe we ſailed ſouth ſoutheaſt ten leagues, & fell with a Cape of land called Kegor, ꝑ northermoſt part of the land of Lappia. And between Wardhouſe, & the ſaid Cape, is a great Bay, called Dommes haff, in the ſouth part whereof is a Monaſterie of Monkes, of the Ruſſes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forwarde, and ſailing along the coaſt of the ſaide lande of Lappia, winding Southeaſt, the fourth

Heilick Iſlands in 66. deg. 40. min.

Roſt Iſlands.

A ſtrange whirle poole.

Kettelwick iſland.

Inger ſound.

Wardhouſe.

Cattell fed with fiſh.

The Monaſterie of Pechinchow.

day

day, through great miſts and darkenes, we loſt the companie of the other three ſhips, and met not with them againe, vntill the 7. day, when we fell with a Cape or headland, called Suetinoſe, which is the entring into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great ſtone, to the which the barkes that paſſed thereby, were wont to make offrings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnleſſe they did ſo, their barkes or veſſels ſhoulde there periſh, as it hath beene oftentimes ſeene: and there it is very darke & miſtie. Note, that the 6. day we paſſed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his companie periſhed, which is called Arzina reca, that is to ſay, the riuer Arzina. The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing ſnow lying on it commonly all the yeere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the ſummer time neere the ſea ſide, and vſe to take fiſhe, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue vp into the Countrey into the woods, where they vſe hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Foxes, and other beaſtes, with whoſe fleſh they be nouriſhed, and with their ſkinnes apparelled in ſuch ſtrange faſhion, that there is nothing ſeene of them bare, but their eies. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the ſeaſon of the yeere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely ſhooting, which they exercile daily, as well men, as women, and kill ſuch beaſts as ſerue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coaſt, from Suetinoze aforeſaid, the 9. day of July, we came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66. degrees, and 45. minuts, and is at the entring in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land, there is 20. or 30. fadoms water, and ſundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth Southweſt, and Northeaſt. From this Cape we proceeded along, vntill we came to Croſſe Iſland, which is ſeuen leagues from the ſaid Cape Southweſt: and from this Iſland, we ſet ouer to the other ſide of the Baye, and went ſouth ſouthweſt, and fell with an headland, called Foxenoſe, which is from the ſaid Iſland 25. leagues. The entring of this Baye from Croſſe Iſland to the neereſt land on the other ſide is ſeuen leagues ouer. From Foxenoſe proceeding forward the twelfth day of the ſaid moneth of Julie, all our foure ſhips arriued in ſafetie at the roade of Saint Nicholas, in the land of Ruſſia, where we ancored, and had ſayled from London vnto the ſayde roade ſeuen hundred and fiftie leagues. The Ruſſian Amballadour and his companie with great ioy gotte to ſhore, and our ſhippes here forthwith diſcharged themſelues: and being laden againe, and hauing a faire winde, departed towarde England the firſt of Auguſt. The third of the ſayde moneth I with other of my companie came vnto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verſtes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64. degrees, 25. minutes. I tarried at the ſayd Colmogro vntill the fifteenth day: and then I departed in a little boate vp the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very ſwiftly, and the ſelfe ſame day paſſed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our left hand fifteene verſtes from Colmogro. On both ſides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alabaſtre, great woods, and Pyneapletrees lying along within the ground, which by report haue lyen there ſince Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a towne called Yemps, an hundred verſtes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and aſhes of Aſpen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vſtiug, an ancient citie the laſt day of Auguſt. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforeſaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer of Iug hath his ſpring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, ioyning to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologhda. Thus departing from Vſtiug, & paſſing vp the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Totma. About this place the water is very ſhallow, and ſtonie, & troubleſome for Barkes and boates of that countrey, which they cal Naſſades, and Doſneckes, to paſſe that way: wherein marchandiſe are tranſported from the aforeſayd Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. Theſe veſſels called Naſſades, are very long builded, broade made, and cloſe aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none yron appertaining to them but all of timber, and when the winde ſerueth, they are made to ſayle. Otherwiſe they haue many men, ſome to hale and draw by the neckes with long ſmall ropes made faſt to the ſaide boates, and ſome ſet with long poles. There are many of theſe Barks vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the moſt part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the ſayde boates with carrying of ſalt from the ſea ſide vnto the ſayde Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer paſſeth through the middeſt of the ſame. The houſes are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioyned one within another, and round without: the houſes are foure ſquare without any yron or ſtone woorke, couered with birch Barkes, and wood ouer the ſame: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery pariſh, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Sommer,

Arzina reca the riuer where Sir Hugh Willoughby was frozen.

The Lappians couered all ſauing their eyes.

The Current at Cape Grace

The entring of the Bay of S. Nicholas is ſeuen leagues broade at the leaſt.

Auguſt.

Pinego riuer.

The towne of Pemps.

Vſtiug.

The deſcription of their Naſſades.

Summer.

On the toppes of their houſes they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are ſore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59. degrees, 11. minuts, and is from Colmogro, 1000. verſtes.

Good counſel for trauellers.

All the way I neuer came in houſe, but lodged in the wilderneſſe, by the riuers ſide, and carried prouiſion for the way. And he that will trauell thoſe waies, muſt carry with him an hatchet, a tinder boxe, and a kettle, to make fire and ſeethe meate, when he hath it: for there is ſmall ſuccour in thoſe parts, vnleſſe it be in townes.

The firſt day of December, I departed from Vologhda, in poſte in a ſled, as the manner is in Winter. And the way to Moſcua is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27. verſtes, ſo to Olmor 25. verſtes, ſo to Teloytske, 20. verſtes, ſo to Vre 30. verſtes, ſo to Voſhansko, 30. verſtes, then to Yeraſlaue, 30. verſtes, which ſtandeth vpon the great riuer Volga, ſo to Roſtoue, 50. verſtes, then to Rogarin, 30. verſtes, ſo to Peraſlaue, 10. verſtes, which is a great towne, ſtanding hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnaye, 30. veſtes, ſo to Godoroke, 30. verſtes, ſo to Owchay, 30. verſtes, and laſt to the Muſko, 25. verſtes, where I arriued the firſt day of December.

December.

There are 14. poſts, called Yannes, betweene Vologhda, and Muſko, which are accompted 500. verſtes aſunder.

The 10. day of December, I was ſent for to the Emperours Caſtle, by the ſaide Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretarie, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were tranſlated, I was anſwered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I deſired.

The 25. day, being the day of the natiuitie, I came into the Emperours preſence, and kiſſed his hande, who ſate aloft in a goodly chaire of eſtate, hauing on his heade a crowne moſt richly decked, and a ſtaffe of golde in his hande, all apparelled with golde, and garniſhed with pretious ſtones.

There ſate diſtant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boye of twelue yeeres of age, who was inheritor to ỳ Emperour of Caſan, conquered by this Emperour 8. yeeres paſt. Then ſate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with golde, and ſtone. And after I had done obeiſance to the Emperour, he with his owne mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and ſo I departed to my lodging, till dinner time, which was at ſixe of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a faire great Hall, in the middeſt whereof was a pillar foure ſquare, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables ſet, and at the vppermoſt part of the Hall, ſate the Emperour himſelfe, & at his table ſate his brother, his Vncles ſonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Caſan, and diuers of his noble men, all of one ſide. There were diuers Ambaſſadors, & other ſtrangers, as wel Chriſtians, as Heathens, diuerſly apparelled, to the number of 600. men, which dined in the ſaid hal, beſides 2000. Tartars, men of war, which were newly come to render themſelues to the Emperour, and were appointed to ſerue him in his warres, againſt the Lyfflanders, but they dined in other hals. I was ſet at a litle table, hauing no ſtranger with me, directly before the Emperours face. Being thus ſet, and placed, the Emperour ſent me diuers boles of wine, and meade, & many diſhes of meat from his owne hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table ſerued all in golde, and ſiluer, and ſo likewiſe on other tables, there were ſet boles of golde, ſet with ſtone, worth by eſtimation 400. pounds ſterling one cup, beſides the plate which ſerued the tables.

There was alſo a Cupboord of plate, moſt ſumptuous, and rich, which was not vſed: among the which, was a peece of golde, of two yardes long, wrought in the toppe with Towers, and Dragons heades, alſo diuers barrels of golde, and ſiluer, with Caſtles on the bungs, richly, and artificially made. The Emperour, and all the Hall throughout, was ſerued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called mee by name, and gaue mee drinke with his owne hande, and ſo I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the companie ſtande vp, and at euery time, he drinketh or taſteth of a diſhe of meate, he bleſſeth himſelfe. Many other things I ſaw that day, not here noted.

The 4. of Januarie, which was Twelftide with them, the Emperour, with his brother, and all his Nobles, all moſt richly apparelled with gold, pearles, pretious ſtones, & coſtly furres, with

a crowne vpon his head, of the Tartarian faſhion, went to the Church in procellion, with the Metropolitan, and diuers biſhops, and prieſts. That day I was before the Emperour again, in Ruſſe apparel, and the Emperour aſked if that were not I, and his Chancelor anſwered yea. Then he bad me to dinner: then came he out of the Church, and went with the procellion vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there ſtanding bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitan hallowed the water with great ſolemnitie, and ſeruice, and did caſt of the ſaid water vpon the Emperours ſonne, and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thronging filled pots of the ſaid water, to carry home to their houſes, and diuers children were throwen in, and ſicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars chriſtened: all which the Emperour beheld. Alſo there were brought the Emperours beſt horſes, to drinke at the ſaid hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his pallace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and ſate in a woodden houſe, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300. ſtrangers, and I ſate alone as I did before, directly before the Emperour, and had my meat, bread, and drinke ſent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Musko is great, the houſes for the moſt part of wood, and ſome of ſtone, with windowes of glaſſe, which ſerue for ſummer time. There are many faire Churches of ſtone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire, and large caſtle, walled foure ſquare of bricke, high, and thicke, ſituated vpon a hil, two miles about, and the riuer on the Southweſt ſide of it, and it hath 16. gates in the wals, and as many bulwarks. His pallace is ſeparated from the reſt of the Caſtle, by a long wall going north and ſouth, to the riuer ſide. In his pallace are Churches, ſome of ſtone, and ſome of wood, with round towers, fairely gilded. In the Church doores, and within the Churches, are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the ſaide Caſtle, and for ſundry thinges, ſundry markets, and euery ſcience by it ſelfe. Alſo in the winter there is a great market without the Caſtle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is ſold corne, earthen pots, tubs, ſleds, &c. The Caſtle is in circuite 2900. paſes.

The cuntrie is full of mariſh ground, and plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth foorth good plentie of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as well of the Lyfflanders, Poles, Lettos, and Swethens, as alſo of the Tartars, and Gentiles, called Samoydes, hauing thereby much inlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great ſubiection: all matters paſſe his iudgement, be they neuer ſo ſmall. The lawe is ſharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitan dealeth in matters of religion, as himſelfe liſteth, whome the Emperour greatly honoreth. They vſe the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worſhip many images, painted on tables, and ſpecially the image of S. Nicholas. Their Prieſts be married, but their wiues being dead, they may not marrie the ſecond time, and ſo become Monkes, whereof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shroftide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many ſortes of meates and drinkes, when they banket, and delight in eating of groſſe meates, and ſtinking fiſhe. Before they drinke, they vſe to blowe in the cup: their greateſt friendſhip is in drinking: they are great talkers, & liers, without any faith or truſt in their words, flatterers, and diſſemblers. The women be there very obedient to their huſbands, and are kept ſtraightly from going abroad, but at ſome ſeaſons.

At my being there, I heard of men, and women, that drunke away their children, and all their goods, at the Emperours tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impauned himſelfe, the Tauerner bringeth him out to the high way, and beates him vpon the legges: then they that paſſe by, knowing the cauſe, and hauing peraduenture compaſſion vpon him, giueth the monie, and ſo he is ranſomed.

In euery good towne, there is a drunken Tauerne, called a Curſemay, which the Emperour ſometime letteth out to farme, & ſometimes beſtoweth for a yeere or two on ſome Duke or Gentleman, in recompence of his ſeruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the Towne, robbing and ſpoiling, and doing what pleaſeth him: and then he being growen riche, is taken by the Emperour, and ſent to the warres againe, where he ſhall ſpend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: ſo that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vſe ſadles made of wood and ſinewes, with the tree gilded & damaſke worke, and the ſeate couered with cloth, ſometimes of golde, and the reſt Saphian leather, well ſtitched. They vſe little drummes at their ſadle bowes, by the ſound whereof, their horſes vſe to runne more ſwiftly.

The Ruſſe is apparelled in this manner: his vpper garment is of cloth of golde, ſilke, or cloth, long, downe to the foote, and buttened with great buttons of ſiluer, or els laces of ſilke, ſet on with hooches,

brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed vp. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high coller standing vp of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a coller of pearle. Under his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legges, a paire of hose without feete, & his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head he weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Fox cap, turned vp very broad.

When he rideth on horse backe to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same manner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or three paire of knues, hauing the hafts of the tooth of a fishe, called the Morse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in Towne and Countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400. miles, in three daies: but in the Summer time, the way is deepe with mire, and trauelling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the Winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawen with a horse well decked, with many Foxes and Woolues tailes at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled, &c.

The voyage, wherein Osepp Napea the Moscouite Ambassadour, returned home into his Countrey with his entertainment at his arriuall, at Colmogro: and a large description of the manners of the Countrey.

THe twelfth of Maye, in the yeere of our Lorde, 1567. there departed from Graueſende, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia, with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osepp Gregoriwiche Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour, and Great Duke of Moscouia. The foure shippes were these, whose names followe, viz.

The Primerose Admirall.
The Iohn Euangelist Viceadmirall.
The Anne, and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13. of July, the foresaide foure shippes came to an anker in the Baye of S. Nicholas, before an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the saide Messenger, Osepp Gregoriwich Napea, went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serue the Emperour, remained with him at the Abbey, for the space of sixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a shoare, and laden the same in Barkes, to goe vp the riuer Dwina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water 1000. verstes, and euery verste is about three quarters of an English mile.

Presents vsed in Russia, are all for the most part of victuals.

The 20. of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24. of the same, we came to Colmogro, where we remained eight daies: and the saide Messenger was there of all his acquaintance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread and pancakes, beefe, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all manner of victuals, both fishe, and flesh, in the best manner, that the rude people could deuise: for among them, these presents are highly esteemed.

The 29. of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14. of August we came to Vstioug, where we remained one day, and changed our barkes, or boates.

The 27. of August, wee came to Vologhda, where we remained foure daies, vnlading the barkes, and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a peece, which in their tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes, they caried our stuffe from Vologhda vnto the Musko, which is 500. verstes: and we were vpon the same way 14. daies: for we went no faster then the Teligoes.

There are three great townes betweene the Musko, and Vologhda, that is to say, Yereslaue, Rostaue, & Pereslaua. Vpon one side of Yereslaua, runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga. It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it deuideth it selfe, before it come into the Mare Caspium, in 50. parts, or more, and neere vnto the same sea, there stands a great Citie, called Boghare, the inhabitants of the which, are called by the same name.

The citie of Boghare.

The people of the saide Citie, doe traffike into the Citie of Musko: their commodities are spices,

ſpices, muſke, ambergreeſe, rubarbe with other drugs. They bring alſo many furres which they buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosko, the ſaid people are of the ſect of Mahomet.

The 12. of September we came vnto the citie of Mosko, where we were brought by Napea, and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large houſe, where euery one of vs had his chamber appointed. They arriued at Mosco.

The 14. of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediately after our comming wee were brought into his preſence, vnto whom each of vs did his dutie accordingly, and kiſſed his right hand, his maieſtie ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, with his crowne on his head, and a ſtaffe of goldſmiths worke in his left hand well garniſhed with rich and coſtly ſtones, and when we had all kiſſed his hand and done our duties, his maieſtie did declare by his interpreter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, and thereupon willed vs to dine with him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maieſtie, and ſo departed vntill the dinner was ready.

When dinner time approched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber, where we were ſet on one ſide of a table that ſtood ouer againſt the Emperours table, to the ende that he might well behold vs all: and when we came into the foreſaid chamber, we found there readie ſet theſe tables following.

Firſt at the vpper end of one table were ſet the Emperour his maieſtie, his brother, and the Emperour of Caſſan, which is priſoner. About two yardes lower ſate the Emperour of Caſſan his ſonne, being a child of fiue yeeres of age, and beneath him ſate the moſt part of the Emperours noble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was ſet a monke all alone, which was in all points as well ſerued as the Emperour. At another table ſate another kind of people called Chirkaſſes, which the Emperor entertaineth for men of warre to ſerue againſt his enemies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforeſayd were couered onely with ſalt and bread, and after that we had ſitten a while, the Emperour ſent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen, and deliuered vnto euery man ſeuerally by theſe words: The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee bread this day, and in like maner three or foure times before dinner was ended, hee ſent vnto euery man drinke, which was giuen by theſe words, The Emperour and great Duke giueth thee to drinke. All the tables aforeſaid were ſerued in veſſels of pure and fine golde, as well baſons and ewers, platters, diſhes and ſawcers, as alſo of great pots, with an innumerable ſort of ſmall drinking pottes of diuers faſhions, whereof a great number were ſet with ſtone. As for coſtly meates I haue many times ſeene better: but for change of wines, and diuers ſortes of meads, it was wonderfull: for there was not left at any time ſo much voyd roume on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bene ſet, and as farre as I could perceiue, all the reſt were in the like maner ſerued.

In the dinner time there came in fiue ſingers which ſtood in the midſt of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who ſang there before dinner was ended three ſeuerall times, whoſe ſongs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth morſell of meate in his mouth, but he firſt bleſſeth it himſelfe, and in like maner as often as he drinketh, for after his maner he is very religious, and he eſteemeth his religious perſons aboue his noble men.

This dinner continued about the ſpace of fiue howers, which being ended, and the tables taken vp, we came into the midſt of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperours maieſtie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his owne handes a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantitie thereof, we were licenced to depart, and ſo ended that dinner. And becauſe the Emperour would haue vs to be merry, hee ſent to our lodging the ſame Euening 3. barrels of mead of ſundry ſortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogſhead.

The 16. day of September the Emperour ſent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horſe to ride from place to place as we had occaſion, for that the ſtreetes of Mosko are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18. of September there were giuen vnto maſter Standiſh doctor in Phiſike, and the reſt of our men of our occupations, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and golde, and ſome of red Damaſke, of which maſter Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the reſt were furred ſome with white Ermine, and ſome with gray ſquirrell, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer. M. Standiſh doctor of Phiſike.

The 1. of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto ẏ Emperors court, & whē we came thether, we were brought vnto ẏ Emperor vnto whō we did our duties accordingly, whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, & ſo with thanks vnto his maieſtie, we departed vntil

dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables couered with bread and salt as at the first: and after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperours maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man of vs a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14. of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of siluer, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in siluer boles which contained at the least sixe gallons a piece, and euery man had a small siluer cuppe to drinke in, and another to dip or to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with mead, which when wee had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoeuer the Emperours pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, hee doth send for them in the morning, and when they come before him, hee with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwayes obserueth.

The 10. of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70. rubbles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupations, 30. rubbles a piece.

The 3. of Nouember we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as before.

The 6. of December being S. Nicholas day, wee dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscouites hold: we were serued in siluer vessels, and ordred in all points as before, and it was past 7. of the clocke at night before dinner was ended.

Long dinners.

The Emperours maiestie visith euery peere in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosko caried into the fields which is without the Suburbes of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses, there were two faire white markes set vp, at which markes they discharge all their ordinaunce, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bases, faulcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basiliskes long and large, they haue sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of heigth, which shot a man may easily discerne as they flee: they haue also a great many of morter pieces or potguns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

Ordinance in Russia.

The 12. of December the Emperours maiestie and all his nobilitie came into the field on horseback, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Jennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & siluer abundantly. The Emperours maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tissue, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones, his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride before him in good order by 3. & 3. and before them there went 5000. harquebuzzers, which went by 5. and 5. in a ranke in very good order, euery of them carying his gunne vpon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foresaid ordinance was planted.

A peerelp triumph.

And before the Emperours maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about three score pardes off from the Stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foote thicke, and sixe foote high set vp, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperours maiestie came into the field, the harquebuzzers went vpon the stage of poles where they setled themselues in order. And when the Emperours maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot of, the harquebuzzers began to shoot of at the banke of ice, as though it had bene in any skirmish or battel, who ceased not shooting, vntil they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handguns, they shot of their wild fire vp into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the small pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, vntil the last and biggest. When they had shot them all of, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them all of 3. times after the first order, beginning with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2. houses that they shot vnto, were beaten in pieces, and yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30. foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came forth into the field. The ordinance is discharged euery peere in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperours maiestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, wee neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperours presence aboue 500. strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpō the tables. Besides this there were foure cupboords garnished with

goodly

goodly plate both of gold and ſiluer. Among the which there were 12. barrels of ſiluer, conteining about 12. gallons a piece, and at each end of euery barrell were 6. hoopes of fine gold: this dinner continued about 6. howers.

The hallowing of the riuer of Moſco.

Euery yeere vpon the twelfe day they vſe to bleſſe or ſanctifie the riuer Moska, which runneth through the citie of Moskouia, after this maner.

Firſt, they make a ſquare hole in the ice about 3. fadoms large euery way, which is trimmed about the ſides and edges with white boords. Then about 9. of the clocke they come out of the church with proceſſion towards the riuer in this wiſe.

Firſt and formoſt there goe certaine yong men with Waxe tapers burning, and one carying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the croſſe, then the images of our Ladie, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carrie vpon their ſhoulders: after the images follow certaine prieſts to the number of 100. or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betweene two prieſts, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maieſtie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the proceſſion vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the prieſts ſet themſelues in order round about it. And at one ſide of the ſame poole there was a ſcaffold of boords made, vpon which ſtood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was ſet, but the Emperours maieſtie ſtood vpon the ice.

After this the prieſts began to ſing, to bleſſe and to ſenſe, and did their ſeruice, and ſo by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being ſanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a litle thereof in his handes, and caſt it on the Emperour, likewiſe vpon certaine of the Dukes, and then they returned againe to the church with the prieſts that ſate about the water: but ỳ preaſſe that there was about the water when the Emperor was gone, was wonderful to behold, for there came aboue 5000. pots to be filled of that water: for that Muſcouite which hath no part of that water, thinks himſelfe vnhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preaſe was a litle gone, the Emperours Iennets and horſes were brought to drinke of the ſame water, and likewiſe many other men brought their horſes thither to drinke, and by that means they make their horſes as holy as themſelues.

All theſe ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were ſerued in veſſels of ſiluer, and in all other points as we had bene before time.

The Ruſſes Lent.

The Ruſſes begin their Lent alwayes 8. weekes before Eaſter: the firſt weeke they eate egges, milke, cheeſe & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and ſuch other things, one friend viſiting another, & from the ſame Sunday vntil our Shroſſunday, there are but few Ruſſes ſober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproch or ſhame among them.

The next weeke being our firſt weeke of Lent, or our cleanſing weeke, beginning our Shroſeſunday, they make and keepe a great faſt. It is reported, and the people doe verily beleeue, that the Metropolitan neither eateth nor drinketh any maner of thing for the ſpace of ſeuen dayes, and they ſay that there are many religious men which do the like.

The Emperours maieſtie eateth but one morſell of bread, and drinketh but one draught of drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of their houſes during that time, ſo that the ſtreetes are almoſt void of company, ſauing a few poore folkes which wander to and fro. The other ſixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of them will eate either butter, cheeſe, egges or milke.

On Palme ſunday they haue a very ſolemne proceſſion in this maner following.

Firſt, they haue a tree of a good bigneſſe which is made faſt vpon two ſleds, as though it were growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raiſins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits abundantly. In the midſt of the ſame tree ſtand 5. boyes in white veſtures, which ſing in the tree before the proceſſion: after this there followed certaine yong men with waxe tapers in their hands burning, and a great lanterne that all the light ſhould not goe out: after them followed two with long banners, and 6. with round plates ſet vpon long ſtaues: the plates were of copper very full of holes and thinne: then followed 6. carying painted images vpon their ſhoulders, after the images follow certaine prieſts to the number of 100. or more, with goodly veſtures, whereof 10. or 12. are of white damaſke, ſet and imbroidered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as peaſe, and among them certaine Saphires and other ſtones. After them followed the one halfe of the Emperours noble men: then commeth the Emperours maieſtie and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

Firſt there is a horſe couered with white linnen cloth down to the ground, his eares being made long with the ſame cloth like to an aſſes eares. Upon this horſe the Metropolitane ſitteth ſidelong like a woman: in his lappe lieth a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldſmiths worke vpon the couer,

which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30. men which spread abroad their garments before the horse, and as soone as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them vp againe and run before, and spred them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spred the garments are all priests sonnes, and for their labours, the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

The Emperor leadeth the Metropolitans horse in procession.

One of the Emperours noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe going on foote, leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bridle with one of his hands, and in the other of his handes he had a braunch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Emperours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they went from one church to another within the castle, about the distaunce of two flights shot: and so returned agayne to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their seruice. Which being done, the Emperours maiestie and certaine of his noble men, went to the Metropolitane his house to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke vntill Easter day they keepe very solemnely, continuing in their houses for the most part, and vpon Munday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the Sacrament, and so doth most part of his nobles.

Upon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse euery yeere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night folowing they go to the church where they sleepe vntil the next morning, & at Easter they haue the resurrectiō, and after euery of the Lents they eate flesh, the next weeke folowing Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yeere against Easter to die or colour red with Brazzell a great number of egges, of which euery man and woman giueth one vnto the priest of their Parish vpon Easter day in the morning. And moreouer the common people vse to carrie in their hands one of these red egges, not onely vpon Easter day, but also three or foure dayes after, and Gentlemen and Gentlewomen haue egges gilded which they carrie in like maner. They vse it as they say for a great loue, and in token of the resurrection, whereof they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holydayes, they come and take one another by the hand: the one of them saieth, the Lord, or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so of a trueth, and then they kisse and exchange their egges both men and women, continuing in kissing 4. dayes together.

Kissing vsed in the Greeks church.

The 12. of Aprill being Tewesday in the Easter weeke, master Jenkinson and master Graie, and certaine other of vs Englishmen dined with the Emperour, where we were serued as we had bene before time. And after dinner the Emperours maiestie gaue vnto master Jenkinson and vnto M. Gray, and so orderly vnto euery one of vs a cuppe of mead, according to his accustomed maner, which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Jenkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber before the Emperors maiestie, and gaue thanks to his highnes for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him for to depart, and in like maner did M. Gray. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto M. Jenkinson his letters vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions M. Jenkinson should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner & quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, M. Jenkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cup of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

With these letters M. Jenkinson tooke his voiage the same Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were redie to depart towards England, the Chancellours sent vnto vs, and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperours iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and behold them well, to the ende that at our arriuall into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The Emperors wardrobe.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workemanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones aboundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crowne vpon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 40. rubbles.

We saw all his maiesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed vs many other great stones of diuers kinds, but the most part of thē were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they do more esteeme the greatnes of stones, then they do the proportion of them.

We sawe two goodly gownes which were as heauie as a man could easily carrie, all set with perles ouer & ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with saphires and other

good

good ſtones abundantly. One of the ſame gownes was very rich: for the pearles were very large, round, and orient: as for the reſt of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tiſſue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had ſufficiently peruſed all theſe thinges, they willed maſter Gray at his arriuall in England, to prouide if he could, ſuch iewels and rich clothes as he had ſeene there, and better if hee could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly beſtow his money vpon ſuch things.

So we tooke our leaue the ſame time, and departed towards Vologda immediately.

The maners, vſages, and ceremonies of the Ruſſes.

Of the Emperour.

THe Emperours name in their tongue is Euan Vaſiliuich, that is as much to ſay, as Iohn the ſonne of ‡Vaſilie, and by his princely ſtate he is called Oteſara, as his predeceſſors haue bene before, which to interprete, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Oteſara his maieſties interpreters, haue of late dayes interpreted to be an Emperour, ſo that now he is called Emperour & great Duke of all Ruſſia, &c. Before his father they were neither called Emperours nor kings but onely Rueſe Velike, that is to ſay, great Duke. And as this Emperour which now is Euan Vaſiliuich, doeth exceed his predeceſſours in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen ſo much by report he doth exceed them in ſtoutnes of courage and valiantneſſe, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larkes. ‡Or, Baſilius.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the moſt part are theſe: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmarke, Liſland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartarians, which are a ſtoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vſeth great familiaritie, as well vnto all his nobles and Subiects, as alſo vnto ſtrangers which ſerue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleaſure is that they ſhall dine oftentimes in the yeere in his preſence, and beſides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but alſo had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, ſo that I thinke no prince in Chriſtendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euill or angrie worde to any of them, the partie will not come into his maieſties preſence againe of a long time if he be not ſent for, but will faine him to be very ſicke, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or ſhauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperours diſpleaſure: for when they be in their proſperitie, they account it a ſhame to weare long haire, in conſideration whereof, they vſe to haue their heads ſhauen.

His maieſtie heareth all complaints himſelfe, and with his owne mouth giueth ſentence and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholy vnto the Metropolitane. Note.

His maieſtie retaineth and well rewardeth all ſtraungers that come to ſerue him, and eſpecially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hawking, hunting, or any other paſtime, nor in hearing inſtruments or muſike, but ſetteth all his whole delight vpon two things. Firſt, to ſerue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuout in his religion, and the ſecond, how to ſubdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and ſiluer in his owne handes or treaſurie: but the moſt part of his ſubiects know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are ſo much combred therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

THe Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Ladie and S. Nicholas, accepted: for the Emperours maieſtie iudgeth and affirmeth him to bee of higher dignitie then himſelfe: for that ſaith he, he is Gods ſpirituall officer, and I the Emperour am his temporall officer, and therefore his maieſtie ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horſe vpon Palme ſunday, and giuing him leaue

to sit on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Mosko was in blessing, and his maiestie standing on the ice.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitan, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang, or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monkes, friers and nunnes, with a great number of great and rich monasteries, they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monasteries called Troietes, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinaunce of brasse vpon the wals of the same. They told me themselues that there are seuen hundred brethren of them which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, townes, and villages which are within fortie miles of it, belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the church round about, & euen the roofe of the church was painted full of images. The chiefe image was of our Lady, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphires and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathome about in bignesse, there stands a kettle ful of waxe with about 100. waight, wherein there is alwaies the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed mee a coffin couered with cloth of gold which stoode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate nor dranke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleeued them) that hee healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of beliefe because I saw him worke no miracle whilest I was there.

After this they brought me into their sellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of drinkes, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds, such aboundance of drinke as they haue in their sellers, I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vnmeasurable bignes and size: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they conteine 6. or 7. tunnes a piece: they haue none in their sellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vautes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunkes which come downe through the roofe of the vautes in sundry places, through which they powre the drinke downe, hauing the caske right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the staires.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the realme, and the Emperours maiestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. dayes together.

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boates which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any other of their countrey doe traffique.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported, but vpon Sunday, Munday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday, it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the land, but at that abbey onely.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatrie.

They haue no preachers no not one in all the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the country, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maiestie himselfe, will bleese and bowe, and knocke their heads before their images, in so much that they will crie earnestlie vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer euery gate in all their townes and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bowe and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground before them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they bleese themselues 3. or 4. times before they will salute any man in the house.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keepe them very daintely, & rich men decke thē ouer and about, with gold, siluer and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priests are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcappes, which is cloth of some sadde colour, beyng rounde, and reacheth vnto the

the eares: their crownes are ſhaven, but the reſt of their hayre they let grow, as long as nature will permit, ſo that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their ſhoulders: their beards they neuer ſhaue: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They miniſter the Communion with bread and wine, after our order, but he breaketh the bread, and putteth it into the cuppe vnto the wine, and commonly ſome are partakers with them: & they take the bread out againe with a ſpoone together with part of the wine, and ſo take it themſelues, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the ſame maner.

Their ceremonies are all as they ſay, according to the Greeke church vſed at this preſent day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their ſacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they aſſemble, doe bow and knocke their heads, as I haue before ſaid, that ſome will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges. Their ſeruice in their mother tongue.

All their ſeruice is in the Ruſſe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other prayers but this, Ghoſpodi Ieſus Chriſtos eſine voze ponuloi naſhe. That is to ſay, O Lord Ieſus Chriſt, ſonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, ſo that the moſt part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noſter, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor ſcarcely vnderſtand the one halfe of the ſeruice which is read in their churches.

Of their Baptiſme.

When any childe is borne, it is not baptiſed vntill the next Sunday, and if it chance that it be not baptiſed then, it muſt tary vntill the ſecond Sunday after the byrth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth formoſt, carying the childe, and the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midſt of the Church, where there is a ſmall table ready ſet, and on it an earthen pot full of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, ſettle themſelues: then the clearke giueth vnto euery of them a ſmall waxe candle burning, then commeth the prieſt, and begynneth to ſay certeine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers muſt anſwere word for word, among which, one is, that the childe ſhall forſake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they muſt all ſpit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he bleſſeth the water which is in the pot, and doth breath ouer it: then he taketh all the candles which the goſſips haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them droppe into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is ſanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a ſmall tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and powreth it all vpon the childes head.

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as annointing eares and eyes with ſpittle, and making certeine croſſes with oyle vpon the backe, head, and breſts of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Lady, &c. and ſpeaketh vnto the images, deſiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Chriſtian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a payre of ſheeres and clippeth the yoong and tender hayres of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, whereunto euery of the Godfathers and Godmothers lay a hand: then the prieſt chargeth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Chriſt, and that it be inſtructed to clinege and bow to the images, and ſo they make an end: then one of the Godfathers muſt hang a croſſe about the necke of the childe, which he muſt alwayes weare, for that Ruſſe which hath not a croſſe about his necke, they eſteeme as no Chriſtian man, and thereupon they ſay that we are no Chriſtians, becauſe we do not weare croſſes as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

Their matrimony is nothing ſolemnized, but rather in moſt points abhominable, and as neere as I can learne, in this wiſe following.

Firſt, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man ſendeth vnto the woman a ſmall cheſt or boxe, wherein is a whippe, needles, thred, ſilke, linnen cloth, ſheeres, & ſuch neceſſaries as ſhe ſhall occupy when ſhe is a wife, and perhaps ſendeth therewithall reſons, figges or ſome ſuch thinges, giuing her to vnderſtand, that if ſhe doe offend ſhe muſt be beaten with the whippe,

whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that ſhe ſhould apply her ſelfe diligently to ſowe, and do ſuch things as ſhe could beſt doe, and by the raiſins or fruites he meaneth if ſhe doe well, no good thing ſhalbe withdrawen from her, nor be too dere for her: and ſhe ſendeth vnto him a ſhirt, handkerchers, and ſome ſuch things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they ſhall go towardes the church, the bride will in no wiſe conſent to go out of the houſe, but reſiſteth and ſtriueth with them that would haue her out, and faineth her ſelfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered cloſe, becauſe of her diſſimulation, that it ſhould not be openly perceiued: for ſhe maketh a great noyce, as though ſhe were ſobbing and weeping, vntill ſhe come at the church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the church a great pot with wine or meade: then the prieſt coupleth them together much after our order, one promiſing to loue and ſerue the other during theyr liues together, &c. which being done they begine to drinke, and firſt the woman drinketh to the man, and when he hath dronke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, hafting immediatly to tread vpon it, and ſo doth ſhe, and whether of them tread firſt vpon it muſt haue the victory and be maiſter at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readieſt to ſet his foot on it, becauſe he letteth it fall himſelfe, then they go home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the ſtreets cry out and make a noyce in the meane time, with very diſhoneſt words.

When they come home, the wife is ſet at the vpper end of the table, and the huſband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they be all dronke, they perchance haue a minſtrell or two, and two naked men, whiche led her from the churche, dance naked a long time before all the compayny. When they are weary of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are marryed: and when they are going to bed, the bridegrome putteth certeine money both golde and ſiluer, if he haue it, into one of his boots, and then ſitteth downe in the chamber, crolling his legges, and then the bride muſt plucke off one of his boots, which ſhe will, and if ſhe happen on the boot wherein the money is, ſhe hath not onely the mony for her labor, but is alſo at ſuch choyce, as ſhe need not euer from that day forth to pull of his boots, but if ſhe miſſe the boot wherein the mony is, ſhe doth not onely looſe the mony, but is alſo bound from that day forwards to pull off his boots continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere three dayes following, being accompanyed with certaine of their friends, and during the ſame three dayes he is called a duke, and ſhe a dutches, although they be very poore perſons, and this is as much as I haue learned of theyr matrimony: but one common rule is amongſt them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, ſhe will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, and the women ſay, that if theyr huſbands did not beat them, they ſhould not loue them.

They vſe to marry there very yoong, theyr ſonnes at 16 and 18 yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12 or 13 yeeres or yoonger: they vſe to keepe theyr wiues very cloſely, I meane thoſe that be of any reputation, ſo that a man ſhall not ſee one of them but at a chance, when ſhe goeth to church at Chriſtmas or at Eaſter, or els going to viſit ſome of her friends.

The moſt part of the women vſe to ride a ſtride in ſaddles with ſtyrrups, as men do, and ſome of them on ſleds, which in ſummer is not commendable.

The women of Ruſſia paint theyr faces.

The huſband is bound to finde the wife coulers to paint her withall, for they vſe ordinarily to paint themſelues: it is ſuch a common practiſe among them, that it is counted for no ſhame: they greaſe their faces with ſuch coulers, that a man may diſcerne them hanging on theyr faces almoſt a flight ſhoot off: I can not ſo well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bag of meale, but theyr eye browes they couler as blacke as ieat.

The beſt property that the women haue, is that they can ſowe well, and imbroder with ſilke and golde excellently.

Of their Buriall.

When any man or woman dyeth, they ſtretch him out, and put a new payre of ſhooes on his feet, becauſe he hath a great iourney to goe: then do they winde him in a ſheet, as we do, but they forget not to put a teſtimony in his right hand, which the prieſt giueth him, to teſtifie vnto S. Nicholas that he dyed a Chriſtian man or woman. And they put the coarſe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very poore: and when they go towards the church, the friends and kinſemen of the party departed carry in theyr hands ſmall waxe candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They

They that be hanged or beheaded, or ſuch like, haue no teſtimony with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their paſport.

There are a great nũber of poore people among them which die daily for lacke of ſuſtenance, which is a pitifull caſe to beholde: for there hath beene buried in a ſmall time, within theſe two yeeres, aboue 80 perſons yoong and olde, which haue dyed onely for lacke of ſuſtenance: for if they had had ſtraw and water enough, they would make ſhift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to dry ſtraw and ſtampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the leaſt they eat it in ſtead of bread. In the ſummer they make good ſhift with graſſe, herbs, and roots: barks of trees is good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I ſuppoſe, that liue ſo miſerably as do the pouertie in thoſe parts: and the moſt part of them that haue ſufficient for themſelues, and alſo to relieue others that need, are ſo vnmercifull that they care not how many they ſee die of famine or hunger in the ſtreets.

Bread made of ſtraw.

The vnmercifulneſſe of the Ruſſes toward the poore.

It is a countrey full of diſeaſes, diuers, and euill, and the beſt remedy is for any of them, as they holde opinion, to go often vnto the hot houſes, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which he heateth commonly twiſe euery weeke, and all the houſholde ſweat, and waſh themſelues therein.

Stooues or baths vſuall with the Moſcouites.

The names of certaine ſortes of drinkes vſed in *Ruſſia, and commonly drunke in the* Emperours Court.

Reported by Tho. Bulley.

THe firſt and principall meade is made of the iuyce or liccor taken from a berry called in Ruſſia, Malieno, which is of a maruellous ſweet taſte, and of a carmoſant couler, which berry I haue ſeene in Paris.

The ſecond meade is called Viſnoua, becauſe it is made of a berry ſo called, and is like a blacke gooſe berry: but it is like in couler and taſte to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina, or Smorodina, ſhort, of a ſmall berry much like to the ſmall rezon, and groweth in great plenty in Ruſſia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mixtures.

There is alſo a delicate drinke drawne from the root of the Byrch tree, called in the Ruſſe toong Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vſe in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the ſpring time: for after thoſe moneths, the ſappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of M. Anthony Ienkinſon, made from the citie of *Moſco in Ruſſia, to the citie of Boghar in Bactria, in the yere* 1558: written by himſelfe to the Merchants of London of the Moſcouie companie.

THe 23 day of Aprill, in the yeere 1558 (hauing obteined the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, directed vnto ſundry kings and princes, by whoſe dominions I ſhould paſſe) I departed from Moſco by water, hauing with me two of your ſeruants, namely, Richard Johnſon and Robert Johnſon, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28 day we came to a towne called Collom, diſtant from the Moſco 20 leagues, & paſſing one league beyond the ſaid Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Moſco falleth, and looſeth his name: and paſſing downe the ſaid riuer Occa 8 leagues, we came vnto a caſtle called Terreuettisko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the ſecond day of May, we came vnto another caſtle called Peroſlaue, diſtant 8 leagues, leauing it alſo on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where Olde Rezan was ſituate, being now moſt of it ruined and ouergrowen, and diſtant from the ſaid Peroſlaue 6 leagues: the 4 day we paſſed by a caſtle called Terecouia, from Rezan 12 leagues, and the 6 day we came to another caſtle called Caſſim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vtzar Zegoline, ſometime Emperor of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now ſubiect vnto the Emperor of Ruſſia. But leauing Caſſim on our left hand, the 8 day we came vnto a fayre towne called Morom, from Caſſim 20 leagues, where we tooke the ſonne, and found the latitude 56 degrees: and proceeding forward the

11 day

11 day, we came vnto another fayre towne and castle called Nyse Nouogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer Occa into the worthy riuer of Volga, distant from the said Moron 25 leagues, in the latitude of 56 degrees 18 minuts. From Rezan to this Nyse Nouogrod, on both sides the said riuer of Occa, is raised the greatest store of waxe and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarryed at the foresayd Nyse Nouogrod, vntill the 19 day, for the comming of a captaine which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who being arriued, and hauing the number of 500 great boates vnder his conduct, some laden with victualles, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandize, departed altogether the said 19 day from the said Nyse Nouogrod, and the 22 we came vnto a castle called Vasiliagorod, distant 25 leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or castle had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue, is as much to say as a castle, so that Vasiliagorod, is to say, Vasilius castle: and it was the furthest place that the sayd Emperor conquered from the Tartarres. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Iuan Vasiliwich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Mahometists and Gentils, but especially against the Tartarres, inlarging his Empyre euen to the Caspian sea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countryes thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25 day of May aforesaid, we came to another castle called Sabowshare, which we left on our right hand, distant from Vasiliagorod 16 leagues. The country heerabout is called Mardouits, and the habitantes did professe the law of the Gentils: but now being conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are Christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

Cazan. The 27 day we passed by another castle called Swyasko, distant from Shabowshare aforesaid 25 leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29 came vnto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreth into the foresaid Volga. Cazan is a fayre towne, after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castle, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber and earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath giuen order to plucke downe the olde walles, and to build them againe of free stone. It hath bene a city of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartarres, it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more vexe the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9 yeeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but yoong is now baptised, and brought vp in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the said Cazan, and being eche of them in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuil discord, came and rendred themselues at seuerall times vnto the said Emperor, so that at this present there are three princes in the court of Russia, which had beene Emperours of the said Cazan, whom the Emperour vseth with great honor.

We remained at Cazan till the 13 day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was woont to be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanits, as Nagayans and Crymmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but now it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco vnto Mare Caspium.

Thus proceeding forward the 14 day, we passed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Perania into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15 leagues, and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitantes be Gentils, and liue in the wildernesse without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga ouer against the said riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentils, halfe Tartarres, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said riuer vnto Astracan, and so following the North and Northeast side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartarres called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitantes are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanyed with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort, that in the sayd yeere there was consumed of the people, in one sort and another, aboue one hundred thousand: the like plague was neuer seene in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vnreplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruell warres a long time together.

The Nagayans when they florished, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Murse. Towne or house they had none, but liued in the open fieldes, euery Murse or King

hauing

hauing his Hoords or people about him, with their wiues, children and cattell, who hauing conſumed the paſture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houſes like tents ſet vpon wagons or carts, which are drawen from place to place with camels, and therin theyr wiues, children, and all theyr riches, which is very little, is caried about, and euery man hath at the leaſt foure or fiue wiues beſides concubines. Vſe of money they haue none, but doe barter theyr cattell for apparell and other neceſſaries. They delight in no arte nor ſcience, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the moſt part they be paſturing people, and haue great ſtore of cattell, which is all theyr riches. They eate much fleſh, and eſpecially the horſe, and they drinke mares milke, wherewith they be oftentimes drunke: they are ſeditious and inclined to theft and murther. Corne they ſowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Chriſtians for the ſame, and diſabling our ſtrengths, ſaying we liue by eating the toppe of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the ſame, allowing theyr great deuouring of fleſh, and drinking of milke to be the increaſe of theyr ſtrength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney. Hoords.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer againſt the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Aſtracan, is the land of Crimme, whoſe inhabitantes be alſo of the law of Mahomet, and liue for the moſt part according to the faſhions of the Nagayes, hauing continuall wars with the Emperour of Ruſſia, and are valiant in the field, hauing countenance, and ſupport from the great Turke.

The 16 day of June we paſſed by certaine fiſhermens houſes called Petowſe twentie leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fiſhing for ſturgion, and ſo continuing our way vntill the 22 day, and paſſing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforeſayd countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entreth into the ſayd riuer of Volga. The 28 day we came vnto a great hill, where was in times paſt a caſtle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iuſt midway betweene the ſayd Cazan and Aſtrachan, which is 200 leagues or therabout, in the latitude of 51 degrees 47 minuts. Vpon all this ſhore groweth abundance of licoriſh, whoſe root runneth within the ground like a vine. Licoriſh in great plenty.

Thus going forward the firſt day of Julie we came to a place called Perouolog, ſo named becauſe in times paſt the Tartarres carryed their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, otherwiſe called Don, by land, when they would robbe ſuch as paſſed downe the ſayd Volga to Aſtracan, and alſo ſuch as paſſed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Aſophe, Caffa, or any other towne ſituated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which ſea Tanais falleth, who hath his ſpringes in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this ſtreight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not ſo euill as it hath beene, by reaſon of the Emperour of Ruſſia his conqueſts.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wilderneſſe on both ſides, we ſaw a great heard of Nagayans, paſturing, as is aboueſayd, by eſtimation aboue a thouſand cammels drawing of carts with houſes vpon them like tentes, of a ſtrange faſhion, ſeeming to be a farre off a towne: that Hoord was belonging to a great Murſe called Smille, the greateſt prince in all Nagay, who hath ſlaine and driuen away all the reſt, not ſparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Ruſſia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone, ſo that now the Ruſſes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were woont to haue mortall warres together.

The 14 day of July paſſing by an olde caſtle, which was Olde Aſtracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Aſtracan, which this Emperour of Ruſſia conquered ſixe yeeres paſt, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Moſco vnto Aſtracan ſixe hundreth leagues, or there about. The towne of Aſtracan is ſituated in an Iſland vpon a hill ſide, hauing a caſtle within the ſame, walled about with earth and timber, neither fayre nor ſtrong, the towne is alſo walled about with earth: the buildinges and houſes (except it be the captaines lodging, and certeine other gentlemens) moſt baſe and ſimple. The Iſland is moſt deſtitute and barren of wood and paſture, and the ground will beare no corne: the ayre is there moſt infected, by reaſon (as I ſuppoſe) of much fiſhe, and eſpecially ſturgion, by which onely the inhabitantes liue, hauing great ſcarſitie of fleſh and bread. They hang vp their fiſh in theyr ſtreetes and houſes to dry for theyr prouiſion, which cauſeth ſuch abundance of flyes to increaſe there, as the like was neuer ſeene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the ſayd Aſtracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and ſpecially among the Tartarres called Nagayans, who the ſame time came thither in great numbers to render themſelues to the Ruſſes their enemies, and to ſeeke ſuccour at their hands, their countrey being deſtroyed, as I ſaid before: but they were but ill interteined or relieued, for there dyed a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Iſlande through in heapes dead, and like to beaſtes, vnburyed, very pittifull to beholde: many of them Aſtracan.

were

were alſo ſolde by the Ruſſes, and the reſt were baniſhed from the Iſland. At that time it had bene an eaſie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Chriſtian faith, if the Ruſſes themſelues had beene good Chriſtians: but how ſhould they ſhew compaſſion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne. At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thouſande, of their owne fathers and mothers, to ſay, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread worth ſixe pence in England, but we had more need of victualles at that time then of any ſuch merchandize. This Aſtracan is the furtheſt holde that this Emperour of Ruſſia hath conquered of the Tartars towardes the Caſpian ſea, which hee keepeth very ſtrong, ſending thither euery yeere prouiſion of men, and victualles, and timber to builde the caſtle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandize there vſed, but as yet ſo ſmall and beggerly, that it is not worth the making mention, and yet there come merchantes thither from diuers places. The chiefeſt commodities that the Ruſſes bring thither are redde hides, redde ſheepe ſkinnes, woodden veſſels, bridles, and ſaddles, kniues, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victualles. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought ſilkes: and they that come out of Perſia, namely from Shamackie do bring ſowing ſilke, which is the courſeſt that they vſe in Ruſſeland, Craſko, diuers kindes of pide ſilkes for girdles, ſhirts of male, bowes, ſwoords, and ſuch like things: and ſome yeeres corne, and wallnuts, but all ſuch thinges in ſuch ſmall quantitie, the merchantes being ſo beggerly and poore that bring the ſame, that it is not worthy the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all thoſe parts worthy the following.

The length of the Iſland of Aſtracan.

This foreſaid Iſland of Aſtracan is in length twelue leagues, and in breath three, and lieth Eaſt and Weſt in the latitude of fortie ſeuen degrees nine minuts: we tarryed there vntill the ſixt day of Auguſt, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in companye with certaine Tartars and Perſians, we laded our goods, and imbarked our ſelues, and the ſame day departed I, with the ſaid two Johnſons hauing the whole charge of the Nauigation downe the ſaid riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entred into the Caſpian ſea the tenth day of Auguſt at the Eaſterly ſide of the ſaid riuer, being twentie leagues from Aſtracan aforeſaid, in the latitude of fortie ſixe degrees twentie ſeuen minuts.

Volga.

Volga hath ſeuentie mouthes or falles into the ſea: and we hauing a large winde, kept the Northeaſt ſhoare, and the eleuenth day we ſailed ſeuen leagues Eaſtnortheaſt, and came vnto an Iſland hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the ſea. From thence Eaſt ten leagues, we fell with another Iſland called Bawhyata, much higher then the other. Within theſe two Iſlands to the Northwards, is a great bay called the Blew ſea. From thence we ſayled Eaſt and by North tenne leagues, and hauing a contrary winde, we came to an anker in a fathom water, and ſo ridde vntill the fifteenth day, hauing a great ſtorme at Southeaſt, being a moſt contrary winde, which we ridde out. Then the winde came to the North, and we weyed, and ſet our courſe Southeaſt, and that day ſayled eight leagues.

Thus proceeding forwards, the ſeuenteenth day we loſt ſight of land, and the ſame day ſailed thirtie leagues, and the eighteenth day twentie leagues winding Eaſt, and fell with a land

Baughlata.

called Baughleata, being ſeuentie foure leagues from the mouth of the foreſayd Volga, in the latitude of fortie ſixe degrees fiftie foure minuts, the coaſt lying neereſt Eaſt and by South, and Weſt and by North. At the point of this land lyeth buryed a holye Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of theyr lawe, where great deuotion is vſed of all ſuch Mahometiſtes as doe paſſe that waye.

The nineteenth day the winde being Weſt, and we winding Eaſtſoutheaſt, we ſailed tenne leagues, and paſſed by a great riuer called Yake, which hath his ſpring in the lande of Siberia, nigh vnto the foreſayd riuer Cama, and runneth through the land of Nagay, falling into this

Serachike.

Mare Caſpium. And vp this riuer one dayes iourney is a towne called Serachicke, ſubiect to the aforeſayd Tartar prince called Murſe Smille, which is now in friendſhippe with the Emperour of Ruſſia. Heere is no trade of merchandize vſed, for that the people haue no vſe of money, and are all men of warre, and paſturers of catteli, and giuen much to theft and murther. Thus being at an anker againſt this riuer Yake, and all our men being on lande, ſauing I, who laye ſore ſicke, and fiue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, becauſe hee came from Mecka, there came vnto vs a boate with thirtie men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and beganne to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiuing that, aſked them what they would haue, and withall made a prayer: with that theſe rouers ſtayed, declaring that they were Gentlemen, baniſhed from theyr countrey, and out of liuing, and came to ſee if

there

there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: to whom this Azie most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rouers beleeued, and vpon his wordes departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my companie and goods were saued, and our men being come on boorde, and the winde faire, wee departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the second of August sailed 16. leagues.

The 2. day wee passed ouer a bay of 6. leagues broade, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: and doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmacke.

The Countrie of Colmacke.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an ancre.

The 25. the winde came faire, and we sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of low land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great bay, but wee set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with shoalds and flats, and ranne that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fel with the maine land, being full of copped hils, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a bay, the Southshoare being the higher land, and fell with a high point of land: and being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to a port called Mangoslaue. The place where wee should haue arriued at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a bay: but wee being sore tormented, and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on the other side the bay, ouerthwart the said Mangoslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the hauen, as of those brutish fielde people where neuer barke nor boate had before arriued, not liked of vs.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to lande to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the saide sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing fiue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. wee discharged our barke, and I with my companie were gently intertained of the Prince, and of his people. But before our departure from thence, wee founde them to bee very badde and brutish people, for they ceased not dayly to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing or begging, rayling the prise of horse and camels, and victuals double, that the wont was there to bee, and forced vs to buy the water that wee did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hier of camels, as for the price of such as wee bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaunde: So that for euery camels lading being but 400. waight of ours, wee agreed to giue three hides of Russia, and foure wodden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the saide people one ninth and two seuenths, Namely, 9. seuerall things, and twise 7. seuerall things: for money they vse none.

And thus being readie, the fourteenth of September wee departed from that place, being a Carauan of 1000. camels. And hauing trauailed fiue dayes iourney, wee came to another Princes Dominion, and vpon the way there came vnto vs certaine Tartars a horsebacke, being well armed, and seruants vnto the said Prince called Timor Soltan, gouernour of the said Countrey of Mangoslaue, where we ment to haue arriued and discharged our barke if the great storme aforesaid had not disappointed. These foresaid Tartars staied our Carauan in the name of their prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their said prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth, (after much dissension) I rode vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe before him, requesting his fauour, and passport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commanding mee to be well feasted with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for such things as hee tooke of mee, which might bee of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but hee gaue mee his letter, and a horse worth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for hee was reported to bee a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue bene robbed and destroyed.

This Soltan liued in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and sate at my being with him,

in a litle rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitan of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men: the Soltan with this Metropolitan, demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my comming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauing leaue I departed and ouertooke our Carauan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wildernes from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carying prouision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessitie to eate one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like, and during the said 20. dayes we found no water, but such as we drewe out of olde deepe wells, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or three dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came vnto a gulphe of the Caspian sea againe, where wee founde the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulphe the customers of the king of Turkeman met vs, who tooke custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

Note that in times past there did fal into this gulfe ỹ great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountaines of Paraponisus in India, and now commeth not so farre, but falleth into another riuer called Ardocke, which runneth towarde the North, and consumeth himselfe in the ground, passing vnder ground aboue 1000. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kithay.

Sellizure, or Shapzure.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the 7. day arriued at a Castle called Sellizure, where the king (called Azim Can) remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come before his presence, to whome I deliuered the Emperours letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a ninthe, who entertained me very well, and caused mee to eate in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milke without bread. And the next day sent for mee againe, and asked of me diuers questions, as well touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our Countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated vpon an high hill, where the king called the Can Ipeth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and little trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitfull, where growe many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eate after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruite called a Carbuse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine corne called Iegur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the toppe of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that Countrey is drawen by diches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in short time all that lande is like to be destroyed, and to become a wildernes for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus shall faile.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arriued at a citie called Vrgense, where we payde custome as well for our owne heads, as for our camels and horse. And hauing there soiourned one moneth, attending the time of our further trauaile, the king of that Countrey called Aly Soltan, brother to the forenamed Azym Can, returned from a towne called Corozan within the borders of Persia, which hee lately had conquered from the Persians, with whome hee and the rest of the kings of Tartaria haue continuall warres. Before this king also I was commaunded to come, to whome I likewise presented the Emperours letters of Russia, and he intertained me well, and demaunded of me diuers questions, and at my departure gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Citie or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long streete that is couered aboue, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by ciuill warres, by meanes whereof there are but fewe marchants in it, and they very poore, and in all that towne I could not sell aboue 4. carseis. The chiefest commodities there solde, are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most small quantitie not worth the writing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vr-

gence,

gence, is called the lande of Turkeman, and is ſubiect to the ſaide Azim Can, and his brethren which be 5. in nomber, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is litle obeyed ſauing in his owne Dominion, and where hee dwelleth: for euery one will be king of his owne portion, and one brother ſeeketh alwayes to deſtroy another, hauing no naturall loue among them, by reaſon that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of ſlaues, either Chriſtians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and euery Can or Sultan, hath at the leaſt 4. or 5. wiues, beſides yong maydens and boyes, liuing moſt vicioully: and when there are warres betwixt theſe brethren, (as they are ſeldome without) hee that is ouercome if hee be not ſlaine, flieth to the fielde with ſuch companie of men as will followe him, and there liueth in the wilderneſſe reſorting to watering places, and ſo robbeth and ſpoyleth as many Carauans of Marchants and others as they be able to ouercome, continuing in this ſort his wicked life, vntill ſuch time as hee may get power and ayde to inuade ſome of his brethren againe. From the Caſpian ſea vnto the Caſtle of Sellizure aforeſaid, and all the Countreis about the ſaid ſea, the people liue without towne or habitation in the wilde fieldes, remouing from one place to another in great companies with their cattle, whereof they haue great ſtore, as camels, horſes, and ſheepe both tame and wilde. Their ſheepe are of great ſtature with great buttockes, waying 60. or 80. pound in waight. There are many wilde horſes, which the Tartars doe many times kill with their haukes, and that in this order.

The haukes are lured to ſeaſe vpon the beaſtes neckes or heads, which with chafing of themſelues and ſore beating of the haukes are tired: then the hunter following his game, doeth ſlay the horſe with his arrowe or ſword. In all this lande there groweth no graſſe, but a certaine brush or heath whereon the cattell feeding, become very fat.

The Tartars neuer ride without their bowe, arrowes, and ſword, although it be on hauking, or at any other pleaſure, and they are good archers both on horſebacke, and on foote alſo. Theſe people haue not the vſe of golde, ſiluer, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other neceſſaries, they barter their cattell for the ſame. Bread they haue none, for they neither till nor ſow, they be great deuourers of fleſh, which they cut in ſmall pieces, and eate it by handfuls moſt greedily, & eſpecially the horſefleſh. Their chiefeſt drinke is mares milke ſowred, as I haue ſaid before of the Nagayans, and they wilbe drunke with the ſame: they haue no riuers nor plares of water in this countrey, vntil you come to the foreſaid gulfe, diſtant from the place of our lading 20. dayes iourney, except it be in wels, the water whereof is ſaltiſh, & yet diſtant the one from the other two dayes iourney and more. They eate their meate vpon the ground, ſitting with their leggs double vnder them, and ſo alſo when they pray. Arte or ſcience they haue none, but liue moſt idlely, ſitting round in great companies in the fields, deuiſing, and talking moſt vainely.

The 26. day of Nouember, wee departed from the towne of Vrgence, and hauing trauailed by the riuer Oxus 100. mile, we paſſed ouer another great riuer called Ardocke, where we paid a certaine petie cuſtome. This riuer Ardocke is great, and very ſwift, falling out of the foreſaid Oxus, and paſſing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then conſumeth it ſelfe in the ground, and paſſing vnder the ſame about 500. mile, iſſueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kitay, as I haue before declared.

The 7. of December following, wee arriued at a Caſtle called Kait, ſubiect to a Soltan called Saramet Soltan, who ment to haue robbed all the Chriſtians in the Carauan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefeſt counſailers, who willed vs to make him a preſent, which he tooke, and deliuered: beſides we paide at the ſaide Caſtle for cuſtome, of euery camel one red hide of Ruſſia, beſides petie gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at reſt, and our watche ſet, there came vnto vs foure horſemen, which we tooke as ſpies, from whome wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confeſſed that they had ſeene the tract of many horſemen, and no footing of camels, and gaue vs to vnderſtande, that there were rouers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile fewe people that are true and peaceable in that Countrey, but in companie of Caraian, where there be many camels, and horſefeeting newe without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we conſulted & determined amongſt our ſelues, and ſent a poſte to the ſaide Soltan of Kayte, who immediatly came himſelfe with 300. men, and met theſe foure ſuſpected men which we ſent vnto him, and examined them ſo ſtraightly, and threatened them in ſuch ſort, that they confeſſed, there was a baniſhed Prince with 40. men 3. dayes iourney forward, who lay in waite to deſtroy vs, if he could, and that they themſelues were of his companie.

The Soltan therefore vnderſtanding that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Soltan himſelfe

returned backe againe, taking the 4. theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very earely, they set out before our Caruan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette vs comming towardes vs, as fast as their horse could runne, and declared that they had found the tract of horses not farre from vs, perceiuing well that wee should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what we would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whome we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went backe to their Soltane, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Caruan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney, and whether we should meete with any ill companie or no, to which, our whole Caruan did agree, and they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the saide sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vsing many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and founde, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which sorcerie, I and my companie gaue no credite, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December in the morning, we espried farre off diuers horsemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rouers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and wee made our prayers together euery one after his lawe, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in nomber 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the Captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to bee slaine, but wee defied them, wherewith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntill two houres within night, diuers men, horses and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vsed, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and horses with our gunnes, they durst not approche so nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and layde our horses and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte also of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had dronke in 2. dayes before.

Thus keeping good watche, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine in their tongue, the Caruan Bassa, who answered the messenger, I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I sende a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his companie, swore so lowde that wee might all heare. And then wee sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demaundeth of the Caruan Bassa, and of all you that be Bussarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his handes as many Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and to the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse crueltie then the Caphars, if hee ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Caruan Bassa answered, that hee had no Christians in his companie, nor other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Lawe, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that wee were not afraide of his threatnings, and that should hee knowe when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theeues (contrary to their othe) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victorie, Ollo, ollo. Where with we were much discomforted, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but hee being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs preiudiciall, neither touching vs, nor yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe, which the theeues perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked much

of

of vs: And to be briefe, the moſt part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing litle to looſe, & ſafeconduct to paſſe, we were compelled to agree, & to giue the theeues 20. ninthes (that is to ſay) 20. times 9. ſeuerall things, and a camell to carie away the ſame, which being receiued, the thieues departed into the wildernes to their olde habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where wee refreſhed our ſelues, hauing bene 3. dayes without water, and drinke, and carried there all the next day, making merry with our ſlaine horſes and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the ſaid theeues againe or ſuch like, wee left the high way which went along the ſaide riuer, and paſſed through a wildernes of ſand, and trauailed 4. dayes in the ſame before we came to water: and then came to a well the water being very brackiſh, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horſes and camels to eate. The riuer of Oxus.

In this wildernes alſo we had almoſt fallen into the handes of theeues: for one night being at reſt, there came certaine ſcoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a little ſeparated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great ſhoute and cry, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and drone fore till wee came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the ſaid riuer: and whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the ſame theeues were farre from vs when the ſcoutes diſcouered vs, we knowe not, but we eſcaped that danger.

So vpon the 23. day of December wee arriued at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is ſituated in the loweſt part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the ſame: it is deuided into 3. partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3. part is for Marchants and markets, and euery ſcience hath their dwelling and market by themſelues. The Citie is very great, and the houſes for the moſt part of earth, but there are alſo many houſes, temples and monuments of ſtone ſumptuouſly builded, and gilt, and ſpecially bathſtones ſo artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the worlde: the maner whereof is to long to rehearſe. There is a little Riuer running through the middes of the ſaide Citie, but the water thereof is moſt vnholſome, for it breedeth ſometimes in men that drinketh thereof, and eſpecially in them that be not there borne, a worme of an ell long, which lieth commonly in the legge betwixt the fleſh and the ſkinne, and is pluckt out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practiſed therein, and if ſhee breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day ſhe commeth out about an inche, which is rolled vp, and ſo worketh till ſhee be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & mares milke, and whoſoeuer is found to breake that lawe is whipped and beaten moſt cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the ſame, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans houſe, to ſearche if hee haue either Aquauitæ, wine, or brage, and finding the ſame, doe breake the veſſels, ſpoyle the drinke, and puniſh the maſters of the houſe moſt cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination hee ſhall not eſcape their handes. Boghar a citie of Bactria.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who cauſeth this lawe to be ſo ſtreightly kept, and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depoſe the king, and place another at his will and pleaſure, as hee did by this king that raigned at our being there, and his predeceſſour, by the meanes of the ſaide Metropolitan: for hee betraied him, and in the night ſlewe him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Chriſtians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was ſometime ſubiect to the Perſians, and doe now ſpeake the Perſian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdome of it ſelfe, and hath moſt cruel warres continually with the ſaide Perſians about their religion, although they be all Mahometiſts. One occaſion of their warres is, for that the Perſians will not cut the haire of their vpper lippes, as the Boghariaus and all other Tartars doe, which they accompt great ſinne, and cal them Caphars, that is, vnbeleeuers, as they doe the Chriſtians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but ſmall, and he is moſt maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth penie of all things that are there ſolde, as wel by the craftes men as by the Marchants, to the great impoueriſhment of the people, whome hee keepeth in great ſubiection, and when he lacketh money, hee ſendeth his officers to the ſhoppes of the ſaide Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay mee certaine money that hee owed me for 19. pieces of carſey. Their money is ſiluer and copper, for golde there is none currant: they haue but one piece of ſiluer, & that is worth 12. pence Engliſh, and the copper money are called Pooles, and 120. of them goeth to the value of the ſaid 12. d. and is more cõmon paiment then the ſiluer, which the king cauſeth to riſe and fall to his

moſt aduantage euery other moneth, and ſometimes twiſe in a moneth, not caring to oppreſſe his people, for that hee looketh not to raigne aboue 2. or 3. yeeres before hee be either ſlaine or driuen away to the great deſtruction of the Countrey and marchants.

The 26. day of the moneth I was commanded to come before the ſaid king, to whom I preſented the Emperour of Ruſſia his letters, who interteined vs moſt gently, and cauſed vs to eate in his preſence, and diuers times he ſent for me, and deuiſed with me familiarly in his ſecret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as alſo of our countreis, lawes, and religion, and cauſed vs to ſhoote in handgunnes before him, and did himſelfe practiſe the vſe thereof. But after all this great intertainement before my departure he ſhewed himſelfe a very Tartar: for he went to the warres owing me money, and ſawe mee not paide before his departure; And although in deede hee gaue order for the ſame, yet was I very ill ſatisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as paiment for the reſt contrary to my expectation, but of a begger, better paiment I could not haue, and glad I was ſo to be paide and diſpatched.

But yet I muſt needes praiſe and commende this barbarous king, who immediatly after my arriuall at Boghar, hauing vnderſtoode our trouble with the theeues, ſent 100. men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne before they had either ſlaine or taken the ſaide theeues. Who according to their commiſſion ranged the wildernes in ſuch ſort, that they met with the ſaid companie of theeues, and ſlewe part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were ſore wounded in our ſkirmiſh with our gunners: And after the king had ſent for me to come to ſee them, hee cauſed them all 4. to be hanged at his palace gate, becauſe they were Gentlemen to the example of others. And of ſuch goods as were gotten againe, I had part reſtored me, and this good iuſtice I found at his handes.

There is yeerely great reſort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which trauaile in great Carauant from the Countries thereabout adioyning, as India, Perſia, Balke, Ruſſia, with diuers others, and in times paſt from Cathay, when there was paſſage, but theſe Marchants are ſo beggerly and poore, and bring ſo little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3. yeeres to ſell the ſame, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worthy the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of theſe foreſaide Countreys, are theſe following.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars doe roll about their heads, and all other kinds of whites, which ſerue for apparell made of cotton wooll and craſko, but golde, ſiluer, pretious ſtones, and ſpices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all ſuch trade paſſeth to the Ocean ſea, and the baines where all ſuch things are gotten, are in the ſubiection of the Portingals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe, wrought ſilkes, redde hides, ſlaues and horſes, with ſuch like, but of carſeis and other clothe, they make litle accompt. I offered to barter with Marchants of thoſe Countreis, which came from the furtheſt parts of India, euen from the Countrey of Bengala, & the Riuer Ganges, to giue them carſeis for their commodities, but they would not barter for ſuch commoditie as cloth.

The Perſians doe bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen clothe, diuers kindes of wrought pide ſilkes, Argomacks, with ſuch like, and doe carrie from thence redde hides with other Ruſſe wares, and ſlaues which are of diuers Countreis, but cloth they will buy none, for that they bring thither themſelues, and is brought vnto them as I haue enquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Ruſſes doe carrie vnto Boghar, redde hides, sheepeſ kinnes, wollen cloth of diuers ſorts, wodden veſſels, bridles, ſaddles, with ſuch like, and doe carrie away from thence, diuers kindes of wares made of cotton woll, diuers kindes of ſilkes, Craſca, with other things, but there is but ſmall vtterance. From the Countreis of Cathay is brought thither in time of peace, and when the way is open, muſke, rubarbe, ſatton, damaſke, with diuers other things: at my being at Boghare, there came Carauans out of all theſe foreſaid Countreis, except from Cathay, and the cauſe why there came none from thence, was the great warres that had dured 3. yeeres before my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2. great Countreis and cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the ſaid Boghar and the ſaid Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles as Mahometiſts bordering to the ſaide Cities. The cities are called Taſkent and Caskayre, and the people that warre againſt Taskent are called Caſſaks of the law of Mahomet, and they which warre with the ſaid countrey of Caskayre, are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. Theſe 2. barbarous nations are of great force liuing in the fieldes without houſe or towne, & haue almoſt ſubdued the foreſaide cities, & ſo ſtopped vp the way, that it is impoſſible for any Carauan to paſſe vnſpoiled, ſo that 3. yeeres before our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vſed trade betwixt the Countreis of Cathay, and Boghare, & when the way is cleare, it is 9. moneths iourney.

To

To ſpeake of the ſaid Countrey of Cathay, and of ſuch newes as I haue heard therof, I haue thought it beſt to reſerue it to our meeting. I hauing made my ſolace at Boghar, in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquiſition, the trade thereof, as alſo of all the other Countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and alſo the king being gone to the warres, and newes came, that he was fled, and I aduertiſed by the Metropolitan himſelfe, that I ſhould depart, becauſe the Towne was like to be beſieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney ſome way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Perſia, and to haue ſeene the trade of that Countrey, although I had enformed my ſelfe ſufficiently thereof, as well at Aſtracan, as at Boghar: and perceaued well the trades, not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I ſhould haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occaſions: the one was, the great warres that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, where by the waies they were deſtroied: and there was a Carrauan deſtroyed with rouers, and theeues, which came out of India, and Perſia, by ſafe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part ſlaine. Alſo the Metropolitane of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperours letters of Ruſſia from me, without which I ſhould haue bene taken ſlaue in euery place: alſo all ſuch wares as I had receaued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, and other his Nobles, in paiment of monie due vnto me, were not vendible in Perſia: for which cauſes, and diuers others, I was conſtrained to come backe againe to Mare Caſpium, the ſame way I went: ſo that the eight of March, 1559. we departed out of the ſaid Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600. Camels, and if we had not departed when we did, I and my companie had bene in danger to haue loſt life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & beſieged the ſaid Citie of Boghar, the king being abſent, and gone to the warres againſt another prince, his kinſman, as the like chanceth in thoſe Countries, once in two or three yeeres. For it is maruell, if a king raigne there aboue three or foure yeeres, to the great deſtruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

The 25. of March, we came to the foreſaid towne of Vrgence, and eſcaped the danger of 400. rouers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the moſt of them of kindred to that companie of theeues, which we met with going forth, as we perceaued by foure ſpies, which were taken. There were in my companie, and committed to my charge, two Ambaſſadours, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were ſent vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia: and after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Caſtle of Zellyſure, eight daies for the aſſembling, and making ready of our Carauan: the ſecond of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambaſſadors in our company, ſent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, with anſwere of ſuch letters as I brought them: and the ſame Ambaſſadors were alſo committed vnto my charge, by the ſaid kings, and princes: to whome I promiſed moſt faithfully, and ſwore by our lawe, that they ſhould be well vſed in Ruſsland, and ſuffered to depart from thence againe in ſafetie, according as the Emperour had written alſo in his letters: for they ſomwhat doubted, becauſe there had none gone out of Tartaria into Ruſſia, of long time before. Vrgence.

The 23. of Aprill, we arriued at the Mare Caſpium againe, where we founde our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke nor ſaile: neuertheleſſe we brought hempe with vs, and ſpunne a cable our ſelues, with the reſt of our tackling, and made vs a ſaile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke, as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time, being deuiſing to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arriued a barke, which came from Aſtracan, with Tartars, and Ruſſes, which had two ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we ſet ſaile, and departed, I, and the two Iohnſons being Maſter and Marriners our ſelues, hauing in our barke the ſaid ſixe Ambaſſadors, and 25. Ruſſes, which had bene ſlaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had before my comming, libertie, or meanes to gette home, and theſe ſlaues ſerued to rowe when neede was. Thus ſailing ſometimes along the coaſt, and ſometimes out of ſight of land, the 13. day of Maye, hauing a contrarie winde, we came to an anker, being three leagues from the ſhoare, & there roſe a fore ſtorme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne ſpinning, braake, and loſt our anker, and being off a lee ſhoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoiſed our ſaile, and bare roomer with the ſaid ſhoare, looking for preſent death: but as God prouided for vs, we ranne into a creeke full of oze, and ſo ſaued our ſelues with our barke, we liued in great diſcomfort for a time. For although we ſhould haue eſcaped with our liues the danger of the ſea, yet if our barke had periſhed, we knew we ſhould haue bene, either deſtroied, or taken ſlaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beaſtes, without houſe or habitation. Thus when the ſtorme was ceaſed, we went out of the creeke againe:

and

and hauing sette the lande with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilest we ridde at our anker, wee went directly to the place where wee ridde, with our barke againe, and founde our anker which wee lost: whereat the Tartars much maruelled, howe wee did it. While wee were in the creeke, wee made an anker of woode of Cart wheeles, which wee had in our barke, which we threwe away, when wee had founde our yron anker againe. Within two daies after, there arose another great storme, at the Northeast, and we lay a trie, being driuen farre into the sea, and much adoe to keepe our barke from sinking, the billowe was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, wee tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the lande laye from vs, wee fell with the Riuer Yake, according to our desire, whereof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee shoulde haue bene driuen to the coast of Persia, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

The English flagge in the Caspian sea.

Note, that during the time of our nauigation, wee sette vppe the redde crosse of S. George, in our flagges, for honour of the Christians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the Caspian sea before. We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes, notwithstanding the 28. of Maye, wee arriued in safetie at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare vs small boates, to goe vp against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadors of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to be brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breath 150. without any issue to other seas, to the East parte whereof, ioyneth the great desert Countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the Countreyes of the Chyrcasses, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the saide Caspian sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part, ioyne the Countries of Media, and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly riuers falling into it, and it auoideth not it selfe, except it be vnder ground. The notable riuers that fall into it, are first the great riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marrish, or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode, in Russia, and it is from that springe, to the sea, aboue two thousand English miles. It hath diuers other goodly riuers falling into it, as out of Sebaria, Yaick, and Yeim: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the riuers of Cyrus, and Arash, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamakye in Media, and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I haue enquired, and doe well vnderstande, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vtterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Leuant seas. The fewe shippes vpon the Caspian Seas, the want of Marte and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan, there were Marchants of Shamakye, with whome I offered to barter, and to giue them kersies for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their Countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a kersie, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were there brought thither out of Persia, cloth, and diuers commodities of our Countreies, which were solde as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth daye of June, wee departed from Astracan, towardes the Musko, hauing a hundred Gunners in our companie, at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartarre Ambassadors, and me. And the eight and twentieth daye of July following, we arriued at the Citie of Cazan, hauing beene vppon the waye from Astracan thither, sixe weekes, and more, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that waye there is no habitation.

His arrival at Mysco the 2. of September.

The seuenth of August following, we departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the Citie of Morons, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arriued at the Citie of Musko, and the fourth day I came before the Emperours Maiestie, kissed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought before him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me diuers questions, touching the lands, & Countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Musko about your affaires, vntill the 17. day of Februarie, that your wares were sent downe: & then hauing licence of the Emperours Maiesty to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained vntill the breaking vp of the yeere:

and

and then hauing ſeene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the ſame, and arriued withall in ſafetie at Colmogro, the 9. of May, 1560. And here I ceaſe for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large diſcourſe, which by reaſon of the varietie of matter, I could make no ſhorter, and I beſeech God to proſper all your attempts.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Ruſsia, *and other Regions.*

	Deg.	Min.
Moſco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the leſſe	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologda	59	11
Cazan	55	33
Oweke	51	40
Aſtracan	46	31
At the entrance into the Caſpian ſea,	46	27
Vrgence in Tartarye 20. daies iourney from the Caſpian ſea.	42	18
Boghar a Citie in Tartarie, 20. daies iourney from Vrgence,	39	10
Manguſlaue beyond the Caſpian ſea,	45	00

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Emperour of Ruſsia, *requeſting licence, and ſafe conduct for Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, to* paſſe through his kingdome of Ruſſia, into Perſia, to the Great Sophie.

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, Sereniſſimo & potentiſſimo principi, D. Ioanni Baſiliwiche, Imperatori totius Ruſſiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum proſperarum fœliciſſimum incrementum. Potentiſſime Princeps, res eſt nobis ad memorandum longè gratiſſima, illa veſtrę Maieſtatis, erga nos & noſtros amicitia. Quæ tempore fœliciſſimę memorię Regis Edwardi Sexti, fratris noſtri chariſsimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò veſtra non ſolùm ſingulari humanitate alta atque fota, ſed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus beneuolentiæ veſtræ officijs ſic firmata eſt atque conſtabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriuſque noſtrum, ad publicam noſtrorum vtrobique regnorum immenſam commoditatem, ad priuatam ſingulorum vtrinque ſubditorum optatam ſpem, certámque fœlicitatem multis ſit deinceps ſeculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc veſtra bonitas, pleniſsimè ſeſe effudit in omnes noſtros ſubditos, qui ſeſe in vllas imperij veſtri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes noſtras, vt par eſt, gratias veſtræ Maieſtati habemus, veſtríſque viciſsim in omni opportunitatis loco libentiſsimè feremus,) tamen abundantia benignitatis veſtræ; in accipiendo, támque humanitèr tractando noſtrum fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinſon, qui has perfert literas, ſeorſim nobis gratiſsima exiſtit. Nam prę terquam quòd nullis non locis veſtri Imperij & magna libertate, & ſumma humanitate veſtræ ſerenitatis non permiſſu ſolùm, ſed iuſſu etiam frueretur, veſtra bonitas tamen non in hac domeſtica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, ſed perlibentèr & vltrò eundem noſtrum hunc perdilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouerſus ipſe iter ſuum inſtituerat, literis ſuis, ſuo magno Imperiali ſigillo conſignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam ſine vllo periculo, propter publicam veſtram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter veſtram commendationem, optatè quidem, & fœliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc veſtra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in veſtro regno negotiantibus ſubditis noſtris vniuerſis, tum iſta ſeorſim præſtita huic Antonio Ienkinſon, perfideli noſtro famulo, nobis

nobis in mente, non ſolùm ad gratam perpetuámque memoriam, verùm etiam ad mutuam, vel opportunam compenſationem, firmiſſimè defixa eſt: ita, petimus à veſtra Maieſtate vt vtramque beneuolentiæ veſtrę rationem & communem noſtris vniuerſis, & priuatam huic noſtro dilecto famulo, vtriſque deinceps dignetur tueri, atque conſeruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quem fauorem veſtra Maieſtas anteà ſua ſponte Antonio Ienkinſon, tum quidem priuato oſtendit, eundem nunc noſtro rogatu eidem Antonio in noſtrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à veſtra Maieſtate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem noſtro famulo, literas ſuas commeatus, publicæ fidei, ac ſaluiconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præſidio, ſit illi, familiaribus ſuis, & ſeruis, tutum, liberúmque, cum mercibus, ſarcinis, equis, & bonis ſuis vniuerſis, inuehendis euehendíſque, per veſtra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunque illi aut ſuis libitum fuerit. Et ſicut non dubitamus, quin veſtra Maieſtas hęc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immenſa bonitate ſuæ naturę benignè & largiter huic famulo noſtro ſit conceſſura, ita valdè optamus, adeóque petimus, vt veſtra Maieſtas eodem modo eundem noſtrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus ſuis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis ſuis dignetur commendare, præſertim verò atque ſeorſim, Magno Sophi, Perſarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noſter famulus gratia potiſſimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficiſci vnà cum ſuis conſtituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia noſtra poſtulata pro famuli ſpe, pro noſtra expectatione, pro veſtra bonitate, pro noſtrorum vtrinque ſubditorum commoditate, fauſta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam veſtræ Maieſtati, & noſtris vtrobique perquam vtilia euaſura. Deus veſtræ Maieſtatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima noſtra Ciuitate Londini, Anno mundi, 5523. Domini, ac Dei noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, 1561. regnorum verò noſtrorum tertio.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lorde Iohn Vaſiliwiche, Emperour of all Ruſſia, &c. greeting, and moſt happie increaſe in all proſperitie. Right Mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maieſtie towards vs, and our Subiects, is very pleaſant to vs to be remembred, which being begunne by the goodnes of God, in the raigne of our moſt deere brother of happie memorie, King Edward the ſixt, and afterwardes, through your not onely ſingular humanitie, fedde, and nouriſhed, but alſo through your incredible goodnes increaſed, and augmented, is nowe ſo firmed, and eſtabliſhed, with all manner of tokens of your beneuolence, that nowe wee doubt not, but that from hence forth, during many ages, the ſame ſhall endure to the praiſe of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate deſired hope, and certaine felicitie of all our Subiects.

And although that this your goodnes hath bene aboundantly extended to all our Subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reaſon is) your Maieſtie right hartie thankes, and will againe ſhewe the like vnto yours, right willingly, whenſoeuer opportunitie ſhall require: yet the aboundance of your benignitie both in receauing, and alſo in entertayning our faithfull, and beloued ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, the bringer of theſe our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankefull. For beſides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maieſties ſufferance, but alſo by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendſhippe, your goodnes not ceaſing in this your domeſticall diſpoſition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne aboundant grace, commende the ſame our welbeloued ſeruant, by your letters, ſealed with your Imperiall ſeale, to ſundry forren Princes, vnto whome he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchaſe vnto him happily, and according to his deſire, both paſſage without all perill, through your notable credite, and alſo atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation.

Therefore like as theſe your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our Subiectes, frequenting that your Realme, and alſo this the other extended apart to this our right faithfull ſeruant, Anthonie Ienkinſon, is right aſſuredly faſtened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall, and gratefull memoriall, but alſo for a mutuall, and

meete

meete compenſation: ſo wee deſire of your Maieſtie, to vouchſafe from hence fooꝛth to conſerue and continue the geminate diſpoſition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our Subiects, and alſo pꝛiuately to this our beloued ſeruant. And we doubt not, but that at our requeſt, you will againe gratiouſly ſhewe vnto the ſame Anthonie, nowe admitted into our ſeruice, the like fauour as heretofoꝛe your Maieſtie of your meere motion, did exhibite vnto him, being then a pꝛiuate perſon. And therefoꝛe wee deſire your Maieſtie eſtſoones to graunt to the ſame our ſeruant, your letters of licence, paſpoꝛt, and ſafe conduct, thꝛough the tenoꝛ, authoꝛitie, and helpe whereof, he, his ſeruants, together with their marchandizes, baggages, hoꝛſes, and goods whatſoeuer, that ſhall be bꝛought in, oꝛ carried out, by oꝛ thꝛough all your Empire, kingdome, dominions, and pꝛouinces, may ſurely, and freely iourney, goe, paſſe, repaſſe, depart, and there tarꝛy ſo long, as it ſhall pleaſe him: and from thence returne, whenſoeuer it ſhall ſeeme good to him, oꝛ his: and as wee doubt not, but that your Maieſtie in the goodnes of your nature, will gratiouſly and aboundantly grant all theſe good offices of humanitie, ſo wee doe hartely deſire, that your Maieſtie will likewiſe vouchſafe to commende the ſame our ſeruant, together with all his goods, by your letters, to other foꝛren Pꝛinces, and ſpecially to the Great Sophie, and Emperour of Perſia, into whoſe Empire, and Juriſdictions, the ſame our ſeruant purpoſeth with his foꝛ to iourney, chiefly foꝛ triall of foꝛreine marchandizes.

We therefoꝛe doe truſt, that all theſe our demands ſhall tende, and haue effect, accoꝛding to the hope of our ſeruant, and to our expectation, foꝛ your wealth, foꝛ the commoditie of both our Subiects, luckie to him, thankefull to vs, acceptable to your Maieſtie, and very pꝛofitable to our Subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maieſtie, long and happie felicitie in earth, and euerlaſting in heauen. Dated in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of Apꝛill, in the yeere of the creation of the woꝛld, 5523. and of our Loꝛde God Jeſus Chꝛiſt, 1561, and of our raigne, the third.

The Queenes Maieſties letters to the Great Sophie of Perſia, *ſent by Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon.*

ELizabetha Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentiſſimo & inuictiſsimo Principi, Magno Sophi, Perſarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hyrcanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltrà Tygrim fluuium, & omnium intra Mare Caſpium, & Perſicum ſinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori ſalutem, & rerum proſperarum fœliciſsimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum eſt, vt quas gentes, non ſolùm immenſa terrarum ſpacia, & inſuperabiles marium vaſtitates, ſed & ipſi etiam cœlorum cardines longiſsimè diſiunxerunt, ipſæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutuæ multa commoda facilè inter ſe & opportunè poſſint communicare. Itaque cùm perdilectus, & fidelis noſter famulus Antonius Ienkinſon, qui has literas noſtras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia noſtra hoc Angliæ noſtræ regnum excedere, & in Perſiam vſque, veſtráſque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare conſtituerit, hoc illius inſtitutum perlaudabile quidem, grato noſtro fauore proſequi, & promouere ſtuduimus: id quod eo nos libentiùs facimus, quoniam hoc eius propoſitum ex honeſto ſtudio commercij conſtituendi potiſſimùm cum veſtris ſubditis, alijſque peregrinis hominibus, ad veſtra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum ſit. Propterea nobis & ſcribendum ad veſtram Maieſtatem, ab eaque petendum eſſe duximus, vt noſtro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo noſtro Antonio Ienkinſon, literas publicæ fidei, & ſalui conductus, quarum authoritate atque præſidio, licitum, liberúmque ſit illi, vnà cum ſuis familiaribus, ſeruis, ſarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuerſis, per veſtra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & ſine impedimento proficiſci, ire, tranſire, redire, abire, & iſtic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quandocunque illi vel ſuis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc ſancta hoſpitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, noſtra regna, noſtróſque ſubditos libentèr conſtitui, ſincerè coli, & conſtantèr conſeruari queant, ſperamus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, nobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, noſtris ad ſumma commoda atque vſus, aliquando ſint oritura: ſiquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longiſſimè ſeparandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutuæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmiſsimè

missimè coniungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem,& fœlicem in terris,& perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Maiestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra vrbe Londino, 25. die Mensis Aprilis,anno mundi, 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1561, Regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

¶ *The same in English.*

This letter was also written in Hebrue, and Italian.

ELizabeth,by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the Great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanes, Carmanarians, Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the Riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian Sea, and the gulph of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnes of the Almightie God, it is ordayned, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of landes, and the inuincible wideanes of Seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens doe moste farre separate, and sette asunder, may neuertheleise through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceaued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our license, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into Persia, and other your Iurisdictions: wee minde truely with our good fauour, to sette forward,and aduance, that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly ,for that this his enterprise is onely grounded vpon an honest intent, to establish trade of marchandize with your Subiects, and with other strangers trafficking your Realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our saide seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, good passports,and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free, and lawfull for him, together with his familiars, seruants, cariage, marchandize, and goods whatsoeuer, through your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, goe, passe, repasse, depart, and tarry so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne, whensoeuer he or they shall thinke good. If these holye duties of entertainment, and sweete offices of naturall humanitie, may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmely obserued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and Subiects, then we doe hope, that the Almightie God will bring it to passe,that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall hereafter spring, both to our furniture, and honors, and also to the great commodities, and vse of our peoples: so it will be knowen, that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanitie, and mutuall beneuolence,haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie, long, and happie felicitie in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England,in our famous Citie of London, the 25. day of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere of the creation of the world, 5523. and of our Lord Iesus Christ, 1561. and of our Raigne the third.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouernours, Consuls, and *Assistants of the companie of Marchants, trading into Russia,the* eight day of May, 1561. to our trustie friende Anthonie Ienkinson, at his departure towards Russia,and so to Persia,in this our eight iourney.

FIrst you shall vnderstand,that we haue laden in our good shippe, called the Swallowe, one Chest, the keyes whereof wee doe here deliuer you, and also a bill, wherein are written particularly the contents in the saide Chest, and what euery thing did coste: and because,as you knowe, the saide Chest is of charge, wee desire you, to haue a speciall regarde vnto it, and when God shall sende you vnto Musko,our minds and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoynt some such presents for the Emperour,and his sonne,either wine, clothe of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought

thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maieſties letters, & our ſayd preſent in the name of the company, we thinke it good that you make your humble ſute vnto his highneſſe in our name, to get his licence or ſafeconduct for you and all other our ſeruants or Agents at all times hereafter, with ſuch wares and merchandize as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times ſhall thinke good, to paſſe out of his dominions towards Tartaria, Perſia, or other places, and alſo to returne vnto Moſco with ſuch wares and merchandizes as you ſhall bring or ſend from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there to make compoſition with the Emperor or his officers for ſome certaine cuſtome or tole vpon ſuch goods as we ſhall paſſe that way, to the intent we might be the better fauoured, we referre it to your diſcretion, foreſeeing that the opening of this matter be not preiudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the ſale of our cloth of golde, plate, pearles, ſaphyres, and other iewels, we put our truſt and confidence in you principally to ſell them for ready mony, time to good debters, or in barter for good wares, ſo that you make our other Agents priuy how & for what price you ſell any of the premiſes, and alſo deliuer ſuch ſummes of mony, billes or wares as you ſhall receiue, vnto our ſaid Agents: thinking good, further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be ſolde for profit before your departure from the Moſco, that then you cauſe them to be ſafe packed, and ſet order they may be ſent hither againe in our ſhippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be ſome profit in carrying ſome part of them into Perſia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue alſo laden in the ſaid Swallow and the other two ſhips, 80 fardles, conteining 400 karſies, as by the enuoys do appeare, which fardles be packed, and appointed to be carryed into Perſia: neuertheleſſe if you chance to finde good ſales for them in the Moſco, we thinke it were good to ſell part of them there, and to cary the leſſe quantity with you, becauſe we be vncertaine what vent or ſale you ſhall finde in Perſia or other places where you ſhall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to paſſe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforeſaid, and that you perceiue you may ſafely do the ſame, our minde is, that at ſuch time as you thinke beſt and moſt conuenient for that purpoſe, you do appoint ſo many, & ſuch of our hyred ſeruants or apprentiſes as you thinke neceſſary & meet for our affayres, and may beſt be ſpared to go with you in your ſaid voyage, wherof we would one to be ſuch as you might make priuie of all your doings for diuers conſiderations and cauſes that may happen: which ſeruants & apprentiſes, we wil and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to go with you, and to do ſuch things as you command them in your preſence, but alſo to go vnto ſuch countries or places as you ſhall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, and there to remaine and continue ſo long as you ſhall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuſe to do ſuch things as you do appoint them, as aforeſaid, or that any of them (be he hyred ſeruant or apprentiſe) do miſuſe himſelfe by any maner of diſobedience or diſorder, and will not by gentle and fayre meanes be reformed, we will that you ſend him backe to the Moſco, with ſtraight order that he may be ſent from thence hither, and let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hyred ſeruant we may pay him his wages according to his ſeruice, and if he be an apprentiſe we may vſe him according to his deſerts.

We will alſo that you take with you ſuch karſies, ſcarlet, & other clothes, or any other ſuch wares of ours, as you ſhall thinke good, and ſo in the name of God to take your iourney towardes Perſia, either by the way of Aſtracan and Mare Caſpium, or otherwiſe, as you ſhall ſee cauſe: and when God ſendeth you into Perſia, our minde is, that you repayre vnto the great Sophie with the Queenes Maieſties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caſpian ſea for you to trauell, and that you make him ſuch a preſent as you ſhall thinke meete, and if you paſſe by any other kinges, princes, or gouernours, before or after you come to the preſence of the Sophie, likewiſe to make them ſome preſent, as you ſee cauſe according to their eſtate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuiledge or ſafeconduct of the ſayd Sophie or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the ſure eſtabliſhing of further trade in merchandize by vs hereafter to be made, frequented and continued in thoſe parts, not onely that we may freely ſell in all places within his dominions ſuch wares as we cary thither, but alſo buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandizes whatſoeuer it be, that is for our purpoſe and commoditie within his dominions, with free paſſage alſo for vs at all times, to paſſe as often as we will with our goods and merchandize into any part of India or other countryes thereunto adioyning, and in like maner to returne through his dominions into Ruſſia or els where.

And for the ſale of our karſies or other wares that you ſhall haue with you, as our truſt is that you will doe for our moſt profite and commoditie: euen ſo we referre all vnto your good diſcretion, as well in the ſale of our ſayd goodes, as to make our returne in ſuch thinges as you ſhall finde there, and thinke beſt for our profite. But if paſſage can not be had into Perſia by Aſtracan, or otherwiſe, the next Summer, which ſhall be in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to ſell our karſies, and other ſuch wares as are appointed for Perſia, in the Moſco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may ſell them for any reaſonable price, and then to employ your ſelfe with ſuch other of our ſeruantes, as you ſhall thinke meete for the ſearch of the paſſage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you doe perceiue or vnderſtand, that paſſage is like to be had into Perſia the Sommer following, which ſhall be in the yeere 1563, and that you can not ſell our karſies in the Emperours dominions, as aforeſayd, at a reaſonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the ſayd Summer in the yeere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Perſia, as aforeſayd. If paſſage into Perſia can not be obteined the next yeere, neither good hope of paſſage in the yeere 1563, neither yet in the meane time, good ſale of our karſies in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to ſee if you can practiſe to cary your ſayd wares by ſafe conduct through Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Conſtantinople, or els where you thinke better ſale may be had, then in Ruſſia.

The paſſage of Noua Zembla.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderſtand our meaninges in this intended aduenture: but foraſmuch as we do conſider and know, that if we ſhould preſcribe vnto you any certaine way, or direct order what you ſhould doe, we might ſo worke cleane contrary to our purpoſe and intent: therefore knowing your approoued wiſedome with your experience, and alſo your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and bringing to good ſucceſſe (by the helpe of almighty God) all thinges that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affayres concerning the ſayd aduenture wholly vnto your good diſcretion, praying God ſo to proſper you, as may be firſt for his glory, ſecondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increaſe of your good name for euer.

And yet further deſiring, and alſo moſt earneſtly requiring you as you tender the ſtate of our company, that you will haue a ſpeciall regard vnto the order of our houſes & our ſeruants, aſwell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Moſco, and to ſee and conſider if any miſorder be amongſt our ſeruants or apprentiſes, whereby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or loſſe of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you do not onely ſee the ſame reformed, but alſo to certifie vs thereof by your letter at large, as our truſt is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodneſſe of ſuch things as we do partly ſuppoſe you ſhall finde in the parties of Ruſſia, we doe herewith deliuer you a quantitie of certaine drugges, whereby you may perceiue how to know the beſt, and alſo there is noted the prices of ſuch wares and drugges as be heere moſt vendible: alſo we deliuer you heere with one pound and one ounce weight in braſſe, to the end, that you may therby, and with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth heere. As for the knowledge of ſilks, we need not to giue you any inſtructions therof, other then you know.

Waights and dings deliuered to M. Jenkinſon.

Alſo if you vnderſtand that any commoditie in Ruſſia, be profitable for vs to haue with you into Perſia or other places, our minde is that our Agents ſhall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouiſion your ſelfe. And becauſe the Ruſſes ſay that in trauelling Eaſtwards from Colmogro thirtie or fortie dayes iourney, there is the maine ſea to be found, we thinke that Richard Johnſon might imploy his time that way by land, and to be at Moſco time enough to goe with you into Perſia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the ſea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the Eaſt from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the ſtraight and paſſage that way, if any be there to be had.

The maine ſea within thirtie dayes Eaſtward of Colmogro.

William Gerrard.
Thomas Lodge. } Gouernours.

William Merrike.
Blaſe Sanders.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. *Anthonie Ienkinſon, from the famous citie of London into the lande of* Perſia, paſſing in this ſame iourney through Ruſſia, Moſcouia, and Mare Caſpium, aliâs Hircanum, ſent and imployed therein by the right worſhipfull Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers, for the diſcouerie of Lands, Iſlands, &c. Being begunne the foureteenth day of May, Ann. 1561: and in the third yeere of the raigne of the Queenes Maieſtie that now is: this preſent declaration being directed and written to the foreſayd Societie.

FIrſt imbarking my ſelfe in a good ſhippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Graueſend, hauing a fayre and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our ſailing diuerſitie of windes, and thereby forced to direct and obſerue ſundry courſes (not here rehearſed, becauſe you haue beene thereof heeretofore amply informed) on the foureteenth day of July, the yeere aforeſaid, I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia: and the ſixe and twentith day of the ſame moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worſhippes affayres, I departed from thence, paſſing through the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of Auguſt then following, I came to Vologda, which is diſtant from Colmogro ſeuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boates, wherein was laden a cheſt of iewels with the preſent, by your worſhippes appointed for the Emperours Maieſtie: which being arriued, and the cheſt receiued, I therewith departed toward the citie of Moſcouia, and came thither the twentith day of the ſame moneth, where I immediatly cauſed my comming to be ſignified vnto the Secretarie of the Imperiall Maieſtie, with the Queenes highneſſe letters addreſſed vnto the ſame his Maieſtie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his highneſſe hauing great affayres, and being at that preſent ready to be marryed vnto a Lady of Chirchaſſi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no ſtranger, Ambaſſadour, nor other, ſhould come before him for a time, with further ſtraight charge, that during the ſpace of three dayes that the ſame ſolemne feaſt was celebrating, the gates of the citie ſhould be ſhutte, and that no perſon, ſtranger or natiue (certeine of his houſeholde reſerued) ſhould come out of their ſayd houſes during the ſayd triumph, the cauſe thereof vnto this day not being knowne.

The Queenes letters to the Emperor of Ruſſia.

The firſt of September following, the Emperour made a great feaſt, whereunto were called all Ambaſſadours and ſtrangers being of reputation, and hauing affayres: amongſt whom I was one, but being willed by the Secretarie firſt to come, and to ſhew him the Queenes Maieſties letters, I refuſed ſo to doe, ſaying I would deliuer the ſame vnto the Emperours owne hands, and not otherwiſe: which heard, the Secretarie anſwered, that vnleſſe he might firſt peruſe the ſaid letters, I ſhould not come into the Emperours preſence, ſo that I was not at the feaſt. Neuertheleſſe, I was aduertiſed by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maieſtie, although the cauſe of my abſence was to his Maieſtie vnknowne. The next day following, I cauſed a ſupplication to be made, and preſented it to his highneſſe owne handes, and thereby declared the cauſe of my comming, ſignified by the Queenes Maieſties letters, and the anſwere of his ſayd Secretary, moſt humbly beſeeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the ſame her highneſſe letters, with ſuch honor and friendſhippe, as his letters ſent by Oſepp Napeya, were receiued by the handes of our late Souereigne lady Queene Mary, or els that it would pleaſe his highneſſe to diſmiſſe me, ſaying that I would not deliuer the ſaid letters but vnto his owne handes, for that it is ſo vſed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondered, and the effect of my ſuplication well diſgeſted, I was forthwith commanded to come with the ſayd letters before his Maieſtie, and ſo deliuered the ſame into his owne handes, (with ſuch preſents as by you were appointed) according to my requeſt, which were gratefully accepted, and the ſame day I dined in his Graces preſence, with great intertainment. Shortly after, I deſired to know whether I ſhould be licenced to paſſe through his highneſſe dominions into the land of Perſia, according to the Queenes Maieſties requeſt: hereunto it was anſwered, that I ſhould not paſſe thither, for that his Maieſtie ment to ſend an armie of men that way into the land of Chircaſſi, whereby my iourney

Requeſt to paſſe into Perſia, therow Moſcouie.

ſhould be both dangerous and troubleſome, and that if I ſhould periſh therein, it would be much to his Graces diſhonour, but he doubted other matters although they were not expreſſed. Thus hauing receiued his anſwere, neither to my expectation, nor yet contentation, and there remaining a good part of the yeere, hauing in that time ſolde the moſt part of your karſies and other wares appointed for Perſia, when the time of the yeere required to returne for England, I deſired paſport, and poſt horſes for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my paſport, ready to depart, there came vnto our houſe there Oſip Nepeya, who perſwaded me that I ſhould not depart that day, ſaying that the Emperour was not truely informed, imputing great fault to the frowardneſſe of the Secretary, who was not my friend: before whom comming againe the next day, and finding the ſame Secretary and Oſip Nepeya together, after many allegations and obiections of things, and perceiuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maieſtie were ſpoken with againe touching my paſſage: wherewith I was content, and within three dayes after ſending for me, he declared that the Emperors pleaſure was, that I ſhould not onely paſſe thorow his dominions into Perſia, but alſo haue his Graces letters of commendations to foreyn princes, with certaine his affayres committed to my charge, too long here to rehearſe: whereupon I appointed my ſelfe for the voyage, and the 15 day of March, the yeere aforeſaid, I dined againe in his Maieſties preſence in company of an Ambaſſadour of Perſia and others, and receiuing a cuppe of drinke at his Maieſties hands, I tooke my leaue of his highneſſe, who did not only giue me letters, as aforeſaid, but alſo committed matter of importance & charge vnto me, to be done when I ſhould arriue in thoſe countries whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readineſſe for the ſame voyage, I departed from the citie of Moſco the 27 day of Aprill 1562, downe by the great riuer of Volga, in company of the ſaid Ambaſſador of Perſia, with whom I had great friendſhip and conference all the way downe the ſame riuer vnto Aſtracan, where we arriued all in health the 10 day of June.

Oſippe Nepeya Embaſſador from the Emperour of Ruſſia to Q. Mary.

Aſtracan.

And as touching the ſituations of the cities, townes, caſtles and countryes, as well of Mahometans as alſo of Gentils adioyning to the ſame, whereby I paſſed from Moſco vnto Aſtracan, I omit in this breuiat to rehearſe, for that I heretofore haue declared the ſame moſt amply vnto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arriued at Aſtracan, as is aforeſaid, I repayred vnto the captaine there, vnto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiеſty, with great charge that he not only ſhould ayd and ſuccor me with all things needfull during my abode there, but alſo to ſafeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two ſtrooges or brigantines into the Caſpian ſea, vntill I had paſſed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouers do accuſtome to haunt, & hauing prepared my barke for the ſea, the Ambaſſador of Perſia being before departed in a barke of his owne, the 15 day of July, the yeere aforeſaid, I and my company tooke our voyage from the ſaid Aſtracan, and the next day at a Weſt ſunne, paſſed the mouth of the ſaid riuer being twentie miles diſtant, lying next Southeaſt. The 18 at a Southweſt ſunne, we paſſed by three Iſlands being diſtant nine miles from the ſaid mouth of Volga, and Southſouthweſt from thence, ſailing Southſouthweſt the next day, at a Weſt by North ſunne we fell with the land called Challica Oſtriua, being foure round Iſlands together, diſtant from the ſaid three Iſlands fortie miles. From thence ſailing the ſaid courſe the next day, we had ſight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tywmen, where pirats and rouers doe vſe: for feare of whom we haled off into the ſea due Eaſt fortie miles, and fell vpon ſhallowes out of the ſight of land, and there were like to haue periſhed, eſcaping moſt hardly: then the 22 day we had ſight of a goodly Iſland called Chatalet, diſtant from the ſaid Challica Oſtriua a hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a ſtiffe gale, we were not able to ſeize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the lee ward of the ſame ſixe miles off in three or foure fathom water, being diſtant from the maine land to the Weſtward of vs, which was called Skafcayll or Connyke, a countrey of Mahometans, about miles, and ſo riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other prouiſion, we loſt one of them, the ſtorme and ſea being growne very ſore, and thereby our barke was ſo full of leakes, that with continuall pumping, we had much a doe to keepe her aboue water, although we threw much of our goods ouerboord, with loſſe of our boate, and our ſelues thereby in great danger like to haue periſhed either in the ſea, or els vpon the lee ſhoare, where we ſhould haue fallen into the handes of thoſe wicked infidels, who attended our ſhipwracke: and ſurely it was very vnlike that we ſhould haue eſcaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the ſtorme continued ſeuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtith day of the ſame moneth: and then the winde comming vp at the Weſt with fayre weather, our anker weyed, and our ſaile diſplayed, lying South, the next day hailing to the ſhore with a Weſt ſunne, we were nigh a lande called by the inhabitantes Shyruanſha, and there we came againe to an anker, hauing the winde contrarie being diſtant from the ſayd Shatalet

M. Jenkinſons voyage to Boghar.

He paſſeth the Caſpian ſea.

The countrey of Tywmen.

The Iſland of Chatalet.

The land of Shyruanſha.

150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of Auguſt, then hauing a fayre winde, winding Southſouthealt, and ſailing threeſcore miles, the next day at a Southeaſt ſunne we arriued at a citie called Derbent in the king of Hyrcans dominion, where comming to land, and ſaluting the captaine there with a preſent, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking freſh water I departed. Derbent.

This citie of Derbent is an ancient towne, hauing an olde caſtle therein, being ſituated vpon an hill called Caſtowe, builded all of freeſtone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was firſt erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred againſt the Perſians and Medians, and then he made a wall of a woonderfull height and thickeneſſe, extending from the ſame citie to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall citie thereof named Tewfliſh, which wall though it be now raced, or otherwiſe decayed, yet the foundation remayneth, and the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the ſaid Alexander ſhould not lightly flee, nor his enemies eaſily inuade. A mighty wall. Of Tiphlis. This citie of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophie of Perſia, bordereth vpon the ſea, adioyning to the foreſaid land of Shalfcall, in the latitude of fortie one degrees. Fortie one degrees. From thence ſailing Southeaſt & Southſouthealt about 80 miles, the ſixth day of Auguſt, the yeere aforeſaid, we arriued at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke diſcharged: the goods layd on ſhore, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouers, whereof there is great plenty, being field people, the gouernor of the ſayd countrey named Alcan Murcy, comming vnto me, intertayned me very gently, vnto whom giuing a preſent, he appointed for my ſafegard fortie armed men to watch and ward me, vntil he might haue newes from the king of Shyruan. Shabran. Alcan Murcy the gouernor. The 12 day of the ſame moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I ſhould repayre vnto him with all ſpeed: and for expedition, aſwell camels to the number of fiue and fortie to cary my goodes, as alſo horſes for me and my company were in readineſſe, ſo that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the ſaid twelft day, on the 18 of the ſame moneth, I came to a citie called Shamackye, in the ſaid countrey of Hyrcan, otherwiſe called Shyruan, and there the king hath a fayre place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were diſcharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was ſent for to come to the king named Obdolowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, diſtant from the ſaid Shamackye twentie miles, to auoid the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came before his preſence, who gently intertayned me, and hauing kiſſed his handes, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to ſit downe not farre from him. King Obdolowcan. This king did ſit in a very rich pauilion, wrought with ſilke and golde placed very pleaſantly, vpon a hill ſide, of ſixteene fathom long, and ſixe fathom broad, hauing before him a goodly fountaine of faire water: wherof he and his nobilitie did drinke, he being a prince of a meane ſtature, and of a fierce countenance, richly apparelled with long garments of ſilke, and cloth of golde, imbrodered with pearles and ſtone: vpon his head was a tolipane with a ſharpe end ſtanding vpwards halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a piece of India ſilke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left ſide of his tolipane ſtood a plume of fethers, ſet in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and ſet with precious ſtones: his eareringes had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, ſet in the ends thereof: all the ground within his pauilion was couered with rich carpets, and vnder himſelfe was ſpred a ſquare carpet wrought with ſiluer & gold, & therupon was laid two ſutable cuſhions. The maieſtie & attyre of king Obdolowcan. Thus the king with his nobilitie ſitting in his pauillion with his legs a croſſe, and perceiuing that it was painefull for me ſo to ſit, his highneſſe cauſed a ſtoole to be brought in, and did will me to ſit thereupon, after my faſhion. Dinner time then approching, diuers clothes were ſpred vpon the ground, and ſundry diſhes ſerued, and ſet in a ranke with diuers kindes of meats, to the number of 140 diſhes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others ſpred, a banket of fruites of ſundry kindes, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 diſhes, were brought in: ſo that two ſeruices occupyed 290 diſhes, and at the end of the ſaid dinner & banket, the king ſaid vnto me Quoſhe quelde, that is to ſay, welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawen at a fountaine, and talking thereof, did deliuer me the reſt, demanding how I did like the ſame, and whether there were ſo good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I anſwered in ſuch ſort, that he was therewith contented: then he propoſed vnto me ſundry queſtions, both touching religion, and alſo the ſtate of our countryes, and further queſtioned whether the Emperour of Almaine, the Emperour of Ruſſia, or the great Turke, were of moſt power, with many other things too long heere to reheaſe, to whom I anſwered as I thought moſt meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cauſe of my comming: vnto that I anſwered, that I was ſent with letters from the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſty of England, vnto the great Sophie, to intreat friendſhippe and free paſſage, and for his ſafeconduct to be granted vnto The Queenes letters to the Sophie.

English merchants to trade into his Segniories, with the like also to be granted to his subiectes, when they should come into our countryes, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commoditie of both theyr subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This said king much allowing this declaration, said that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophie, lying from the foresaid citie of Shamakye thirtie dayes iourney, vp into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within three dayes after, being the foure and twentie day of August the yeere aforesayd, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repayred in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bedde (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being a hundred and fortie in number, he sleepeth most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride an hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court: and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be, which was done, and many cranes killed: we returned from hawking about three of the clocke at the afternoone. The king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited thereunto, and approching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight two gentlemen incountred me with two garmentes of that countrey fashion, side downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and, after that they caused me to put off my vpper garment, being a gowne of blacke veluet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, before whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of theyr hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophie, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Russia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a fayre horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamakye againe, where I remayned vntill the first of October, to prouide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hyrcania.

But now before I proceed further, I purpose to write something of this countrey of Hyrcan, now called Shyruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hyrcan in times past was of great renowme, hauing many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquitie were of great power, able to make warres with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes and castles be decayed) but also the king is subiect to the sayd Sophie, (although they haue theyr proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophie, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for theyr diuersitie in religion, and caused not onely all the nobilitie and gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, raised the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, & for theyr great terrour, caused a turret of free stone and flints to be erected in the sayd citie called Shamakye, and in a ranke of flints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobilitie and gentlemen, then executed: this citie is distant from the sea side, with camels seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, and chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another citie called Arrash, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandize, and thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turkes, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and traffike. There be also diuers good and necessarie commodities to be prouided and had in this said realme: videlizet, galles, rough and smooth, cotten wooll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey. Besides, weere all kinde of spices and drugges, and some other commodities, which are brought thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantitie, for that they be not assured to haue vent or vtterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be there, raw silkes of all sortes, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd citie of Shamakye, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophie, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could winne it. And not farre from the said castle was a Nunnery of sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kinges daughter, named Amalecke Channa, who slew her selfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (she professing chastitie) to haue married with a king of Tartary, vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey doe resort thither once euery yeere to lament her death.

Danger by diuersitie in religion.

Barbarous crueltie.

The citie of Arrash.

The commodities of this countrey.

The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the said countrey there is a high hill called Quiquiffs, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a horse, and a taple like a cowe. It is further said, that this

this monſter kept a paſſage thereby, vntill there came an holy man (termed Haucoire Hamſhe) a kinſman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the ſaid hil, and combatting with the ſaid Giant, did bind not onely him in chaines, but alſo his woman called Lamiſache, with his ſonne named After: for which victorie they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is bruited) ſauoureth ſo ill, that no perſon may come nigh vnto it. But whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the diſcourſe of the proceeding in my voiage towards the great Sophie. The 6. of October in the yeere aforeſayd, I with my company departed from Shamachie aforeſayd, and hauing iourneied three ſcore miles, came to a towne called Yauate, wherein the king hath a faire houſe, with orchards and gardens, well repleniſhed with fruites of all ſorts. By this towne paſſeth a great riuer called Curre, which ſpringeth in the mountains of the Georgians, and paſſing through the countrey of Hircania aforeſaid, falleth in to the Caſpian or Hircan ſea, at a place betweene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bacowe, ſituate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence iſſueth further, paſſing through a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with paſturing people, which dwell in the Summer ſeaſon vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remoue into the valleys without reſorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remoue, they do iourney in Carrauans or troopes of people and cattell, carrying all their wiues, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now paſſing this wild people ten dayes iourney comming into no towne or houſe, the 16. day of October we arriued at a citie called Ordowill, where we were lodged in a hoſpitall builded with faire ſtone, and erected by this Sophies father named Iſmael, onely for the ſuccour and lodging of ſtrangers and other trauellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horſe, for 3. dayes, and no longer. This foreſayd late prince Iſmael, lieth buried in a faire Meskit, with a ſumptuous ſepulchre in the ſame, which he cauſed to be made in his life time. This towne Ordowill is in the latitude of 38. degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderraugan, wherein the princes of Perſia are commonly buried, and there Alexander the great did keepe his court when he inuaded the Perſians. Foure daies iourney to the Weſtward is the Citie Tebris, in old time called Tauris, the greateſt citie in Perſia, but not of ſuch trade of merchandize as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuaſion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almoſt to the ſayd Citie of Tauris, which the ſayd Turke once ſacked, and thereby cauſed the Sophie to forſake the ſame, and to keepe his court ten dayes iourney from thence, at the ſayd Citie of Casbin.

The rowne of Yauate.

The citie of Ordowil or Ardoul.

The citie Tebris or Tauris

The 21. day wee departed from Ordowil aforeſaid, trauelling for the moſt part ouer mountaines all in the night ſeaſon, and reſting in the day being deſtitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vſe for fewell the dung of horſes and camels, which we bought deare of the paſturing people. Thus paſſing ten dayes iourney the yeare aforeſayd, the ſecond day of Nouember we arriued at the foreſayd Citie of Casben, where the ſayd Sophie keepeth his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commaunded a prince called Shallie Murzey ſonne to Obdolowcan king of Shiruan aforeſayd, to ſend for me to his houſe, who aſked me in the name of the ſayd Sophie how I did, and whither I were in health, and after did welcome me, and inuited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and ſo from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I ſent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Secretarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our moſt gracious Soueraigne ladie the Queenes moſt excellent maieſtie of the Realme of England, vnto the ſayd Sophie, and that the cauſe of my comming was expreſſed in the ſame letters, deſiring that at conuenient time I might come into his maieſties preſence, who aduertiſing the Sophie thereof, ſhortly after anſwered mee that there were great affaires in hand: Which being finiſhed, I ſhould come before his preſence, willing mee in the meane time to make readie my preſent if I had any to deliuer.

M. Jenkinſons arriual at the Sophies court. 2. Nouember, 1562.

At this time the great Turkes Ambaſſadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was ſent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the ſame great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a preſent in gold and faire horſes, with rich furnitures and other giftes eſteemed to be worth fortie thouſand pound. And thereupon a peace was concluded with ioyfull feaſtes, triumphs and ſolemnities, corroborated with ſtrong othes, by their lawe of Alkaron, for either to obſerue the ſame, and to liue alwayes after as ſworne brethren, ayding the one the other againſt all princes that ſhould warre againſt them, or eyther of them. And vpon this concluſion the Sophie cauſed the great Turkes ſonne named Baiſet Soltan, a valiaunt prince, (who beyng fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remayned in his court the ſpace of foure yeeres) to bee put to death. In which time the ſayd Turkes ſonne had cauſed mortall warres betwixt the ſayd

The Turkes Ambaſſadour to the Sophie.

princes,

princes, and much preuailed therein: The Turke demaunded therefore his sonne to bee sent vnto him, and the Sophie refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turkes will, the Sophie sent him his head for a present, not a little desired, and acceptable to the vnnaturall father. Discoursing at my first arriuall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being intertained as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdolocan, demaunding whether that wee of England had friendship with the Turkes or not, I answered that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe through their countrie into the Sophie his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Uenetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in great league with the sayd Turkes, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for rawe silkes, which (as wee vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayde Sophie and other princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchaunts to trade into those dominions, and to giue vs passeport and safe conduct for the same, as the sayde Turke hath graunted to the sayde Uenetians, I doubted not but that it should growe to such a trade to the profite of them as neuer before had bene the like, and that they should bee both furnished with our commodities, and also haue vtterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that hee would write vnto the Sophie concerning the same: as he did in very deede, assuring me that the Sophie would graunt my request, & that at my returne vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turkes Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chaunced otherwise. For the Turkes Ambassadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming mee by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should bee good for him to perswade the Sophie not to fauour me, as his highnesse ment to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants, the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour hee departed out of the Realme with the Turkes sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes merchaunts withstand M. Ienkinson.

Shaw Thamas the Sophies name.

The 20. day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophie, otherwise called Shaw Thamas, and about three of the clocke at after noone I came to the court, and in lighting from my horse at the court gate before my feete touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue (Basmackes) such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feete, for without the same shoes I might not be suffered to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleeuer, and vncleane: esteeming all to bee infidels and Pagans which doe not beleeue as they doe, in their false filthie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezallie. At the sayde court gate the things that I brought to present his maiestie with, were deuided by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the court, to carry before me, for none of my companie or seruaunts might be suffered to enter into the court with me, my interpreter onely excepted. Thus comming before his maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to bee vsed, I deliuered the Queenes maiesties letters with my present, which he accepting, demaunded of me of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to do: vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of the sayd Realme for to treate of friendship, and free passage of our merchaunts and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bring in our commodities, and to carrie away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both realmes, and wealth of the subiects, with other words here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well sayd he, we haue none within our realme that vnderstand those tongues. Whereunto I answered that such a famous and worthie Prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interprete the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our countries, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, King Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not displaying the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. Then hee reasoned with me much of religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleeuer or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomets lawe. Unto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleeuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that sayd hee vnto the king of Georgians

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies questions.

sonne,

ſonne, who being a Chriſtian was fled vnto the ſayd Sophie, and hee anſwered that a Chriſtian was he that beleeueth in Ieſus Chriſtus, affirming him to bee the ſonne of God, and the greateſt prophet: Doeſt thou beleeue ſo ſayd the Sophie vnto me? Yea that I doe, ſayd I: Oh thou vnbeleeuer ſayd he, we haue no neede to haue friendſhip with the vnbeleeuers, and ſo willed mee to depart. I being glad thereof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after mee followed a man with a Baſanet of land, ſifting all the way that I had gone within the ſaid pallace, euen from the ſayd Sophies ſight vnto the court gate.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the ſayd night Shally Murzey ſonne to the king of Hircane aforeſayd, who fauoured mee very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed me not to doubt of any thing, putting me in hope that I ſhould haue good ſucceſſe with the Sophie, and good intertainment. The curteſie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, daily reſorting vnto me diuers gentlemen ſent by the Sophie to conferre with me, eſpecially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Ruſſia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and ſo with the Portingals ſhippes. Vnto whom I anſwered, that I durſt not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friends, fully perceiuing their meaning: for I was aduertiſed that the ſayde Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged me that I had bene come for a ſpie to paſſe through his dominions vnto the ſaid Portingals, thinking them and vs to bee all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented. Warres intended against the Portugals.

After this the ſayd Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counſell concerning me, who perſwaded, that he ſhould not entertaine me well, neither diſmiſſe mee with letters or gifts, conſidering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemie to the great Turke his brother, perſwading that if hee did otherwiſe, and that the newes thereof ſhould come to the knowledge of the Turke, it ſhould be a meane to breake their new league and friendſhip lately concluded: diſſwading further becauſe hee had no neede, neither that it was requiſite for him to haue friendſhip with vnbeleeuers, whoſe countreys lay farre from him, and that it was beſt for him to ſend mee with my letters vnto the ſayde great Turke for a preſent, which he was fully determined to haue done at ſome meete time, meaning to ſend his Ambaſſadour vnto the ſayd great Turke very ſhortly after.

But the king of Hircanes ſonne aforeſayd, vnderſtanding this deliberation, ſent a man in poſt vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpoſe vnto him, who as a gracious prince, conſidering that I had paſſed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie all that which hee vnderſtood of his ſayd determination, and that it ſhould not ſtand with his maieſties honour to doe me any harme or diſpleaſure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, ſeeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by conſtraint, and that if hee vſed me euill, there would few ſtraungers reſort into his countrey, which would be greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perſwaſions: which after that the ſayd Sophie had well and throughly pondered and diſgeſted (much eſteeming the ſame king of Hircane, beyng one of the valianteſt princes vnder him and his nigh kinſeman) changed his determined purpoſe, and the 20. day of March, 1562. he ſent to me a rich garment of cloth of gold, and ſo diſmiſſed me without any harme. The king of Hircans ſecond letters in M. Jenkinſons behalfe.

During the time that I ſoiourned at the ſayd citie of Casbin, diuers merchaunts out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of ſpices: whereunto they anſwered that they would bring of all ſortes ſo much as wee would haue, if they were ſure of vent, whereof I did promiſe to aſſure them, ſo that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had. Conference with Indian merchants.

The ſame twentith day of March I returned from the ſayd citie of Casbin where I remayned all the Winter, hauing ſent away all my cammels before, and the thirteth day I came to the ſayde Citie of Ordowill, and the fifteenth of Aprill vnto Zauant aforeſayde, where king Obdolowcan was at that preſent, who immediately ſent for mee, and demaunding of mee many queſtions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene vtterly caſt away, and ſent to the great Turke for a preſent by the Sophie, through the euill perſwaſion of his wicked counſell, and that the Zieties and holy men were the chiefe and principall procurers and mooners thereof: but the Sophie himſelfe meant mee much good at the firſt, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainement, and ſo had done, had not the peace and league fortuned to M. Jenkinſons returne.

haue

haue bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuertheleſſe, ſayd hee, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my countrey, and ſo hee intreated mee very gently, in whoſe court I remayned ſeuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of ſafe conductes and priuiledges in your names to be free from paying cuſtome, which I deliuered vnto your ſeruaunts Thomas Alcocke and George Wren, at their departure towards Perſia for your affaires: and his highneſſe did giue mee two garments of ſilke, and ſo diſmiſſed me with great fauour, ſending with me his Ambaſſadour againe vnto the Emperour of Ruſſia, and committed the chiefeſt ſecrete of his affayres vnto mee, to declare the ſame vnto the Emperours maieſtie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of Aprill, I came to the Citie of Shamachie, and there remayning certaine dayes for prouiſion of cammels downe to the Sea ſide, I ſent from thence before, men to repayre my barke, and to make her in a readineſſe. And during my abode in Shamachie, there came vnto me an Armenian ſent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable eſtate of the ſame king, that being encloſed betwixt thoſe two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the ſayd great Turke and the Sophie, he had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Chriſt and as I was a Chriſtian, that I would ſend him comfort by the ſayd Armenian, and aduiſe how hee might ſend his Ambaſſadour to the ſayd Emperour of Ruſſia, and whether I thought that hee would ſupport him or no: and with many other wordes required mee to declare his neceſſitie vnto the ſame Emperour at my returne: adding further that the ſayd king would haue written vnto mee his minde, but that he doubted the ſafe paſſage of his meſſenger. Vnto whom I did likewiſe anſwere by worde of mouth, not onely perſwading him to ſend his Ambaſſadour to Ruſſia, not doubting but that hee ſhould finde him moſt honourable and inclined to helpe him, but alſo I directed him his way how the ſayde king might ſend by the countrey of Chircaſſi, through the fauour of Teneruke king of the ſayd countrey, whoſe daughter the ſayd king had lately married. And thus diſmiſſing the ſayd Armenian, within two dayes after I ſent Edward Clearke your ſeruaunt vnto the Citie of Arraſh, where the moſt ſtore of ſilkes is to bee had, giuing him Commiſſion to haue paſſed further into the ſayd countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the ſayde king. And after my commendations premiſed, and my minde declared to haue purſued for ſafeconduct of the ſame prince for our merchaunts to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with ſpeede. The ſame your ſeruaunt iourneying to the ſayde Citie of Arraſh, and there finding certaine merchants Armenians, which promiſed to goe to the ſayde citie of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Chriſtian, and thereupon demaunded whither he went, and vnderſtanding that hee could not paſſe further without great ſuſpicion, anſwered that hee came thither to buie ſilkes, and ſhewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and ſo returned backe againe, and the 15. of Aprill came to Shamachie: from whence I departed the ſixteene of the ſame moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea ſide, and finding my barke in a readineſſe, I cauſed your goods to bee laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Priuiledges obtained of Abdolowcan, which are hereafter anſwered.

An Armenian ſent to maſter Ienkinſon frō the king of Georgia.

Teneruke king of Chircaſſi.

But before I proceede any further to ſpeake of my returne, I intend with your fauours ſomewhat to treate of the countrey of Perſia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

The deſcription of Perſia.

This land of Perſia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gilan, Coraſan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, Townes and Caſtles in the ſame. Euery prouince hath his ſeuerall king, or Sultane, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefeſt Cities be theſe: Teueris, Casbin, Keſhan, Yeſſe, Meskit, Heirin, Ordowill, Shamachie, Arraſh with many others. The countrey for the moſt part toward the Sea ſide plaine and full of paſture, but into the land, high, ful of mountaines, and charpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the Eaſt Ocean. To the North vpon the Caſpian ſea and the lands of Tartaria. To the Eaſt vpon the prouinces of India, and to the Weſt vpon the confines of Chaldæa, Syria, and other the Turkes landes. All within theſe dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thamas, ſonne to Iſmael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth, is nothing valiant, although his power bee great, and his people martiall: and through his puſillanimitie the Turke hath much inuaded his countries, euen nigh vnto the citie of Teueris, wherein he was woont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forſaken the ſame, is chiefly reſident at Casbin aforeſayd, and alwayes as the ſayd Turke purſueth him, hee not being able to withſtand the Turke in the field, truſting rather to the mountaines for his ſafegard, then to his fortes and caſtles, hee hath cauſed the ſame to be raſed within his dominions, and his ordinaunce to bee molten, to the intent that his enemies purſuing him, they ſhould not ſtrengthen themſelues with the ſame.

The chiefe cities of Perſia.

This

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reaſonable ſtature, hauing fiue children. His eldeſt ſonne he keepeth captiue in priſon, for that hee feareth him for his valiantneſſe and actiuitie: he profeſſeth a kind of holyneſſe, and ſaith that he is deſcended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezallie: and although theſe Perſians bee Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartares bee, yet honour they this falſe fained Murtezallie, ſaying that he was the chiefeſt diſciple that Mahomet had, curſing and chiding daily three other diſciples that Mahomet had called Ouear, Vſiran, and Abebecke, and theſe three did ſlay the ſayd Murtezallie, for which cauſe and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartares mortall warres. To intreat of their religion at large, being more or leſſe, Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I ſhall not need at this preſent. Theſe perſons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, eſteeming themſelues to bee beſt of all nations, both for their religion and holines, which is moſt erroneous, and alſo for all other their faſhions. They be martiall delighting in faire horſes and good harneſſe, ſoone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treate of this nation, and now I returne to diſcourſe the proceeding of the reſt of my voyage. The differences of religion.

My Barke being readie at the Caſpian Sea ſide as afore ſayd, hauing a faire winde, and committing our ſelues vnto God the 30. day of May, one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie three, wee arriued at Aſtracan, hauing paſſed no leſſe dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then we ſuſtained in our going forth, and remaining at the ſayd Aſtracan, vntill the tenth day of June, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto me for my ſafegard vp the riuer Volga, the fifteenth of Julie I arriued at the Citie of Cazan, where the captaine entertained me well, and ſo diſmiſſing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the citie of Mosko, where I arriued the 20. day of Auguſt 1563. in ſafetie, thankes be to God, with all ſuch goods, merchaundizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours ſtocke and account, as alſo of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treaſurie before it was opened, which I did, and deliuered thoſe parcels of wares which were for his maieſties account, videlicet, precious ſtones, and wrought ſilkes of ſundry colours and ſortes, much to his highneſſe contentation, and the reſidue belonging to you, viz. Craskoe, and raw ſilkes, with other merchandizes (as by account appeareth) were brought vnto your houſe, whereof part there remained, and the reſt was laden in your ſhips lately returned. The 30. of May 1563.

Shortly after my comming to the Mosko, I came before the Emperours maieſtie, and preſented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whoſe highneſſe conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge, and my proceedings therein it pleaſed him ſo to accept, that they were much to his contentation, ſaying vnto me, I haue perceiued your good ſeruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the ſame, wiſhing that I would trauell againe in ſuch his other affaires, wherein he was minded to employ me: to whom I anſwered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my ſeruice was ſo acceptable vnto his highneſſe, acknowledging all that I had done, to bee but of duetie, humblie beſeeching his grace to continue his goodneſſe vnto your worſhips, and euen at that inſtant I humbly requeſted his maieſtie to vouchſafe to graunt vnto you a new priuiledge more ample then the firſt, which immediately was graunted, and ſo I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a briefe note how I meant to haue the ſame priuiledges made, I repaired daily to the Secretarie for the perfecting of the ſame, & obtained it vnder his maieſties broad ſeale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the cuſtodie of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copie whereof, and alſo of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue alreadie deliuered vnto you. Soiourning all that Winter at Mosko, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours maieſtie, I ſent away your ſeruaunt Edward Clearke hither ouerland with aduiſe, and alſo made preparation for ſending againe into Perſia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your ſeruaunts Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June laſt, I departed in poſte from the ſayd Mosko, and comming to Colmogro and ſo downe to the Sea ſide, I found your ſhips laden and readie to depart, where I embarked my ſelfe in your good ſhip called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thouſand fiue hundred ſixtie foure, and hauing paſſed the Seas with great and extreme daungers of loſſe of ſhippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September laſt (God bee prayſed) wee arriued here at London in ſafetie. New priuiledges obtained hereafter following. 28. Sept. 1564

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiaunt ſouldier, which aduenturech both fame, member and life, to ſerue faithfully his ſoueraigne, eſteemeth not the perils and daungers paſſed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon deſireth any thing more, then that his ſeruice bee

well

well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, doe thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching almightie God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse realme, and to the ample benefite and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by Obdolowcan king of Hircania to the companie of English merchants Aduenturers for Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium, with all the landes and countries adioyning to the same, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson at his being there about the affaires of the sayd company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WE Obdolowcan by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now raigning king of Shiruan and Hircan, of our meere motion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our fauored and welbeloued Anthonie Ienkinson Ambassadour, haue giuen and granted vnto the right worshipfull sir William Garret, sir William Chester, sir Thomas Lodge, M. Richard Mallarie, and M. Richard Chamberlaine, with all their companie of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or send their factors in trade of merchandize into our countries, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, either for readie money or barter, and to tarie and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, either of bodie or goods.

And further our commandement and pleasure is, that the said English merchaunts with their company, shal pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factors shal buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of thē, do disturbe, misuse, force or constraine the said English merchants or any of them, or their factors, to pay any maner of custome or dutie for any wares they bring in or carie out of our dominiōs contrary to this our commandement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then wee will that the said customers and officers shall loose and be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the sayd English merchants to haue restored all such mony and wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoeuer the said English merchants or their factors shall bring any maner of wares meet for our treasurie, then our treasurer shal take the sayd wares into our treasurie, and shal giue vnto the said English merchaunts, either ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their said wares. And wheresoeuer this our letter of priuiledges shall be seene and read within our dominion, wee straightly will and commaund that it take effect, and be obeied in all points. Dated at our place of Iauat, the day and yeere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and firmed by our secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The 2. voyage into Persia made by Tho. Alcocke who was slaine there, & by George Wrenne, and Rich. Cheinie seruants to the worshipful companie of Moscouie merchants in An. 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

IT may please your worships to vnderstand, that in the yeere 1563. I was appointed by M. Anthonie Ienkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to go for Persia in your worships affaires, one Thomas Alcocke hauing the charge of the voyage cōmitted to him, and I one of your worships seruants being ioined with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said, fifteene rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tel certainely what summe of money we had then of the Emperours: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worships had there, for the bookes were kept so priuilie, that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May, anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraslaue vpon our voyage towards Persia. The 24. of July we arriued at Astracan: and the second of August we departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arriued at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August we arriued at Shammakie, where as the king Obdolowcan lay in the field. We were well entertained of heathen people, for the third day after

A rubble is a marke English.

our

our arriuall at Shammakie wee were called before the king: wee gaue him a preſent, and hee entertained vs very well.

At our comming to the Court we were commaunted to come before the king, who ſate in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a croſſe, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to ſit downe, the king appointing euery man his place to ſit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Ruſſelands Marchants to riſe vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcocke departed from Shammakie towards Casbin, leauing me at Shammakie to recouer ſuch debts as the dukes of Shammakie ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there, I could recouer but litle. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arriued at a towne called Leuuacta, wheras the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfes iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Sammakie, finding him there in ſafetie with all ſuch goods as hee had with him. During his abode there for ſeuen dayes hee made ſuite to the king for ſuch money as the dukes ought him. But the king was diſpleaſed for that the Emperour of Ruſſelands Marchant had ſlaine a Boſer man at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke ſeeing the king would ſhewe vs no fauour, and alſo hearing from Shammakie, that the Ruſſes ſent their goods to the ſea ſide, for that they feared that the king of Perſia ſhould haue knowledge of the death of the Boſerman, willed mee to depart to Shammakie with all ſuch goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuacta.

A Boſerman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammakie, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderſtanding of his death, demaunded whether he had euer a brother. Some ſaid I was, ſome ſaide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worſhips had no other ſeruant there but mee among thoſe heathen people. Who hauing ſuch a ſumme of goods lying vnder my handes, and ſeeing how the Ruſſes ſent their goods with as much haſt as they might to the ſea ſide, and hauing but foure men to ſende our wares to the ſea ſide, I vſed ſuch diligence, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was ſlaine, I ſent in company with the Ruſſes goods, all your worſhips goods with a Mariner, William Auguſt, and a Swethen, for that they might the ſafer arriue at the ſeaſide, being ſafely layde in. All which goods afterwards arriued in Ruſſeland in good condition, M. Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I ſent then out of thoſe parties into Ruſſeland. Concerning my ſelfe, I remained after I had ſent the goods into Ruſſeland ſixe weekes in Shammakie, for the recouerie of ſuch debts as were owing, and at laſt with much trouble recouered to the ſumme of fifteene hundreth robles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of mee at my comming to Moſco, and all ſuch goods as I brought with mee out of Keſelbaſh, as by a note of my hande that hee hath ſhall appeare. Alſo hee hauing the receipt of all ſuch goods as I ſent into Ruſſeland by theſe two aboue named, hee then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundreth rubles, one Richard Iohnſon twentie rubles, one Thomas Petre fiftie rubbles, one Euan Chermiſin a Tartar ſeuentie rubles. All theſe had their returne, M. Glouer allowed himſelfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Perſia in your worſhips affaires.

Thomas Alcocke ſlaine in the way betweene Leuuacta and Shammakie.

Keſelbaſh. & Ieſelbaſh.

And whereas he ſaith, the Emperour had but for his part a dobble, as farre as I can ſee, knowing what the wares coſt in thoſe parties, hee had treble. If they gaue him ſo much wares, all charges turned to your worſhips, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes. I haue ſowen the ſeede, and other men haue gathered the harueſt: I haue trauailed both by land and by water, full many a time with a ſorowfull heart, aſwell for the ſafegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the beſt, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of thoſe miſeries which I ſuffered for your ſeruice among thoſe heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetie which I haue done, as a true ſeruant ought to doe, I beſeech your worſhips, (although I haue but ſmall recompence for my ſeruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will proſper you the better.

Alſo, to informe your worſhips of your Perſian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to be followed. The king of Gillan, where, as yet, you haue had no trafique, liueth al by marchandiſe: and it is neere Casbin, and not paſt ſix weekes trauaile from Ormus, whereas all the ſpices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may bee eſtabliſhed: But your worſhips muſt ſende ſuch men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkerds. For if ſuch men goe, it will bee to your diſhonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnſon went to Perſia, whoſe iourney had bene better ſtayed then ſet forward. For whereas before we had the name among thoſe heathen people to be ſuch marchants as they thought none like in al reſpects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worſe then the Ruſſes.

Gillan to Perſia.

Againe, if ſuch men trauaile in your affaires in ſuch a voyage, you ſhall neuer knowe what gaine is to be gotten. For how can ſuch men imploy themſelues to ſeeke the trade, that are inclined to ſuch vices? or how can God proſper them in your affaires. But when a trade is eſtabliſhed by wiſe and diſcreete men, then will it be for your worſhips to trafique there, and not before: for a voyage or market made euil at the firſt, is the occaſion that your worſhips ſhal neuer vnderſtand what gaines is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

The thirde voyage into Perſia, begun in the yeere 1565. *by Richard Iohnſon, Alexander Kitchin, and* Arthur Edwards.

¶ *A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, ſecretarie to* the worſhipfull companie trading into Ruſſia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Perſia.

Ieraſlaue a towne vpon the Riuer of Volga.

MAſter Nicols, my bounden duetie remembred, with deſire of God for the preſeruation of you and yours: you ſhall vnderſtande that the ſecond of March I was ſent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ieraſlaue, appointed to receiue ſuch goods as ſhould come frō Vologhda, as alſo ſuch kinde of wares as ſhould be bought and ſent from Moſco by your Agent, & M. Edward Clarke, thought meete for your voyage of Perſia. And further, I was to prouide for biſcuit, beere, beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needefull according to aduiſe. Thus I remained here vntill the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to ſee vs ſet forwards on our voyage, and then hee departed towardes Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Perſia) Richard Iohnſon. For my part I am willing, as alſo haue bene and ſhall be content, to ſubmit my ſelfe vnder him, whome the Agent ſhall appoint, although hee were ſuch a one as you ſhoulde thinke in ſome reſpects vnmeete. Thirtie two packes of carſeis are all of that kinde of cloth that wee ſhall haue with vs. The other 18. packes that ſhould haue gone, were ſolde in Moſco. What other goods are ſhipped for our voyage, you ſhall vnderſtand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honeſt man) was appointed Agent for Perſia, as one for thoſe parts more fit then any I doe knowe here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this preſent life the 16. of March laſt paſt. I wiſhed of God for my part he had liued: for my deſire was in his companie to haue trauailed into Perſia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caſpian ſea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the moſt. It is handſomly made after the Engliſh faſhion: but I thinke it to litle for your goods and prouiſion of victuals. If the worſhipfull companie woulde ſende hither a Shipwright, being ſkilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or more, drawing but 6. foote water at the moſt when it is laden, I thinke it ſhould bee profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the ſame, here be Marchants that would bee glad and faine to giue great fraight to lade their goods with vs, whereby your charges would be much leſſened: And ſo it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be ſaued, and your ſeruants and goods in farre greater aſſurance: for their boates here are dangerous to ſaile with and to paſſe the Caſpian ſea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to inſtruct them. Your wares bought here, and orders taken for thoſe that goe for your voyage of Perſia, are yet vnknowen vnto mee: wherefore I can not (as I would at this preſent) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you doe knowe) it was the Gouernours minde I ſhould be acquainted with greater affaires then theſe. How beit I doubt not but I ſhalbe informed of them that are appointed, and al things ſhall be bought when they ſhall ſee time and haue more leaſure.

Richard Johnſon chiefe of the third voyage into Perſia.

A barke of 30. tunnes made at Ieraſlaue 1564. to paſſe the Caſpian ſea.

Thus (in haſt as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of Almightie God; who preſerue you in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip.

From Ieraſlaue the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to commaunde here or els where during life,
Arthur Edwards.

An other

An other letter of the ſaid M. Arthur Edwards, written the 26. *of April* 1566. *in Shamakie in Media to the right worſhipfull* ſir Thomas Lodge knight and Alderman: And in his abſence to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the right worſhipfull companie trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Eaſt parts, touching the ſucceſſe of Richard Iohnſon in the thirde voyage into Perſia.

WOrſhipfull ſir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preſeruation of you and and yours in perfect health with increaſe of worſhip. It may pleaſe you that my laſt letter I ſent you was from Aſtracan the 26. of July 1565. From whence Richard Iohnſon, my ſelfe, and Alexander Kitchin, departed as the 30. of the ſame. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23. of Auguſt before wee came to our deſired porte named Nazauoe. There, after wee had gotten your goods on lande, with much labour and ſtrength of men, as alſo windleſſes deuiſed and made, wee haled your barke ouer a barre of beach or peeble ſtones into a ſmall Riuer, ſending your ſhippes apparell with other things to an houſe hired in a village thereby. And aſſoone as wee might get camels, being the firſt of September wee departed thence, and came to this towne of Shamakie the 11. of the ſame: and the 17. day following wee preſented vnto Abdollocan the King of this Countrey one timber of ſables, one tunne of neſt of ſiluer cuppes parſill gilt, three morſes teeth, 4. archines of ſkarlet, three pieces of carſeis, with 40. redde fores.

They departed from Aſtracan the 3. of Iulp 1565.

September.

Preſents to the king Abdolowcan.

He receiued our preſents with giuing vs thankes for our good wills, demaunding if M. Ienkinſon were in good health, and whether he would returne into theſe parts againe. Hee willed vs alſo himſelfe to ſit downe before him the diſtance of a quoits caſt from his tent, where hee ſate with diuers of his counſaile and nobilitie, ſending vs from his table ſuch meate as was before him: And after certaine talke had with vs, hee ſaide if hee might perceiue or knowe any maner of perſon to doe vs any wrong, hee woulde puniſh them in example of others, whereby wee ſhould liue in quietneſſe, and haue no cauſe to complaine, giuing vs a litle houſe for the time, vntill a better might be prouided in ſuch place as wee ſhould thinke moſt meete, neuer willing vs to riſe or depart, vntill ſuch time as wee of our ſelues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, he willed vs to put our whole mindes and requeſts in writing, that hee might further vnderſtand our deſires. But while we were about to doe ſo, God tooke this good king our friende out of this preſent life the 2. of October paſt. The want of him hath bene the cauſe that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but wee ſhall recouer all ſuch ſummes of money as are owing vs for this voyage. As for Thomas Alcocks debts they are paſt hope of recouerie, which had not bene loſt if the king had liued. Wee truſt in the place of him, God will ſende as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as wee be credibly informed,) ſhall be his ſonne named the Murſay: who ſince the death of his father, at our being with him, promiſed to ſhewe vs more friendſhip then euer we found: God graunt the ſame.

A houſe giuen our men in Shamakie by the King.

The death of Abdollocan the 2. of October 1565.

Murſay the newe king of Media.

Great troubles haue chaunced in theſe parts. Of thoſe which were of the olde kings counſaile or bare any rule about him in theſe quarters, ſome are in priſon, ſome are pinched by the purſe, and other ſent for vnto the Shaugh. Theſe troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not ſolde, as they might to more profite. Your Agent Richard Iohnſon bought foure horſes, minding to haue ſent to Casbin, Alexander Kitchin, whome God tooke to his mercie the 23. of October laſt: and before him departed Richard Dauis one of your Mariners; whoſe ſoules I truſt the Lord hath receiued to his mercie. We are now deſtitute of others to ſupply their roomes. Foure Mariners were fewe enough to ſaile your barke, whereof at this preſent wee haue but one, whoſe name is William Smith, an honeſt young man, and one that doeth good ſeruice here. For want and lacke of Mariners that ſhould knowe their labours, wee all were like to bee caſt away in a ſtorme. For all the broad ſide of our barke laye in the water, and wee had much a doe to recouer it: but God of his mercie deliuered vs. Mariners here, may doe you good ſeruice all the winter otherwayes: and Marchants here will be the gladder to ſhippe their goods in vs giuing good fraight. One Marchant at this preſent is content to pay twentie robles for twentie camels lading fraight to Aſtracan. Such barkes as muſt paſſe theſe ſeas, may not drawe aboue fiue foote of water, becauſe that in many places are very ſhallowe waters. Wee minde hereafter to make the Ruſſian boates more ſtrong, and they ſhall ſerue our turnes very well.

The death of Alexander Kitchin the 23. of October 1565.

The Caſpian ſea very ſhoald in diuers places.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, trauaile, and care, and could not haue their desire in the gettting of the Shaughes letters or priuiledge, Nowe, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may bee obtained: which being had, will bee beneficiall to the companie, and great quietnesse to those that shall remaine here, although heretofore thinges haue chaunced ill, as the like in other Countreis hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, wee shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly growe into a great trade for silkes both rawe and wrought, with all kinde of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to maister Anthonie Ienkinson is well knowen; Who (I doubt not) hath long agoe throughly aduertised the Companie thereof.

The murthering of Thomas Alcocks.

The trueth of the slaughter of Thomas Alcocks your seruant is not certainly knowen. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whome your saide seruant was earnest in demaunding of your debts: vpon whose wordes he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in riding from the Court without companie, false knaues laye in waite, thinking hee had much about him, and so slewe him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chaunced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when wee shall be more knowen.

Honest Marchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to growe in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, I haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefest of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whome your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. Hee hath here and in other places of these parts, set a good stay in things since the kings death: he is well knowen to M. Ienkinson, his name is Cozamomet. Also another duke named Ameddin-becke is our great friende: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paide mee of those that went from hence to Casbin, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent M. Richard Iohnson, all excuses layde apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to Casbin, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recouering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpretour and two bought seruants: one of which partly vnderstandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tumens in readie money: 200. shaughes is a tumen, reckoning euery shaugh for 6. pence Russe. I haue further receiued two timbers of sables, one to be solde, the other to bee giuen to Thomas the Shaugh: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion serueth. And for as much as I am commaunded to goe, I shall willingly doe my best, putting my trust in God that hee will sende mee well to speede in this iourney.

Cozamomet a noble man that fauoured our nation.

The value of a tumen.

For all kinde of wares bought or solde, you shall throughly be aduertised by your Agent Richard Iohnson, whose reckonings or accompts at no hande I might see or be priuie vnto. Your carseis were good and well sorted, they are and will be solde from 150. shaughs to 160. the piece. Two hundreth pieces were solde vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece: but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were solde to those noblemen aforesaid, when as yet it was not knowen that I should haue gone with them. They may stande vs much in steade, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. li. which may be 6. li. and a halfe of English waight: being bought here for 66. to 70. shaughes the batman. It is fine and good: litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at Grousin, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue lidgers here to remaine in Sommer, we may bye it at the first hand of the Countrey people that bring it to sel hither, and to other places. I would to God the companie coulde finde the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that wee may bye here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousande pounds yeerely. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at Varas, hee and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may beslowe (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousande pounds: besides silke of all colours died in graine, bounde vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here solde for 23. shaughes, at 6. d. the shaugh may be 11. s. 6. pence.

What a batman is.

Varas a great mart for silke.

From Astracan in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named Gilan: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. Allam is there

Gilan 7. dayes saling from Astracan. Allam.

good

good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamakie, and ſolde here for 2. biſts their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and ſo I haue bought to be ſent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe ſilke ynough for the companies ſtocke. I beleeue, if any great ſtore of wares be ſent from you, that muſt be the place: and frō thence a man may trauaile in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better ſales, at which place your commodities are to be ſolde. For there be the chiefe and beſt marchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardaoulle, and Cayſhan, being the heart of the Countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and marchants are better vſed. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers marchants both Ruſſes and others that haue bene in thoſe parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the ſame to be true, and that all kinde of wares come from thence into theſe parts. And from Casbin to Ormus is about 30. dayes trauailing with camels. I haue written the prices of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for ſpices and ſome drugs, which I doe know.

Gilan 4. dayes iourney from Caſbin.

From Caſbin to Ormus a moneths trauaile with camels.

Alſo you ſhall vnderſtand here is plentie of yew for bowſtaues. I cauſed three horſe loades to be bought vs for to knowe the trueth: but they were cut out of ſeaſon this month of Aprill the ſappe being in them. Three moneths I neuer left ſpeaking to the Countrey men to bring ſome. Your Agent will ſend ſome home for example.

This day being the 26. of April I departed towards Casbin: God giue mee a good houre and well to ſpeede, with a merie heart in returning againe, as my hope is I ſhall. I haue written my minde to M. Glouer your Agent what Ruſſian wares I thinke beſt to be bought for this Countrey: and to ſende ſome one hither that hath the Ruſſe tongue: for we haue neede. And the companie ſhall doe well hereafter in taking of ſeruants to be ſent hither, to ſee that they be ſuch as haue diſcretion and be ſomething broken in the world, and ſeene in the trade of Marchandiſe: and one, (if they can get ſome ſuch) as can ſpeake the Portingall tongue, may doe them as good ſeruice, as thoſe that ſhall be here two yeeres before him: for then wee may bye a ſlaue that can ſpeake this language and the Portingal tongue alſo, which ſhall then interprete vnto vs in all your ſecret doings, not making the Ruſſes priue: for they are ſorie that we doe trade into theſe parts. For wee are better beloued then they are: becauſe they are giuen to be drunkards they are much hated of theſe people. It is to be wiſhed that none ſhould ſerue your worſhips in theſe parts that be giuen to that kinde of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor ſhould be able to rule and gouerne himſelfe, that no diſhoneſtie ſhould be imputed to him and vs. By his euill vſage hee payd here 24. robles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy that hee was charged to haue conuayde away from a Teſicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to ſweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he ſhould not pay it. If he were honeſt he might doe your worſhips good ſeruice becauſe of his Ruſſian tongue.

The ſecret doings of the Moſcouie companie.

Your London reds are not to be ſent hither: for they will not giue aboue 18. ſhaughes their arſhine. Here be reds of more orient colour being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people ſpecially were carſeis: and the Marchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You ſhall doe well to ſende fiue or ſixe broad clothes, ſome blackes, pukes, or other ſadde colours, that may be affoarded at 20. ſhaughes the aſhine and not aboue. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrowe at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe Captaines.

Orient reds of Venice die.

Thus wiſhing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my ſcribled letter, and after you haue red it that M. Nicols may haue a ſight thereof.

By your ſeruant to commaund,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Perſia, *with their prices there.*

1. Carſeis are ſolde there for 180. ſhaughes. So that a carſey is ſolde there in Perſia for 4. li. 10. s. For euery ſhaugh is 6. d. Engliſh. And euery biſt is 2. d. halfe penie Engliſh, and in Ruſſe money 3. d.

A ſhaugh is 6. d. Engliſh.

2. Tinne is ſolde in Perſia for 14. and 18. ſhaughes the batman. The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
3. Brazil is at 10. and 12. ſhaughes the batman.
4. Redde cloth fine at 25. and 30. ſhaughes the part.
5. Copper at 20. and 25. ſhaughes the batman.

Commodities to be brought out of Persia *for England.*

1. Rawe silke at 60. shaughes the batman.
2. Peper at 32. shaughes the batman.
3. Ginger at 18. and 20. shaughes the batman.
4. Nutmegs at 30. shaughes the batman.
5. Brimstone at 4. shaughs the great batman. } The great batman is 12. li. English.
6. Allam at 2. bists and a halfe the batman, and lesse.
7. Rice at halfe a bist the batman.
8. Galles at halfe a bist the batman.
9. Cloues at 40. shaughes the batman.
10. Yew for bowe staues, at

A letter of M. Arthur Edwards, written the 8. of August 1566. *from the towne of Shamakie in Media, to the right worshipfull the* Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and generalitie of the companie of Russia, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of Persia, his conference with him, his obteining of a priuiledge: with diuers other good obseruations.

His arriuall at Casbin the 25. of May.

RIght worshipfull (sirs) my bounden duetie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preseruation of your good healthes with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to vnderstand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yeere by Richard Iohnson at my departure towards Casbin: to which Citie I came the 25. of May following, not slacking any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whose Maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me twise to come neerer him, demaunding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gratious letters. Afterwardes he called me twise againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our Queenes Maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: And then of other Countreis adioyning to vs and their commodities, as also of K. Philip, what ouerthrow he gaue the Turkes at the siege of Malta. And how long we had traded into Russeland and Moscouia, and in what space wee might saile out of England into Russeland, & how many weekes trauaile it is from Colmogro to Astracan: And then came to discourse of Russeland, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worships should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially, which maydens doe make (as he said:) He named it Karengi, I thinke it is Westerne dosens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the cõference which I had with his Maiestie. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his Secretarie before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit of London clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example being wel shorne and dressed. Violets in graine and fine reds be most worne: but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of London russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blackes for womens garments, with some Orenge colours and tawneis. Here is much broad cloth worne. They talke much of London clothes: and they that knowe the wearing are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making: for they finde it nothing durable. For when it commeth to weare on the threede, it renteth like paper. Here is much Venice cloth worne, being crumplisted, a yard and a halfe broad, and solde here from 24. to 30. shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the Russe arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & veluets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most worne. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tissue & botky, some veluets wrought with gold, with sattens and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some Westerne carseis, to wit, dosens, which bee thicked well, and close shutte in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some skarlets: for I thinke

Conference and demands of the Shaugh.

All sorts of cloth to be sent specially Westerne dosens died into scarlet.

London clothes much talked of in Persia.

Much Venice cloth worne in Persia.

thinke there is no ſuch cloth for their cappes.

Your Worſhips ſhall vnderſtand, that after my firſt departure from the preſence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuiledge in writing, that I might haue it in readines, at ſuch time as I ſhould againe be called before the preſence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June laſt. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine Interpretour, and one of your ſeruants. And then I receaued your letters, or priuiledge, according to my deſire, ſealed and firmed with the Shaughes owne hand. Praiſed be God, who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The ſecond admiſſion to the Shaughes preſence, the 29. of June, 1566. at which time he receaued the priuiledge.

The 29. of June, is one of their chiefe feſtiuall daies, ſo that all his Nobilitie was there preſent, with two Ambaſſadors in companie with his Maieſtie, who ſaid vnto me, that if my letters were not to my minde, in time to come they ſhould be mended. Wherupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his Highnes moſt humble & hartie thankes, ſaying, that with as much ſpeede as might be, our Queenes Maieſtie ſhould vnderſtand of his goodnes towards her Marchants, which I thought would write their letters of requeſt vnto his Highnes, in ſuch forme & order, as by them ſhould be thought meete and requiſite for their good aſſurance, in the trade of marchandizes: who replied with theſe wordes: when we ſhall ſee their reaſonable requeſts, we will ſhewe them our farther good will, and ſo I departed.

The Shaughes promiſe to increaſe the priuiledge.

Since the receauing of the Shaughes letters, I haue eaten in companie of good Dukes, and others, who before would not come neere me. And euery day ſome would come to my ſhoppe, and eate and drinke with me, out of mine owne diſhe. Likewiſe in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I ſate downe to dinner, they would come and eate with me vnbidden, when I wiſhed them further off: for I ſpared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my ſelfe. I doubt not but we ſhall liue here from henceforth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly vſed with the beſt.

I was aſked by the Shaugh, if you were able to bring him yeerely one hundred thouſand peeces of kerſies, and clothes. And I anſwered him, ſaying, your Worſhips were able to furniſh his countrey with two hundred thouſand. Whereat his Highnes reioyced: for the Turkes Ambaſſador the laſt yeere, as diuerſe haue tolde mee, did put the Shaugh in deſpaire, ſaying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his Countrey.

Aleppo a Citie of great trade.

There is a Citie in Turkie, named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, beſides other that come yeerely, & there buy wools, gals, tallow, ſaffron, ſkinnes, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great ſtore of ſpices. Alſo the Armenians yeerely receaue at the Venetians hands, kerſies in barter for rawe ſilkes, giuing ſometimes 60. peeces of kerſies for 70. batmans of ſilke of this Countrey, and 40. peeces for Grouſine ſilke. And kerſies ſolde commonly for ready monie in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. duckets the peece, (the ducket being here worth 12. ſhillings) may coſt the firſt penny 132. and 144. Shaughes a kerſie. By report it is one moneths trauell from this towne of Shamakye to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, ſixe daies iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice, by water, a monethes or fiue weekes ſailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice, may eaſily be trauelled in leſſe then three moneths. Therefore I wiſh your Worſhips to procure ſome truſtie and aſſured friend there, to whome from hence letters may be ſent. For I can haue them here to put in ſuerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring anſwere. If I had any other here with mee, I woulde nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Armenians & other, deſirous to barter ſilke and ſpices for kerſies.

The Armenians and other, are deſirous to barter with vs, giuing ſilke for kerſies, and alſo will ſerue vs of all kinde of ſpices, we giuing them ſufficient warning to fetch it in the Indias, and will deliuer it vs in Shamakye, at theſe prices.

Pepper this townes batman for 18. Shaughes: euery Shaugh is ſixe pence.

Maces large for 40. Shaughes, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. Shaughes the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughes the batman.

Sinamon for 40. Shaughes the batman.

I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in ſpices, with drugges, and other like, in time.

From Casbin to Ormus, is ſixe weekes trauell, and from hence to Casbin is 16. daies with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in ſeuen or eight daies. And I thinke to Ormus, and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with cattell vnladen. But here in all places as men trauell, they muſt carry their owne prouiſion on horſes, which they are to buy: and thus they trauell but a footepace.

The distance from Shamakye to Aleppo.

Armenians barter with the Venetians

The

The Shaugh desirous to bargaine for our commodities.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargaine with you, who will giue monie, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceaue, bring from Aleppo yeerely foure, fiue, and sixe thousand peeces of kersies and clothes, besides those which other men bringe. If your Worships might procure and finde vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke died in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made, then you might sende a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindred by the Venetians, if they may: for I know we it will grieue them, that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo, and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians, yeerely carrieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with kersies, and Venice clothes.

2000. peeces of kersies to be sent into Persia.

And 18. peeces of kersies, are a Mules lading. But I wish you not to sende aboue 2000. peeces of kersies, although I haue bene willed to write for more. If I might haue had any vnderstanding what your Worships had written for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter haue bene better able to haue answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might haue written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friendes haue written to me: for here are arriued 8. weekes past, two boates with wares, and Russes, by whome they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Russes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be sorie that any boate should depart out of these parts, and not write vnto them, waying how all things stande. I heare they haue bought a boate, which cost 40. robbles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in safetie. I doe tary their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

He departed from Casbin the 15. of July.

The fifteenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this Towne the 29. of the same. And the fourth of August, I founde meanes to arrest the falsest knaue in this Countrey, to wit, the Customer, for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughes, (200. shaughes is a tumen.) I haue caused him to put in suerties for his foorth comming at all times: what end I shall haue with him God knoweth: the debt wil be recouered, but not yet: for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. robbles. These parts as yet are in no stay, for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall be the Mursey. Within 5. or 6. daies, we shal know, for it is time, because men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince placed, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughes letters, or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shal be paid, but also that we shall be taken heede to, so as we need not to doubt, God willing, in time to come, to be here as wel vsed as we are in Russeland. The bils of debts that Richard Iohnson left with me, had neither the parties name, nor summe of money in two of them, and in other bils, but his owne name. If I had not vsed discretion, in causing to be written in our priuiledge, that such debts as are owing, should be paide any of vs in the absence of the other, some men would not haue paid one penny, but onely to Richard Iohnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bils. I receaued in Casbin of Forackan, in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughes in money: the rest he will deliuer me here in silke, and this is all that I haue receaued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelue tumens, I make accompt, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in money and wares. Touching Ackones money, by meanes of Duke Amedenbecke, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penny, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute, then to farther mee: but I founde out a present remedie: for God sent me friendes that were alwaies about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute, and brought me to the presence of the Shaugh, before that Cosomomet sawe the Shaughes eies. But Cosomomet in the ende was my friende: for he was sent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh, what good Marchants we were, vsing trueth in all our doings, and howe wee were in great fauour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities we might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh, about the affaires in those partes: for no man was able to aduise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countries, so much as he was. He owed your Worships seuen tumens, and 48. shaughes, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for he was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great guifts since his comming, which he twise declared vnto mee. I feeling his griefe, became Phisicion, to ease his paine, and forgaue him his debt aboue saide, in recompence of tenne peeces of kersies, that were promised him by Richard Iohnson, and mee, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that hee shoulde with speede doe what laye in him, to dispatche mee away:

Richard Iohnsons great negligence.

Cosomomet was Arthur Edwards friend to the Shaugh.

way: for I perceaued he procured other, that did helpe me in my ſute, to delay me of, till time he had his purpoſe. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, & had got me out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deere there, becauſe they are brought thither from far off. As for all other ſmal debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Marchants are come hither, we ſhal ſeeke to get them in as we may. I wiſh your Worſhips to ſend ſome bullion to be coined here, it will pleaſe the prince there, & be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by 2. and 3. ſhaughes the batman, then it was the laſt yeere. You ſhal vnderſtand that I haue written 2. letters of all my proceedings, which I ſent from Casbin long ſince, to wit, the 24. and 29. of June laſt, by one of your ſeruants to Gilan, there to take ſhip and to goe to Aſtracan, and to deliuer the ſame vnto your factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long ago. But I am right ſorie to heare ſince my comming hither, that he hath plaied the loitering marchant in Gilan, not going in thoſe boates that went firſt, but taried for the laſt boates. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he ſhal make haſte hereafter in ſuch affaires. The kerſies which you ſent laſt, being bought of Maſter Quarles, were good and full lengths, and well ſorted. The Princes Ambaſſador of Gilan was in Casbin, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may go to Gilan to obtaine for your Worſhips the like priuiledge at the kings hand there alſo. For I haue ſomething moued the matter, being put in ſuch comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with ſmall charges: which I had done at this time, if I had had other here with me to put in truſt: for from Casbin to Gilan, is but 5. daies riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your Worſhips. There is in that Prouince, good ſtore of ſilke, better cheape, and better in goodnes, then this Countrey ſilke is. Alſo great ſtore of Allam, being there ſold this townes batman, for one biſt and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges borne from hence to Colmogro, & from thence fraight into England, at three pounds the tunne, all charges accompted, will not ſtand you in aboue 18. and 20. ſhillings the hundreth. You may haue yeerely by report, two or three hundred tunnes lading. Other commodities there for England, I heare not of. As for gals here to be bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from Aleppo, & ſold here not vnder 3. or 4. ſhaughs their batman, being ſixe pounds Engliſh weight. Graine that you dye ſcarlet withall, is worth the batman ready money, 200. ſhaughes, reckoning the ſhaugh for 6. pence Ruſſe, it may be 6. robbles their batman. Your Worſhips may ſend ſome portion of money, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. ſhillings a pound the berries, ſo you ſhall gaine both in the price, and waight. If one Engliſhman more had bene here with me, to whome I might haue deliuered our bils of debts, and other things, whatſoeuer ſhould haue chanced of me, I would then haue become ſeruant to mine Interpretor, and ſo haue gone to Ormus, and Aleppo, which both ioyne on the borders of this Countrey, being the chiefe Marte Townes, whereunto from all places Marchants reſort. And thus would I haue ſpent 4. or 5. moneths in trauelling for farther knowledge of things, for to haue certified your Worſhip of. I hope in God to vſe things in ſuch order, that yeerely you ſhall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue footh of Ruſſeland, and in thoſe ſhippes. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, prouide to make ſales in time, and with ſpeede receaue ſilke at the Shaughes hand, and other mens, that it may be ſent from hence to be in Aſtracan at the beginning of Aprill, from whence it may be ſent to Colmogro in three moneths and leſſe, & there to be ready with the reſt of your goods, by the ende of June, for your ſhippes to receaue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to paſſe within a yeere or two, when we are throughly ſetled in theſe parts, and better knowen. Moreouer, you ſhall vnderſtand, that at my laſt being in the preſence of the Shaugh, it was ſaide to me, that Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon did proffer to take all the rawe ſilke in thoſe parties, deliuering cloth, and other commodities for the ſame. I aſſure you, there is in thoſe parts to be had three or fowre thouſand horſes lading, euery horſe loade being 50. or 60. batmans, beſide ſilke of Groſine. Great aboundance of ſilke at times is ſent out of theſe parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred horſe loades at a time, by the Turkes, who bring great ſtore of ſiluer to be coyned, to wit, Dollars at ten ſhaughes the peece. The Hungarie Ducket is at 12. ſhaughs. And hauing monie in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy ſilke the better cheape, when the Countrey men bring it firſt to be ſolde. If your Worſhips may bargaine with the Venetians, to take ſilke at your hands, or otherwiſe deale with them, I do not miſtruſt but to haue at ỹ Shaughs hand, ſixe batmans of ſilke for two peeces and a halfe of kerſies. Your good aduiſe herein, and in other matters, I truſt you will write with conuenient ſpeede. Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon hath deſerued great commendation at all your Worſhips hands: for the good report of his well and wiſe doings in thoſe parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and ſome good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our Marchants. God grant me in health to ſee your Worſhips: for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a ſorrowfull day, and vnquiet

Victuals and al things deere at Casbin.

The Ambaſſador of the prince of Gilan

Gilan but fiue daies riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus. Aleppo.

M. Anthony Ienkinſons offer to the Perſian.

M. Anthony Ienkinſon commended.

vnquiet ſleepes. Neither had I the companie of one Engliſh perſon, to whom ſometimes I might haue eaſed my penſiue [illegible], as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God grant you in health and wealth, long to liue.

Your humble ſeruant at commandement during life,
Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of Arthur Edwards, written in Aſtracan, the 16. *of Iune*, 1567. *at his returne in his firſt voyage out of Perſia,* to the right Worſhipfull companie, trading into Ruſſia, Perſia, and other the North and Northeaſt partes.

The Shaughs letters to the Moſcouie company.

IT may pleaſe your Worſhips, that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your priuiledge, but alſo the Gouernours names, with the Conſuls, Aſſiſtants, and generallitie. Alſo ſuch commodities as the Prince or Emperour of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters, directed to your Worſhips, to be ſent him, with other notes, which I thought good to be remembred, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is written, granted, and giuen in the names of theſe ſixe perſons following, to wit, ſir William Garrard, ſir William Cheſter, gouernours, ſir Thomas Lodge, Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon, Maſter Thomas Nichols, and Arthur Edwards.

1. Firſt it is granted, that you ſhall pay no manner of cuſtomes, or tolles, any kind of wayes, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all Engliſh Marchants, ſuch as you ſhall appoint nowe, and hereafter, ſhall and may paſſe and repaſſe into all places of his dominions, and other Countreyes adioyning, in the trade of marchandiſe, to buy and ſell all manner of commodities, with all manner of perſons.

2. Item that in all places where any of our Marchants ſhall haue their reſort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers, and Iuſtices ſhall take heede vnto vs, being our aide and defence againſt all euill perſons, puniſhing thoſe that ſhall doe vs any wrong.

3. Item that for all ſuch debts as ſhall be owing by any manner of perſon, iuſtice ſhall be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4. Item that no manner of perſon, of whatſoeuer eſtate or degree they be of, ſhall be ſo hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any guitts, without any leaue and good will.

5. Item if by chance medley any of our Marchants or ſeruants, as God forbid, ſhould kill any of his ſubiects, that no part of your goods ſhall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iuſtice to be miniſtred, and being any of vs, not to ſuffer without the Princes knowledge, and aduiſe.

6. Item that all ſuch debts as are nowe owing, or hereafter ſhall be, are to be paide vnto any of vs, in the abſence of the other, be the partie dead, or aliue.

7. Item that no perſon returne any kinde of wares backe againe, being once bought or ſolde.

8. Item that when God ſhall ſend your goods to ſhoare, preſently his people ſhall helpe vs a land with them.

Theſe articles before written, I truſt in God, will content your mindes, vntill your farther letters be hitherto written vnto the Prince: who I am aſſured will grant your farther reaſonable requeſts, which his Maieſtie hath promiſed. For I moued the queſtion, declaring vnto him, that I thought your Worſhips would write your letters of requeſts, to craue his farther good will, as ſhould be thought meete for your better aſſurance in the trade of marchandize: you will hardly beleeue what long and gratious talke he had with me, which I aſſure you continued two houres, which was ſtrange vnto the people, and other Marchant ſtrangers. For betwixt euery queſtion that his Maieſtie moued, when I had anſwered him, he would talke with his Nobles, and other his ſeruants, hauing ſome knowledge of our Weſterne partes and commodities, and then againe would demand other queſtions. He cauſed his Secretarie to write the articles before named, in al of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkiſh tongue to be ſent you.) On the backe ſide of one, he hath written what wares his Maieſtie would haue you to ſende him. He held me one houre within night, before I departed from him.

Theſe be the names of the wares or commodities which on the *backe*

backeſide of one of his letters, the Shaugh hath written to you to be ſent him.

FIrſt ſome clothe of golde, with cloth of tyſſue, and cloth of botky, as Veluets wrought with golde.

Item good veluets, to wit, cremoſins, purples, reds, greenes, and blackes. Theſe colours his Maieſtie requireth: for they are moſt worne. And though there be ſome of theſe wares made in his Citie of Caſſhan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to thoſe that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in theſe wares: yet for diuers conſiderations, as alſo to ſatiſfie the Princes minde, I wiſh you to ſend ſome, and thoſe that be eſpeciall good.

Item good damaſks and ſatins, of all ſortes, with an hundred peeces of good chamlets, which are worth here 80. ſhaughes the peece, at fiue pence the ſhaugh, and thoſe ſilkes to be of thoſe colours aboue written, to wit, cremoſins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with ſome light watchet colours.

Item three or foure complete harneſſes that will abide the ſhot of a handgunne, with tenne or twelue targets of ſteele, being good.

Item ten or twelue good ſhirts of male, being very good, or elſe none, that may abide the ſhot of an arrowe, and two buffe ierkins.

Item ten or twelue peeces of Weſterne kerſies, being thickers well and cloſe ſhut in the weauing, and died into ſcarlets, and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no ſuch cloth for Noblemens caps. The Prince named them "karangies, ſaying, that maidens did make them, and is deſirous of them.

" By the word Karangies, I thinke they meane kerſies.

Item fiue peeces of fine Holland cloth for the Prince, with ſome other for Noblemen, of a lower price.

Item twentie handguns being good, ſome of them with fire lockes, and alſo fiue good dags, with lockes to trauell withall.

Item 100. bruſſhes for garments, (none made of ſwines haire,) for guifts, and otherwiſe to be ſolde.

Item fiue ſtone bowes that ſhoote lead pellets.

Item a mill to grinde corne in the field as they goe, finely deuiſed: for Cozomomet willed me to write for one to be ſent, to giue the Prince.

Item the Prince requireth of all ſortes and colours of London clothes. I wiſh you to ſende no leſſe then 40. or 50. for I knowe they will be ſolde to profite, eſpecially ſuch cloth as may be afforded for 20. ſhauges the arſhine, which is longer by two of mine ynches then Ruſſia arſhine is. Let there be fine ſcarlets, violets in graine, fine reds, blackes, browne blewes, foure or fiue of euery ſort, for the Prince, and other Lordes: the reſt of other colours liuely to the ſight, as London ruſſets, tawnies, Lion colours, good liuely greenes, with other, as you ſhall thinke good; for the Prince deſireth to ſee of all ſortes, which will be an occaſion, that the Venetians and Turkes ſhall be in leſſe eſtimation then they are: for they themſelues doe feare, and ſecretly ſay the ſame. And truely the Princes ſubiects intend to enter into trade with vs for ſpices, and other commodities, that they were woont to ſell vnto the Venetians, and Turkes.

Thus I committe you all to God, who ſend you health, with increaſe of Worſhip. Written in Aſtracan, the 16. of June, 1567.

By your ſeruant during life to command
Arthur Edwards.

Diſtances of certaine places in Ruſsia.

The way from S. Nicholas Bay to Mosko.

	verſtes.
To Colmogro	100
To Vſtiug	500
To Tokma	250
To Vologhda	250
All by the riuer of Dwina	1100

	verſtes
To Yeraſlaue	180
To Roſtoue	60
To Peraſlaue	60
To Mosko	120
By land Eaſt and Weſt	440

The way from Moſco to Smolensko.

To

To Moramis 300
To Smolensko 200

The way from Moſco to Nouogorode.

To Ottuer is 180
To Torzhoke 60
To Wiſnouolloko 60
To Nouogorode 150
Southeaſt and Northweſt } 450

The way from Nouogorode to Narue.

To Teſeua 50
To the Friers 60
To Yria Niagorod 40
To Narue 15
Southweſt and Northeaſt } 165

From Nouogorod to Vobsky, is 180. verſtes by Eaſt.

The way from Vobsky to Rie in Liefe land.

To Newe houſe 50
To Gouen on the borders
To Wenden
To Trecado
To Newſlot
To Rie
verſtes All is 200.

The way from Moſco to Aſtracan.

To Coſtrom
To Niſnouogorod
To Cazan
To Aſtracan in all is } verſtes. 2800

The way from Vologhda to Narue.

To Belozerco 140
To Batag 80
To Witergen 40
To Ladiskie 60
To Onego lake 180
To Oher 90
To Narue 180
Southweſt Northeaſt } verſtes 770

To goe with a ſmall boate within the land from S. Nicholas to Wardhouſe.

To Newnox riuer.
To Ouſca Gouba
To Lobſhanga
To Ouſt Nauelockie
To Orlouanos
To Soluſca Monaſterie.
To Candeloxe
To Ouſt Colla
To Zhemaker
To Poganna Volockie
To Chibe Nauolocke
To Kegor
} To Wardhouſe in all 800. verſts Northweſt and Southeaſt.

The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Samoeds keepe their Marte.

To Vſt Pinnago
To Palango
To Leunona
To Veſcom
To Soyaua
To Coula
To Nendega
To Lampas
To Sloboda
} All is 230. verſtes.

The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the loſh hides are gotten.

To Lampas
To Pogorel
To Zapolle
To Vromo
} All is 115. verſtes, Northeaſt and Southweſt.

The way and diſtances from S. Nicholas, to the Caſpian ſea.

IF you goe ſtreight from S. Nicholas, to the Caſpian ſea, you muſt goe to Vologhda by water, as by the eaſieſt paſſage, and that is accompliſhed paſſing day & night, in 14. daies, & 14. nights, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100. verſtes it is.

By horſe and ſleds in eight daies you may paſſe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous, by meanes of mariſhes and bogs, and not ſafely then to be paſſed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraſlaue, 180. verſtes ouer land. This Yeraſlaue ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180. verſtes I ſay diſtant from Vologhda.

To the Caſpian ſea are 2700. verſtes from Yeraſlaue,

So from S. Nicholas to the Caſpian ſea, are } iii. M. viii. C. lxx. verſtes.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraſlaue is accompliſhed in fourteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } xvi. dayes.

From thence to Aſtracan men trauell by water in 30. daies and 30. nights.

So betweene S. Nicholas and the Caſpian ſea, are } 46. daies iourney.

There

There paſſe downe Volga euery Sommer, 500. boates great & ſmall, from all the vpper parts of the riuer, whereof ſome be of 500. tunne. They goe for minerall ſalt and for Sturgion.

The ſalt lieth in rocks (and is whitiſh red, and in fine ſand) as it were 30. miles from Aſtracan toward the Caſpian ſea. They dig it themſelues and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a pennie a poode, viz. 40. pound waight.

The Sturgion which they call Ocetera, is taken fiftie miles on this ſide Aſtracan. Along the riuer the ſpace of 20. miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, and fiſh for the ſpace of three moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of Auguſt, and hauing ſalt they vſe to ſalt them. Fiſhing for Sturgion for 3. moneths.

The riuer there is 5. or 6. miles broad, but with ſome Iſlands.

The riuer below Yeraſlaue where it is moſt narrow, is a mile broad from ſide to ſide.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer ſides, ſaue about the townes of the fiſhing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vſtiug, runneth all on chalke and ſand: the fiſh are ſweet and fat. The Mene a fiſh with a great head a foote long, breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Betweene Vobska and Nouogrode, the ſpace of 180. miles, groweth flaxe: the whole ſoile in length is ſo imploied, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat ſoile.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Poliſh border, 300. miles in compaſſe: much of the ſoile is ſo imploied.

Of this hempe, they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we ſet in worke in making of cables aboue 100. men.

The Ruſſians doe ſpinne and hachell it, and the Engliſhe tarre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of thoſe is worth two of Danzicke, becauſe the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten ſtuffe, which in fowle weather is found of no ſtrength. The Engliſhmen in making of cables ſet on worke a 100. men in Ruſſia.

Soſnoua, a tree that cureth the wolfe with the chauings of the wood, groweth in theſe parts, and of the barkes they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boates. Soſnoua tree. excellent for the cure of the wolfe.

The Samoeds lacking linnen, make handkerchiefs and towels of the bery wood of this tree. The wood of this tree is as beautie as hollie, and the chauings tough.

Roſe Iſland in S. Nicholas baie, is full of Roſes damaſke and red, of violets and wilde Roſemarie: This Iſland is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good paſture, and hath the name of the roſes.

The ſnow here about the midſt of May is cleared, hauing bene two moneths in melting, then the ground is made drie within 14. dayes after, and then the graſſe is knee high within a moneth. Then after September the froſt commeth in, the ſnow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Iſland hath firre and birch, and a faire freſh ſpring neere the houſe built there by the Engliſh.

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnſon (which was at Boghar with Maſter Anthony Ienkinſon) of the reports of Ruſſes and other ſtrangers, of the wayes from Ruſſia to Cathaya, and of diuers and ſtraunge people.

The firſt note giuen by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian ſubiect to the Prince of Bogarskie, which are alſo Tartars bordering vpon Kizilbaſh or Perſia, declaring the way from Aſtracan, being the furtheſt part of Ruſſia, to Cathaya as followeth.

FIrſt from Aſtracan to Serachicke by land, trauailing at leaſure as merchants vſe with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachicke to a towne named *Vrgenſhe, 15. dayes. *Or, Vrgeme.

From Vrgenſhe to Bogarskie, 15. dayes.

From Bogharskie to Caſhar, 30. dayes.

From Caſhar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

By the ſame partie a note of another way more ſure to trauell, as he reporteth.

FRom Aſtracan to Turkemen by the Caſpian ſea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by land ſpecially with camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenſhe.

From Vrgenſhe to Bogharskie, 15. dayes.

Note. At this citie of Boghar is the marte or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those partes and the Cathaians.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be paid for merchandizes or goods.

From thence to Cashar or Caskar is one moneths iourney, and from Cashar or Caskar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many townes and fortes by the way) is also a moneths trauell for merchants by land to Cathay.

Further as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those partes himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the Seas lie by any coast he knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian Merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countrymen which haue bene there.

Or Serachick. FIrst from Astracan by sea to *Serachocke, is 15. dayes (affirming also that a man may trauel the other way before written by Turkemen.)

From Serachocke to Vrgenshe is 15. dayes.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar also 15. dayes.

Note. These last 30. daies iourney is without habitation of houses, therefore trauellers lodge in their owne tents, carying with them to eate their seuerall prouisions: and for drinke there be many wels of faire water at equal baiting places not farre distant daily to be had.

Or Taskent. From Boghar to *Taskan easie trauelling with goods, is 14. dayes by land.

From Taskan to Occient 7. dayes.

From Occient to Caskar 20. daies. This Caskar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betweene Boghar and Cathaia, called Reshit can.

From Caskar to Sowchick, 30. daies iourney, which Sowchick is the first border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5. dayes iourney, & from Camchick to Cathay is two moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate and well replenished with innumerable fruits, and Or Cambalu. the chiefe citie in that whole land is called * Cambuloo, which is yet 10. daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay which they praise to be ciuil and vnspeakably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay the most part thereof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also as the Tartares report, is christian, or after the maner of christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in trauelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these partes of Russia, but in maner rather skant then plentifull, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts, (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeereth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be neere so great as a big lion spotted very faire, and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Note, 20. dayes iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beast that beareth the best musae, & the principal therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are Spadenille speaketh hereof. tawnie, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion frō women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the same round like a bosse vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie partes. Their feeding is rawe flesh in the same land, and in another called Or Kitay. *Titay, the Duke there is called Can, they worship the fire, and it is 34. daies iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lieth the beautifull people, eating with kniues of gold, and are called Co- Small people. morom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as followeth, which note was sent out of Russia from Giles Holmes.

Pechora but six dayes iourney by land or water frō Ob. FIrst from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora trauelling with olens or harts, is sixe dayes iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three dayes iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lese, to say in English, Blacke woods,

and

and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his deſcription after the Iriſh faſhion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioult Calmachey 3. dayes iourney, and from thence to Chorno Callachay 3. dayes tending to the Southeaſt.

Theſe two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the ſea coaſts beyond thie ſame, taken out of the Ruſſe tongue word by word, and trauelled by a Ruſſe borne in Colmogro, whoſe name was Pheother Towtigin, who, by report, was ſlaine in his ſecond voyage in one of the ſayd countreys.

VPon the Eaſt part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the moſt Weſtermoſt part thereof. Upon the ſea coaſt dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called Molgomzey, whoſe meat is fleſh of olens or harts, and fiſhe, and doe eate one another ſometimes among themſelues. And if any merchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their children for their ſakes to feaſt them withall. And if a merchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and ſo doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewiſe. They be euill of ſight, and haue ſmall noſes, but they be ſwift and ſhoote very wel, and they trauaile on harts and on dogges, and their apparell is Sables and Harts ſkinnes. They haue no merchandiſe but ſables onely. Trauelling on harts & dogs.

2 Item, on the ſame coaſt or quarter beyond thoſe people, and by the ſea ſide alſo doeth dwell another kind of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they liue in the ſea, and do not come or dwell on the drie land for that moneth.

3 Item beyond theſe people, on the ſea coaſt, there is another kind of Samoeds, their meate is fleſh and fiſh, and their merchaundiſe are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Ruſſes call Pſelts) and harts ſkins and fawnes ſkins.

The relation of Chaggi Memet a Perſian Merchant, to Baptiſta Ramuſius and other notable citizens of Venice, touching the way from Tauris the chiefe citie of Perſia, to Campion a citie of Cathay ouer land: in which voiage he himſelfe had paſſed before with the Caraüans.

From Tauris to Soltania.	6	dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6	
From Veremi to Eri.	15	
From Eri to Boghara.	20	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5	
From Samarchand to Caskar.	25	
From Caskar to Acſu.	20	
From Acſu to Cuchi.	20	
From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Chialis to Turfon.	10	
From Turfon to Camul.	13	
From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Gauta to Campion.	6	

Which Campion is a citie of the Empire of Cathay in the prouince of Tangut, from whence the greateſt quantitie of Rubarbe commeth.

The way discouered by water by vs Thomas Sowtham, and Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, vnto the citie of Nouogrode in Russia, conteining many particulers of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.

WE departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodia or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the said barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before rehearsed.

The Lodia or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or there about, wherewith wee haled downe the riuer of Dwina, the wind being then calme, vnto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

A verst is but 3. quarters of an English mile.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somewhat faire, and arriued at Rose Island, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tarie there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the euening, and came to an anker at the beacons, and continued there vntil halfe an hower past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntil 5. of the clocke in the morning,

At this towne of Newnox Richard Chancelor in his first voyage, with his company a shipboord were relieued.

when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntil the 25. day.

The said towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed from Newnox haue at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course Northwest and by West.

The point of Tolsticke which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seusemskie, lie next Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in the afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour til the 27. day of the moneth by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seusemskie in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course Northwest and by West.

The said land of Seusemskie and the headland going into Owna riuer, lieth East & by South west, and by North, and betweene them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it and the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained vntil the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney aforesaid at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East northeast, and our course was Southwest & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, wee came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rockes: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserued vs, wee had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfectest, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But whosoeuer will trauell that way, must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rockes, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and so goe a seaboord all: for there are ledges of rockes that lie fiue miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rocks two miles to sea boord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and sate vpon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, wee arriued at a monasterie named Soloffekay, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued vntill the 31. day of this moneth. Wee had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a seruaunt of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The

The people of all thoſe partes are wilde, and ſpeake another kind of language, and are for the moſt part all tenants to the monaſterie. The effect of the letter was, that they ſhould bee readie to helpe and aſſiſt vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in deed they did, as hereafter ſhall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monaſterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then choſen: for 15. dayes before our arriuall there, the Abbot was ſent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is: The number of monkes belonging to the monaſterie are at the leaſt 200.

31 Wee departed from the monaſterie of Soloffekay, as is aforeſayd, to a faire ſtone houſe of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monaſterie, lying from it South and by Weſt.

1 We departed from the Stone houſe at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our courſe was Weſt for 60. verſts, and then paſſing betwixt diuers and ſundry rocks, with many ſmall Iſlands round about vs for the ſpace of 20. miles, keeping moſt commonly the ſame courſe ſtill, wee then ſhaped a new courſe, and yet ſundry times ſhifting, but we alwayes kept the Southweſt, and neereſt of all South ſouthweſt, vntill we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga, where we were to beare in, Weſt and by North. Auguſt.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Iſlands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arriued about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forſooke our barke or Lodia, and continued there in making prouiſion for ſmall boates to carie vs vp the riuer vntill the 3. day of the ſame. The riuer Owiga.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boates and 12. men to rowe, and ſet the foreſaid boates vp the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Oſtroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka at a place where the water falleth from the rockes, as if it came ſteepe downe from a mountaine, we were conſtrained to take out our goods and wares out of the ſaid boats, and cauſed thē to be caried a mile ouer land, & afterwards alſo had our boats in like ſort caried or drawn ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monaſterie aforeſaid. The fall of a riuer.

And when our boates were come to the place where our wares were laied, wee launched our boates and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where wee continued and remained that night.

We departed from Oſtroue in the morning before Sunne riſing, rowing, and ſetting vp the riuer 5. miles, where wee came to a place, whereas wee were againe conſtrained to take out our wares and to carie them and our boates three miles ouer land, ſo that with rowing, drawing, and ſetting wee went this day 7. mile more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne riſing, and at 6. of the clocke in the afternoone we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday, 30. miles, where wee remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with ſetting and drawing our boats, we went but 11. miles, for we twiſe vnladed our wares, and drew our boats ouerland, in one place a mile & an halfe, in an other place as it were the eight part of a mile, and ſo we came to a place called Voyets, where we caried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and ſo came to an Ozora or lake called after the name of the riuer, and vnto a place called Quequenich, we rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clocke in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there wee remained all night to hire men and boates to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the ſeruant which wee had at the monaſterie, being ſent by the monkes to goe thus farre with vs. And after that he had hired the boats and taken the mens names that ſhould conduct vs, and giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in ſafetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouenſa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for ſo he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at Sunne riſing, and all that day rowed vpon the lake amongſt many Iſlands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Iſlands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the euening wee came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich. A lake very full of Iſlands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and ſo entring into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At euening we came to a place called Oreiche na maelay, where we lay all night.

10 We departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, & ſo rowing, came to a place where ẏ

riuer ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where we lay all night, at which place we forsooke our boates and vnladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Pouensa, which was seuen mile off for horses to carie vs and our wares to the sayd place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at 6. of the clocke in the afternoone wee arriued at the towne of Pouensa, with all things in safetie.

The famous lake of Onega.

This towne of Pouensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake or Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narowest, it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shore within 6. miles, you shall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

Here it is to be noted that from this place of Pouensa vnto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous riuers which we came thorough, at no time of the yeere can or may any man carrie or transport any goods that come from Nouogrode, or the Narue, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to carie downe any wares by reason of the great fals of water that doe descend from the rockes. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible raises, that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come frō Nouogrode to Pouensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew hereafter.

12 We departed from Pouensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. small boates which we hired to carie vs to a place called Toluo vpon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouensa, where we arriued the 13. day in the morning, where we bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the citie of Nouogrode.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the euening arriued at a certaine Iland named Salasalma, vpon the said lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried vntil the 16. day of this moneth.

16 We departed from Salasalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Iland the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where we continued by reason of contrary windes, vntill the 21. day of the said moneth, and it is 60. miles from Salasalma.

S. Clement his monasterie

21 We departed from Vorronia Iland two howers before day, and arriued at S. Clements monasterie, at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

22 We departed from S. Clements monasterie at the breake of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: wee sailed without striking of saile vntil 2. howers within night, and then entred into a riuer called Swire, at a monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, 5. miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried all night. It is from S. Clements monasterie 160. miles: the streame of that riuer went with vs.

23 We departed from Vosnessino Christo before sunne rising, and haled down the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

Or, Sernare.

24 We departed from Vassian at the breake of the day, & came to a place called ‡Selucaxe, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entred vpon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the wind being calme all that day sauing 3. howers, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along vpon the said lake, and entred into the riuer of Volhuskie, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrode, and runneth through the midst of the citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessell or boat, hauing a good pilot, may go through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuskie. The lake of Ladeshaie.

As soone as we were entred into the riuer, wee came to a monasterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The monasterie of Gosnopoli.

26 Wee departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at 5. of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another monasterie called Gosnopolie, which is 30. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

27 We departed from Gosnopolie at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at euening came to a place called Moislaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the monasterie of Gosnopolie.

28 We departed from Moislaue, and the said day at night came to a place called Grussina, 35. miles from Moislaue where we lodged.

29 We departed from Grussina in the morning, & the same day at euening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Grussina.

30 We

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, & at two of the clocke in the afternoone we arriued at the citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there ſtayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Moſco, by reaſon that the plague was thē in the citie of Nouogrod. Vnto him we deliuered all the wares that we brought from Colmogro, for by the way we ſold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be ſo miſerable. The citie of Nouogrod.

The right way to bring and tranſport wares from Nouogrod to Roſe iſland into S. Nicholas bay, where our ſhippes yeerely lade, with the diſtance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.
40 Miles from thence to Gruſina.
35 Miles from thence to Moiſlaue.
46 Miles from thence to the monaſterie Goſnopolie.
15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.
15 Miles from thence to Selunax ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.
180 Miles from Ladega towne vp the riuer of Swire, vnto the monaſterie of Voſneſſino Chriſto, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery fiue or ſixe miles you ſhall haue villages or ſmall townes.
160 Miles from Voſneſſino Chriſto to S. Clements monaſtery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.
48 Miles from thence to Voronia.
67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: & there are diuers villages all along the lake where the carryers may lie, and haue meat for man and horſe.
50 Miles from thence to Pouenſa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Pouenſa to Some towne is this:

50 Miles from Pouenſa to Maſtellina.
10 Miles from thence to Tellekina.
30 Miles from thence to Toluich.
35 Miles from thence to Carraich.
20 Miles from thence to Varnich.
10 Miles from thence to Oſtrouo.
15 Miles from thence to Lapina.
20 Miles from thence to Some it ſelfe.

Note that from the citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936 miles, & from the towne of Some vnto the monaſterie of S. Nicholas or Roſe iſland, ouer and againſt where our ſhippes do ride, is iuſt as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Ruſſes do account it, as alſo we do iudge it, namely 325 miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our account 1261 miles or verſts.

Furthermore it is to be noted that all ſuch wares as ſhall be bought at Nouogrod, and ſent to Some towne, muſt be ſent by ſled way in the winter: for if any ware ſhould be ſent from Nouogrod by water in the ſpring of the yeere, after the yce is gone, then muſt the ſayd wares remaine at Pouenſa towne all that ſummer, by reaſon that in the ſummer there is no way to go from Pouenſa vnto Some towne. Trauell by ſleds.

At Pouenſa there are many warehouſes to be hyred, ſo that if there were as much goods as ten ſhips could cary away, you might haue warehouſes to put it in: but if there ſhould remaine much ware all the ſummer, to be caryed in the winter to Some towne, then horſes are not eaſily to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: ſo that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you muſt haue carpets there to cary it to the towne of Some by ſleddes, whereof you may there haue 2000 if you will, by the report of the Ruſſes. 2000 ſleds belonging to one towne.

For from Nouogrod yeerely there go many ſleddes in the winter to fetch ſalt from Some, with carryers and emptie ſleddes there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to ſell it in the market or otherwiſe.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares carryed for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wiſe your wares muſt be ſent from Nouogrod by the firſt of January, ſo that the wares may be at Some by Candlemas, or ſoone after: for if your wares ſhould tary by the

A good cause for seasonable trauell.

the way vntill the 15 of February when the sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heat of the sunne in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleaue, and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doth, then doe these lakes open and breake, wherby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

In the towne of Some also there are many warehouses, whereof we can not be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barks as you will to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for three pence a poods carryage: so that from the citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares caryed for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23 altines the tunne.

Nouogrod within 180 miles of the Narue.

Prouided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natiues will bring their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to sell vnto vs, considering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180 miles off them.

Written by Thomas Sowtham
a seruant to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the *discouering of new trades, made in the eight yere of Queene* Elizabeth. Anno 1566.

WHeras diuers very good subiects of this realme of England in the latter end of the reigne of the late right high and mighty prince our soueraigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, & right good liking of the said king, & by his Maiesties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honor and increase of the reuenues of the crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole realme of England, set forth three shippes for the discouery by sea, of isles, lands, territories, dominions, and seignories vnknowen, and by the subiects of the said late king, not commonly by seas frequented: and after that almighty God had called to his mercy the said king, who dyed before the finishing, and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priuileges promised to the said subiects, as well in consideration of the said enterprise, as for diuers other respects, it pleased our late soueraigne Queene Mary, at the humble sutes of the same subiects, to grant by her letters patents vnder the great seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26 day of February, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters patents, to the said subiects being specially named in the said letters patents, and to their successours, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the discouerie of lands, territories, isles, dominions, and seignories vnknowen, and not before their late aduenture or enterprise, by seas or nauigations commonly frequented, should be from thencefoorth one body, and perpetuall fellowshippe and comminaltie of themselues, both in deed and in name, and that the same fellowshippe and comminaltie from thencefoorth should and might haue one or two gouernours, foure consuls, and foure and twentie assistants, of the said fellowshippe and comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, Assistants, Fellowshippe, and Comminaltie of Merchants aduenturers, for the discouery of lands, territories, isles, dominions, and seignories vnknowne, by the seas and nauigations, and not before their said late aduenture or enterprise, by seas frequented, should or might be able in the law to implead and to be impleaded, to answere and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, before whatsoeuer iudge or iustice temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, reall, personall, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deseison, and also in all plaints, sutes, quarrels, affayres, businesse, and demands whatsoeuer they be, touching and concerning the said fellowshippe and comminaltie, and the affayres and businesse of the same, onely in as ample maner and forme, as any other corporation of this realme might doe, giuing also, and granting vnto them by the said letters patents, diuers authorities, powers, iurisdictions, preheminences, franchises, liberties, and priuileges, as by the same letters patents more at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters patents, whereas one of the three shippes, by the said fellowshippe before that time set forth for the voyage of discouerie aforesayd, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empyre and dominion of the high and might prince Lord Iohn Vasiliwich, Emperour of all Russia, Vologda, Marskye, great Duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the

captaine

captaine and merchants of the ſayd ſhippe very graciouſly, granting vnto them freelie to traffike with his ſubiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the ſaid late Queene by the ſame letters patents, for her, her heyres & ſucceſſors, did grant that all the maine lands, iſles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the ſaid mightie Emperour of all Ruſſia, and great duke of Moſco, &c. and all and ſingular other lands, dominions, territories, iſles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the ſeas, of all and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouernor whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid late aduenture or enterprize not knowne, or by the aforeſaid merchants and ſubiects of the ſaid king and queene, by the ſeas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, Northeaſtwards, or Northweſtwards, as in the ſaid letters patents is mentioned, ſhould not be viſited, frequented nor haunted by any the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene, other then of the ſaid company and fellowſhip, and their ſucceſſors, without expreſſe licence, agreement, and conſent of the Gouernor, Conſuls, and Aſſiſtants of the ſaid fellowſhip, and comminaltie, or the more part of them, in maner and forme, as is expreſſed in the ſaid letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and loſſe aſwell of the ſhip and ſhips, with the appurtenances, as alſo of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatſoeuer they be, of thoſe the ſubiects of the ſaid late Queene not being of the ſaid fellowſhip and comminaltie, which ſhould attempt or preſume to saile to any of thoſe places, which then were, or after ſhould happen to be found and traffiked vnto, the one halfe of the ſame forfeiture to be to the vſe of the ſaid late queene, her heyres and ſucceſſors, and the other halfe to be to the vſe of the ſaid fellowſhip and comminaltie, as by the ſame letters patents more plainely will appeare.

Since the making of which letters pattents, the ſaid fellowſhip haue, to their exceeding great coſtes, loſſes and expences, not onely by their trading into the ſaid dominions of the ſaid mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the ſaid dominions: but alſo paſſing thorow the ſame, and ouer the Caſpian ſea, haue diſcouered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Perſia, and other dominions in Aſia maior, hoping by Gods grace to diſcouer alſo the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefit and commodities of the ſame.

And foraſmuch as diuers ſubiects of this realme, vnderſtanding the premiſes, and perceiuing that now after the charge and trauell aforeſaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the ſaid fellowſhippe into this realme, out of the dominions already diſcouered, which be within this realme of good eſtimation, minding for their peculiar gaine, vtterly to decay the trade of the ſaid fellowſhippe, haue contrary to the tenor of the ſame letters patents, in great diſorder traded into the dominions of the ſayd mightie prince of Ruſſia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the ſaid fellowſhippe is incorporated by the letters patentes aforeſaid, is long, and conſiſteth of very many words: Therfore be it enacted by the queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and the commons in this preſent parlement aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that the ſaid fellowſhip, company, ſociety and corporation made or created by the ſaid letters patents, ſhall at all time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowſhip of Engliſh merchants, for diſcouery of new trades, and by the ſame name for euer, ſhall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporate in deed and name, and onely by the ſame name from henceforth, ſhall implead, and be impleaded, anſwere and be anſwered, defend and be defended, ſue and be ſued, in whatſoeuer courts and places, and ſhall and may by the ſame name be inabled to purchaſe, haue, holde, poſſeſſe, reteine, and inioy whatſoeuer manors, lands, tenements, rents, reuerſions, ſeruices, and hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maieſtie, her heyres, or ſucceſſors by knights ſeruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatſoeuer, and ſhall and may by the ſame name make and do all things as any other corporation may do, and alſo ſhall haue and inioy all and ſingular the liberties, priuileges, iuriſdictions, franchiſes, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and execute all other matters and thinges in the ſayd letters patents mentioned, or in any wiſe conteined. And that no part nor parcell of the mayne landes, iſles, portes, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the ſeas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernour whatſoeuer he or they be, before the ſaid firſt enterprize made by the merchantes of the ſayd corporation, not knowen by the merchantes and ſubiectes of this realme, or by them not commonly by ſeas frequented, and lying from the citie of London Northwards, Northweſtwards or Northeaſtwards, nor any part or parcell of the maine landes, dominions, iſles, portes, roades, hauens, creekes, armes of the ſeas, that now be ſubiect to the ſaid high and mightie prince Lord Iohn Vaſiliwich, his heyres or ſucceſſours, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the ſaid country of Ruſſia for the time being, his heyres or ſucceſſors, nor the countries of Armenia maior

This is ment by Alderman Bond the elder.

Engliſh merchants for diſcouery of new trades.

maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sayled or traffiked vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person, being or that shall be a subiect or denizen of this realme, by themselues, theyr factor or factors, or any other to theyr vse or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gouernor, consuls, and assistants of the said fellowshippe and communaltie, or the more part of them, and their successors for the time being: vpon paine that euery person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipso facto, euery such shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, and all such goodes, merchandizes, and thinges whatsoeuer, as by any such person or persons shalbe by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, prouided, caryed, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaid, contrary to the true intent of this statute: the one moity of all which forfeitures to be to our said souereigne lady the Queenes Maiesty, her heyres and successors, and the other moity thereof to the said fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, and theyr successors, to be seized and taken whersoeuer they may be found, by any person or persons, to the vse of our said souereigne lady, her heyres and successors, and of the said fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, and of theyr successors, or the same or the value thereof to be demanded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heyres and successors, or by the sayd fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, or their successors, or their attornie or atturnies, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowshippe of English merchants for discouery of new trades, or theyr successors in any court of record, or in any other court or courts within this realme, or els were, by action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which sute no essoine, protection, wager of law, our iniunctio shall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Prouided alwayes, that whereas diuers subiects of this realme being not of the fellowshippe aforesayd, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from some of the places prohibited by the sayd letters patents, that the said subiects, theyr heyres, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any maner of wise, either by our said souereigne lady, her heyrs or successors, or the sayd fellowshippe, or theyr successors.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subiect of this realme, hauing presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remayning at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiked vnto by this statute or the said letters patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conueyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which shalbe in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Prouided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subiects of this realme, to saile to the port, towne, territory, or castle of Wardhouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, illands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing, or any other trade there vsed by the subiects of this realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better mainteinance of the naue and mariners of this realme, be it prouided and inacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the said fellowshippe and company, nor to any of them to carrie and transport, or cause to be carryed and transported any commodity of this realme to theyr new trade, but onely in English shippes, and to be sailed for the most part with English mariners, nor also to bring into this realme nor into Flanders from their sayd new trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English shippes, and sailed for the most part by the English mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery such offence two hundred poundes, whereof the one moity shall be to the Queenes maiestie, her heyres and successors, the other moity to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen, or harborough decayed, by what name soeuer they be incorporate, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any court of record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of law for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Prouided also, and be it enacted, that no maner of person or persons shall from henceforth carrie or transport, or cause to be carryed or transported out of this realme of England, any maner of clothes or karsies into anie of the partes where the sayde fellowshippe and society is priueleged to trade by this act, before the same clothes and karsies shall be all dressed, and for the most part dyed within this realme, vpon payne of forfeiture for euery such cloth and karsie, otherwise carryed and transported, fiue pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maiestie, her heyres and

successors,

ſucceſſors, the other halfe to the Maiſter and Wardens of the cloth workers in the city of London for the time being, by what name ſoeuer they be incorporate, that will ſue for the ſame.

Prouided alſo, that whenſoeuer the ſayd ſociety or company ſhall willingly withdraw, and diſcontinue wholly by the ſpace of three yeeres in time of peace, the diſcharging of their merchandizes at the road of S. Nicholas bay in Ruſſia, and doe not diſcharge theyr ſayd merchandizes at ſome other port or roade lying on that North coaſt of Ruſſia, or other territory, nowe ſubiect to the ſayd mighty prince of Ruſſia, &c. hetherto by the ſubiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any ſuch diſcontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforeſaid, it ſhalbe lawfull to all the ſubiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in Engliſh bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Prouided alſo, that euery of the Queenes Maieſties ſubiectes inhabiting within the citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcaſtle vpon Tyne, Hull, and of Boſton, hauing continually traded the courſe of merchandize by the ſpace of ten yeeres, and which before the 25 of December, that ſhalbe in Ann. Dom. 1567, ſhall contribute, ioyne, and put in ſtocke, to, with, and among ſt the ſaid company, ſuch iumme and ſummes of money, as any of the ſaid company, which hath thoughly continued and contributed to the ſaid new trade, from the yeere 1552, hath done, & before the ſaid 25 of December 1567 ſhall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and intyre portion, or ſhare, and do in all things behaue himſelfe as others of the ſaid ſociety be bound to doe, and heerafter ſhall be bound to do by the priuileges, ordinances & ſtatutes of the ſayd company, ſhall from the ſame 25 day of December 1567, be, and be accounted free, and as one of the ſayd ſociety and company, and ſubiect to the priuileges, ordinances and ſtatutes of the ſaid company, reaſonably made and to be made, any thing in this preſent Act to the contrary notwithſtanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by M. Anthony *Ienkinſon, from London to Moſcouia, ſent from the Queenes* Maieſtie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

THe fourth day of May in the yeere aforeſaid, I imbarked my ſelfe at Graueſend in the good ſhip called the Harry of London, and hauing had a proſperous voyage arriued at the bay of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia the tenth day of July following, and immediatly I ſent in poſt to the Emperor to aduertiſe of my comming, and trauelling then thorow the country, I with my company came to the Moſco where the Emperor kept his court, the 23 of Auguſt, and forthwith gaue the Secretarie to vnderſtand of my arriuall, who aduertiſed the Emperors Maieſty of it, and the firſt day of September, being a ſolemne feaſt among the Ruſſes, I came before the Emperors Maieſty, ſitting in his ſeat of honour, and hauing kiſſed his hand, & done the Queenes Maieſties commendations, & deliuered her Graces letters & preſent, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honor done vnto me both then & all the time of my abode in Ruſſia.

The Priuileges granted by the Emperour of Ruſsia to the *Engliſh merchants of that company: obteined the 22 of Sep=* tember Ann. 1567, by M. Anthony Ienkinſon.

ONe onely ſtrengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghoſt, our onelie God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worſhip in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, with the comforter the Holy ſpirit, & thou which art the ſtrengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, and giue vs health to preſerue our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Chriſtian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vaſiliwich, of all Ruſſia, Vollodimar, Moſco, Nouogrod, Caſſan, Aſtracan, Plaſco, Smollensko, Twire, Vgorie, Vateque, Bulgar, Sybir and others, Emperor, and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chirnygo, Kaſſan, Pollotskie, Roſtoue, Yereſlaue, Bellozer, Vdar, Obdar, Condine, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe land.

Whereas our ſiſter Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that we would grant her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chelter, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Huſſie, Iohn March, Anthony Ienkinſon, William

William Rowlie, and their company of England, to come in shippes into this kingdome, and those merchants, William Garrard and his company, haue required of vs that we would grant and licence them to come into our country of Dwina, with all kinde of wares at will, to our citie of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Garrard and his company to passe in shippes to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kinde of wares to our citie of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard and his company desired of vs, that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cassan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Liffe land to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Liffe land, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we haue granted to sir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cassan and Astracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Liffe land, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Liffe land with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares soeuer they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same, such wares as shalbe needfull for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancelers, except sorting clothes, and other wares not meete for our treasurie: and when our chancelor will send our treasure out of our treasurie with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meete for our treasurie, and bring it to our treasurie, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamakie, Chaday, or into any other countryes, or els to goe into their owne country, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessarie for our treasurie, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chancelor, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cassan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captaine of Cassan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them, or their wares, and without opening or looking vpon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shall be taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants doe desire to buy and sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall haue libertie so to do wholly together: and they that doe desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their owne house by retaile to our people, & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshends to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselues to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome, not to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any strangers goods. And wheras those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company, do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslaue, Costrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cassan, Astracan, great Nouogrod, Plasko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes and castles, they shall haue their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russe land no custome shall be taken, neither they nor their wares shalbe staied in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to aduertise our chancelor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuentory of any kinde of their wares they carry away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his companie, doe come vpon the sea, and by misfortune haue their shippes cast away vpon those coastes of the North partes, then we will their goodes to be sought out with truth, and to be deliuered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrardes company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goodes of theirs shall be layd vp in a place of safegard vntill such time as the sayd sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming wee will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heeretofore wee haue giuen sir William Garrard and his companie in this our kingdome of Mosco, the new castle by the church of S. Maxim, behinde the market, they shall there still holde their house as heeretofore wee haue giuen them paying no custome for the same: and wee also doe licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne country, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them

them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And alſo I haue graunted them to buy a houſe at Vologda, and at Colmogro, or in any other place, where they can chooſe for themſelues any good harbour, and there they to ſet vp thoſe houſes in thoſe places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houſes to keepe two or three porters of their owne, or els two or three Ruſſes, and their wares to be layed vp in thoſe houſes, and to ſel their owne wares at wil: and the porters without them to ſell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro, and Dwina, and of other our caſtles and townes ſhall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any cuſtome thereof: neither ſhall thoſe Engliſh Marchants ſir William Garret, and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the Engliſh Marchants ſhall ſende from our kingdome their owne people into their owne Countrey by lande ouer other kingdomes whatſoeuer they be, they may without ware ſend their owne people at their pleaſure. And when any matter of lawe doeth fall out in their trade of Marchandiſe, then they ſhall be iudged by our Chancellours, and lawe ſhalbe done with equitie betwixt our people and them. And when they cannot be iudged by law, they then ſhalbe tried by lots, and whoſe lot is firſt taken out, he ſhall haue the right: And if it happen any of thoſe Marchants to haue any matter of lawe in any other part of our Dominions for trade of Marchants, then our Captaines, Iudges and chiefe officers, ſhall heare the matter, and adminiſter Iuſtice with equitie and trueth, and where lawe can take no place to be tried by lots, and his lot that is firſt taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of lawe no cuſtome to bee payde.

Furthermore, wee for our ſiſters ſake Elizabeth haue graunted, that none beſide ſir William Garret and his Companie, out of what kingdome ſoeuer it bee, England or other, ſhall not come in trade of Marchandiſe nor otherwiſe to Colmogro, nor to the Riuer Ob nor within Wardhouſe, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the Abbey Petchingam, nor to the Iſlande of Sallawye, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North Countrey of our coaſt: and if any Marchant, out of what Countrey ſoeuer it be, doe come with ſhippe or ſhippes, buſſes, or any other kinde of veſſell to any of our harbors, within all our North parts, wee will, that then the people, and goods, ſhippe or ſhippes, ſhalbe confiſcate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and houſe of Moſco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7000. threeſcore and ſixteene, in the moneth of September, and in the 34. yeere of our raigne, and in our conqueſt of Caſſan 16. and in our conqueſt of Aſtracan 15.

Peruſed and allowed by vs:

Anthonie Ienkinſon.
William Rowlye.
Thomas Hawtrye.
Thomas Sowtham.
Rafe Rutter, tranſlatour hereof out of the Ruſſe tongue.

The Ambaſſage of the right worſhipfull M. Thomas *Randolfe Eſquire, to the Emperour of Ruſſia, in the yeere* 1568. Briefly written by himſelfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Banifter, and Geofrey Ducket, for their voyage into Perſia.

THe 22. day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1568. I went aboorde the Harry, lying in the roade at Harwich with my companie, being to the nomber of 40. perſons or there about: of which the one halfe were Gentlemen, deſirous to ſee the world.

Within one dayes ſayling, we were out of the ſight of all lande, and following our courſe directly North, till wee came to the North Cape, wee ſailed for the ſpace of 12. dayes with a proſperous winde, without tempeſt or outrage of ſea: Hauing compaſſed the North Cape, we directed our courſe ſlatte Southeaſt, hauing vpon our right hande Norway, Wardhouſe, Laplande, all out of ſight till wee came to Cape Gallant: And ſo ſayling betweene two Bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwiche, wee caſt ancre at S. Nicholas roade. In all the time of our voyage, more then the great nomber of Whales ingendering together, which wee might plainely beholde, and the

Sperma Cetæ, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be wondered at. Sometimes we had calmes, wherein our Mariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts.

The abbey of S. Nicholas of 20. Monks.

At S. Nicholas wee landed the 23. of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monkes (to the nomber of 20.) built all of wood: the apparel of the Monkes is superstitious, in blacke hoods as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are lowe, and small roomes. They lie apart, they eate together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonious in their Church, and long in their prayers.

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rye loaues, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke with a white face, to be the more grateful vnto me, and so with many solemne words inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none more then about 4. houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Companie for their owne vse.

This part of the Countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the Countrey is, for the coldnesse in winter.

The riuer of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the eleuation of the pole 64. degrees. The riuer that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large but shallow. This riuer taketh his beginning about 700. miles within the countrey, and vpon this riuer standeth Colmogro, & many prettie villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuer pleasant betweene high hils of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernes of high firre trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100. verstes, which we accompt for 3. quarters of a mile euery verst, wee taried 3. weekes, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had worde of our comming: who sent to meete vs a Gentleman of his house to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needefull vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meate and drinke was for euery day 2. rubbles, besides the charge of boates by water, and 4. score post horses by lande, with aboue 100. cartes, to carrie my wines, and other carriage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house frō house. The people are rude in maners, & in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this towne finding cōmoditie by the English mens traffique with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennes and all other kinde of abominable vices.

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

In this towne the Englishmen haue landes of their owne giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses with offices for their commoditie very many.

Of other townes vntil I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was 5. whole weekes vpon the riuer of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawen with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuer of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bricke, the walles faire, and high rounde about. Here (as in all other their townes) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Monkes and Nunnes in it: A towne also of great traffique, and many rich Marchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towardes Mosco in poste, being 500. verstes great, which are equall with our miles. In their townes we baited or lay, being post townes.

The description of the maland of Moscouie.

The Countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, wel inhabited, corne, pasture, medowes ynough, riuers, and woods, faire and goodly.

At Yeraslaue, wee passed the riuer of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuer taketh his beginning at Beatla Ozera, & descendeth into Mare Caspium, portable thorow of very great vessels with flat bottomes, which farre passe any that our Countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuer into Mare Caspium, the English Companie caused a barke to be built of 27. tunne, which there was neuer seene before: This barke built, and readie rigged to the sea with her whole furniture, cost not the companie aboue one hundreth markes there.

His arrival at Mosco.

To Mosco wee came about the ende of September, receiued by no man, not so much as our owne Countreymen suffered to meete vs, which bred suspicion in mee, of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

We

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Embassadours, faire, and large, after the fashion of that Countrey. A special house at Mosco. built for Embassadours.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperors allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons, so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. No supplication, suite, or request, could take place for our libertie, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauing passed ouer 17. weekes in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be readie against tuesday the 20. of Februarie, at 8. a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I should go to the Court, the two Gentlemen, Pristaues (as they cal them) came vnto me apparelled more princely, then before I had euer seene them. They presse vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne horses, and the Embassadour vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foote, to their great griefe. 2. Pristanes.

The Embassadour (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the Chancellors doeth vse to sit, being there accompanied with the 2. foresaid Gentlemen: I tarried 2. long houres before I was sent for to the Emperour. In the ende message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen vp a paire of staires through a large roome, where sate by my estimation 300. persons, all in riche attire, taken out of the Emperours wardrobe for that day, vpon three rankes of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a Maiestie, then that they were either of qualitie or honour.

At the first entrie into the Chamber, I with my cappe gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged their stately sitting, graue countenances, and sumptuous apparel required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them, I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperor was, there receiued mee at the doore from my 2. Gentlemen or gouernours, two of the Emperors Counsellers, and shewed me to the Emperor, and brought mee to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpreter opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperour stood vp, & demaunded diuers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, & caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions. His admission to the Emperors presence.

This done, I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cuppe of siluer curiously wrought, with verses grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same. The Queenes present.

All being said and done, (as appeared) to his contentment, he licensed mee and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nodde of his head, and said vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I wil send thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee, and thine, to goe at libertie, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauour to our sister the Queene of England. The Emperors speach to the Embassadour.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by 2. other of greater calling, then those that brought me to the Emperors sight: who deliuered me to the two first Gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto mee one called the long Duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after, in comes to my lodging a duke richly apparelled, accompanied with 50. persons, eche of them carrying a siluer dish with meate, & couered with siluer. The duke first deliuered 20. loaues of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, & deliuereth euery dish into my hands, and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his companie sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meate, and filled themselues well of all sorts, and went not away from me vnrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperor had will to speake secretly with mee, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke; The place was farre off, and the night cold, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the Russes doe weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

Hauing talked with him aboue 3. houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained aboue 6. weekes after, before I heard againe from the Emperor, who went the next day to Slouoda, the house of his solace. After the ende of which 6. weekes, which was about the beginning of Aprill, the Emperor returned frō Slouoda aforesaid, and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually wh him in the behalfe of our English Marchants, & found him so gratiously inclined towards them, þ I obtained at his hands my whole demaunds for large priuileges in generall, together wal the rest my particular requests. A second conference with the Emperor.

And then hee commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrewe Sauin as his Embassadour, for the better confirmation of his priuiledges graunted, and other negotiations with her Maiestie. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the saide Embassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the ende of July, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.

A Copie of the priuiledges graunted by the right high and *mightie Prince, the Emperour of Russia, &c: vnto the right wor=* shipful felowship of English Marchants, for the discouerie of new trades: And hither sent by Thomas Randolfe Esquire, her Maiesties Embassadour to the said Emperour, And by Andrew Sauin his Embassadour in the yeere of our Lord God 1569.

ONe God euerlasting, and without, and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preseruer of all things, and replenisher of all things euery where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to loue the giuer of wisedome our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the only Sonne his word our Lorde Iesus Christ holy and euerlasting Spirit; And now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Christianitie, and sufferest vs to enioy our kingdome to the happie commoditie of our land, and wealth of our people in despite of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vasiliwich by the grace of God, great Lord Emperour and great duke of al Russia, Volodemaria, Moscouia, Nouogrode, Emperor of Cazan, Tuerkie, Vgorskie, Permiskie, Votskie, Bulgaria, and many others; Lord & great duke of the low Countreis of Nouogorode, Chernigoskie, Rasanskie, Polotiskie, Rastow, Yeraslaue, Belloforo, Owderskie, Condinski, and all Siberland, Great commaunder of all the North parties, Lord of Leifland, and many other Northward, Southward and Westward.

Whereas our sister Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, Fraunce & Ireland, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her marchants, who hath made suite that we should graunt our goodnes to the Marchants which are of oue Companie, and giue them free leaue to come to traffique in our kingdome to Colmogorode, and to the Countrey of Dwina, and to our great Citie of Moscouia, and to all the cities in our Dominions, and thyough our Countrey to Bowhair, to Persia, Casbine, and Chardaye, and to all other Countreis.

1 We Iohn Vasiliwich Emperour and great duke of all Russia, (for our sister Elizabeths sake, Queene of England) haue giuen and graunted to the English Marchants, the Gouernours, Consuls, assistants and felowship, sir Wil. Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward Alderman, Ioh. Thamworth Esquire, Iohn Riuers Alderman, Henry Beacher Alderman, Consuls. Sir Wil. Chester knight, Edward Iackman Alderman, Lionel Ducket Alderman, Edward Gilbert, Laurence Huse, Francis Walsingham, Clement Throgmorton, Iohn Quarles, Nicholas Whealer, Thomas Banister, Iohn Harrison, Francis Burneham, Anthony Gamage, Ioh. Somers, Richard Wilkinson, Ioh. Sparke, Richard Barne, Robert Woolman, Thomas Browne, Thomas Smith, Thomas Allen, Thomas More, William Bully, Richard Yong, Thomas Atkinson, assistants. Iohn Mersh Esquire, Ieffrey Ducket, Francis Robinson, Matthew Field, and all the rest of their Companie and fellowship, and to their successours and deputies, to come with ships, and other vessels into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, riuer or land, euen to our great Citie of Mosco, in al the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorode the great, to Plasko & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland; 2 And to passe thyough our land to Bowghair, Persia, Casbin, Chardaye, and other Countreis; And whersoeuer they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargaine freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers whatsoeuer.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of England, or any other Countrey from Bowhair, Persia, Casbine, or from any other place, and those their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring ꝑ same wares into our treasure, & our Treasurers to viewe the same wares, and to take into our Treasurie of the same such as shalbe needefull

for

for vs. And all ſuch wares as we ſhal not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer ꝑ ſame, And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whome they will, not ſelling any of their wares needfull for vs, before our Chancellour haue ſeene the ſame. And all other groſſe and heauy wares that ſhalbe needfull to our vſe, not being brought to Moſco to declare and tell our Chancellour of the ſame wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Moſco: and then if we neede not the ſaid wares, the Engliſh Marchants, their ſeruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neereſt way to Vſtiuge the great, and ſo to Colmogorod, or elſewhere at their pleaſure, there to barter and ſell the ſame. But thoſe wares that ſhalbe needeful for our Treaſurie, they ſhall not hide from vs in any caſe.

And when our Chauncellours ſhall ſend our aduenture, with the ſaid Marchants or their Factors they to take our aduentures with them, and to ſell, & to barter for ſuch wares as ſhalbe meete for our Treaſurie, and to returne it into our Treaſurie.

And when wee ſhall ſende any aduenture into England then our Chancellour to giue them a yeeres warning, that their ſhips may be prouided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behinde them.

And to take our aduenture yeerely when they goe into Perſia.

Neither ſhal ꝑ Engliſh marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor ſel it in any wiſe: likewiſe our people not to barter for the ſaid Engliſh marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they ſhall come into our Empire of Caſan and Aſtracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Caſan and Aſtracan, and our authoriſed people, quietly to let them paſſe, not taking any toll or cuſtome of their wares, nor once to make ſearch thereof.

And when we ſhall ſend no aduenture with them, yet to ſuffer them freely to paſſe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of cuſtome. And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant will bargaine with our Marchants or Factors ware for ware to barter the ſame at their pleaſure.

And whatſoeuer their Marchant or Factors wil ſel their wares at their houſe at Moſco, which houſe I granted them at S. Maxims at the Moſco, they to ſel ꝑ ware to our people, either ſtrangers as they may beſt vtter it, keeping within their houſe, arſhines, meaſures, & waights vnder ſeales.

4 We haue graunted them the ſaid houſe at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without ſtanding rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, ſir Wil. Garrard, and the Companie, maintayning in the ſaid houſe one houſekeeper a Ruſſe, and two Ruſſe ſeruants, or ſome of their owne countrey men, and none other Ruſſes beſides they aforeſaid. And the ſaid houſekeepers that ſhall liue at their houſe with the Engliſh marchants, neither to bye nor ſel any wares for them, but that the ſaid marchants themſelues or their factors, ſhall bye, ſell, and barter their owne wares; And our Moſcouie marchants not to take the ſaid Engliſhmens wares to ſell them in our townes, nor to bye any wares for them, neither the Engliſh marchant to colour any Ruſſes wares at any towne.

5 And whatſoeuer Engliſh marchant wil ſel his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yeraſlaue, Caſtran, Nouogrode, the lower Caſan, Aſtracan, Nouogorode the great, Vapſka, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to ſel their wares there at their pleaſure, And of al wares aſwell of other countreis as of Ruſſia, no officer or other to take any cuſtome, neither in any place to ſtay them in any wiſe, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares whatſoeuer.

6 And whatſoeuer marchant ſhal bargaine or bye any wares of Engliſh marchants: The ſaid Ruſſe not to returne thoſe wares vpon the marchants handes againe, but to giue readie money for the ſaid wares, otherwiſe they to craue the Juſtice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the ſame with all expedition. And when the Engliſh marchants or factors ſhal trauaile from Moſcouie after the diſpatche of their wares and buſines, then to ſhewe themſelues vnto our Chancellours, whatſoeuer wares of theirs ſhall goe from Moſco, they not to ſhewe the ſame wares to any our officers, nor pay no cuſtome nor toll in any place.

7 If it ſo happen the Engliſh marchants haue any wracke, and the ſhippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the ſaide goods to be enquired and ſought out, and to bee giuen to the Engliſh marchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, ſeruants, or deputies, of the Companie aforeſaid, to whom we haue graunted this our gratious letter.

And if there happen none of the Engliſh marchants, factors, ſeruants, or deputies to bee in our Countreis at ſuch time, then we will all the ſaid goods to be ſought out and beſtowed in ſome conuenient place, and when any of the Companie aforewritten, bringing theſe our letters, ſhall come for their goods, we to commaund their goods to be reſtored vnto them.

8 Likewiſe wee haue granted leaue to the Engliſh marchants, their Gouernours, Conſuls,

and aſſiſtants, namely, ſir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and the Companie to builde houſes at Vollogda, Colmogro, and the ſeaſide, at Iuangorode, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as ſhall bee needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the ſaide houſe one houſekeeper, a Ruſſe, and two or three men to keepe their wares at the ſaid houſes, making ſale thereof to whome they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the ſaid houſekeeper not to buy or ſell for them.

9 Alſo wee haue giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Marchants, their houſe which they haue by our goodneſſe at S. Maximes in the Zenopskie, and other their houſes in the towne of Zenopskie, made for the better aſſurance of their goods, and all ſuch as they ſhall ſet vp hereafter ſhalbe of the ‖Opriſſini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opriſſini.

‖Or, chooſen ſide.

10 And whereas by our goodnes we haue graunted them a Ropehouſe at Vologda, being farre from the Engliſh Marchants houſe, nowe we haue giuen them to builde a houſe for that vſe by the ſaid Engliſh houſe, and haue giuen and graunted them (of our goodneſſe) ground, one hundreth and foureſcore fadome long, and fiftie fadomes in breadth, according to their owne requeſt.

11 Alſo, we haue of our goodneſſe giuen and graunted to the Engliſh Marchants, leaue to buy them a houſe at Witchida, and there to ſearch out mines of yron. And where they ſhal happily finde it, there to ſet vp houſes for the making of the ſame yron: and to make the ſame, of our goodneſſe haue graunted them woods, fiue or ſixe miles compaſſe about the ſaid houſes, to the making of the ſaide yron, and not to exceede theſe bounds and limits: And where they ſhall cut the ſaide wood, not to ſet vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and ſo freely occupying the ſaide yron in theſe our Dominions, tranſporting alſo of the ſame home into England, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the ſaid yron ſhalbe needfull for our workes, then we to take of the ſaide yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treaſurie for the ſame; And when the ſaid Engliſh Marchants or Factors ſhall ſend their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatſoeuer, freely to ſend the ſame with our words.

13 Alſo, we of our goodneſſe haue graunted, that if any man miſuſe the ſaide Engliſh, the Factors or ſeruants, Or the ſaide Engliſh Marchants, their Factors or ſeruants abuſe any other at Moſcouie, or any other our townes whatſoeuer within our Dominions in trade of Marchandiſe or otherwiſe, then they to haue vpright iuſtice in all ſuch matters of our counſaile the Opriſinie without all let or delay; But if our Juſtice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whoſe lotte it ſhall fall, to him the right to bee giuen, and that onely our counaſaile at Moſcouie, and none of our Captaines, or authoriſed people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the ſaid Engliſh Marchants for any thing.

14 Alſo, if any ſtranger ſhal haue matter of controuerſie with any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant, abiding within theſe our Realmes, or contrarywiſe any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant, againſt any other ſtranger, in all thoſe cauſes our Counſaile of the Opriſſinie, to giue them Juſtice, and to make an agreement & ende betweene the parties, without all delaye; And none to deale therein, ſaue our Counſaile of the Opriſſinie: 15 And if any man haue action againſt any Engliſh Marchant being abſent, that then in his abſence it ſhalbe lawful for any other Engliſhman at his aſſignation to anſwere his cauſe.

16 If any Engliſhman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Ruſſe or ſtranger ſlaine or beaten, 17 Or any ſtollen goods to be found in the ſaide Engliſh houſes, then our Counſellers to cauſe the guiltie perſons to be ſought out, and to doe right and Juſtice in the cauſe, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deſerue puniſhment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence, That the ſaid Engliſh Marchants, factors and ſeruants, ſuſtaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant, Factor, ſeruant, or deputie, ſhalbe guiltie of any fault, deſeruing our diſpleaſure, then our Counſailers to cauſe the guiltie partie to goe vnder ſuerties, and their goods to be ſealed and kept, vntill our pleaſure bee further knowen, and our Counſaile to examine their offence, and ſo to report it vnto vs, that wee may command what ſhall bee done therein, and none other to be arreſted or haue their goods ſealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to ſtay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the ſame.

19 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant ſhal offend, it ſhalbe lawfull for their Agent to doe iuſtice vpon the ſaid partie, or to ſend him home into England at his pleaſure.

20 If any Engliſh Marchant, Factor or ſeruant, haue lent or hereafter ſhall lende money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and ſo depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt bee due to be paide, then our people and Marchants to pay the ſaide debt,

to

to whome ſoeuer ſhall be appointed to the ſaid roome or charge, and the ſaid Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counſell, to ſhewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counſel to command the debt to be diſcharged vnto the Engliſh Marchant, factor, or ſeruant, without delay.

21 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Marchant ſhall be arreſted for debt, then our Counſell to command the partie vnder arreſt to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no ſuertie, to bind the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Engliſhman be endebted, we will the Creditor not to caſt him in priſon, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, leſt the officer loſe him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the Engliſh Marchants to ſend our Commiſſion to all our Townes, Captaines, and authoriſed men, to defende and gard the ſaide Marchants from all theeues, robbers, and euill diſpoſed perſons.

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Merchants, the factors, or ſeruants be ſpoiled on the ſea, our Counſell ſhall ſend our letters, and will them to be ſought out, and where they ſhall finde the goods, cauſe it to be reſtored againe, and the offender to be puniſhed, according to our commandement.

24 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the ſaide Merchants to take vp Brokers, Packers, Wapers, and ſuch like labourers, as ſhall be needefull for them, paying for their hier as the laborers and they ſhall agree.

25 We likewiſe of our goodnes, haue licenſed the Engliſh Merchants in our Townes of Moſko, Nouogorode the great, and Pasko, that the Coiners of the ſaid Townes ſhall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without cuſtome, allowing for coales, and other neceſſaries, with the workemanſhip.

26 Alſo of our goodnes, wee haue granted to the ſaid Engliſh Merchants, to take poſte horſe at needefull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not els, in no caſe hindering or diminiſhing our treaſurie.

27 Alſo for our ſiſter Queene Elizabeths ſake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their ſucceſſors, that no Engliſhman, nor any other ſtranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riuer of Vob, Vaſiagy, Pechora, Cowlaye, Meſeyne, Pechmecoue, Zeleuetskyes Iſland, the riuer of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northſide of Dwina, by hetherward of Wardhouſe, to any hauen, with ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſell, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but onely the ſaid Engliſh companie, and their ſucceſſors, to whome we of our goodnes haue granted this priuiledge.

28 Alſo that no Engliſh Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, ſhall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorode.

29 And whatſoeuer Engliſh Merchant, ſtranger, or other, of whatſoeuer Countrey he be, ſhall come with any ſhippe, Buſſe, or any other veſſell, to any of the ſaid hauens, of the north ſide, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriagorode, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the company aboue written, wee to apprehende and take the ſame veſſell from thoſe ſtrangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the companie of Engliſh Merchants.

30 Alſo of our goodnes, we haue granted the ſaid companie of Engliſh merchants, that no Engliſh merchants or ſtrangers ſhall paſſe through our dominions, to Boghare, Perſia, Casbin, Chardaye, or other Countreies, ſaue onely the companie of Engliſh merchants, and our owne meſſengers.

31 Alſo whatſoeuer Engliſhman, comming out of England, or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the ſaid companie, written within thoſe our letters, mind, and purpoſe, to abide in our Realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleaſure, or any way abuſe himſelfe, the Agent ſhall freely ſend him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himſelfe be vnable to do, let him pray for aide of the Captaines and officers of our Townes there being, and ſo ſend him to priſon, and will the ſaide Captaines not to hinder the ſaid Agent from ſending home ſuch euill perſons into England.

32 And if any man within our Countrey, runne away to any other towne, or place, the Engliſh merchants, and factors, to haue free libertie to apprehende him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our priuiledge, giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Chriſtopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the ſame priuiledges to be taken from them.

34 Alſo

34 Alſo we of our goodnes haue graunted the ſaid company of Engliſh merchants, their ſucceſſors ſeruants and deputies, that doe or ſhall remaine at Musko, or elſewhere within our dominions freely to keepe their owne lawe: and in any wiſe none of ours to force them to our lawe or faith againſt their will.

Moreouer, beſides and with the companie of Engliſh merchants, we permit all ſtrangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Vriogorode, and other our townes of Leifland, as they haue done before time, from the beginning of the world 7077. in the moneth of June 20. indiction. 12. The yeere of our Lordſhip & reigne 35. and of our Empire of Ruſſland 23, Caſan 17. Aſtracan 15.

Other ſpeciall graunts by his Maieſties priuate letters at the ſuite of Maſter Randolph Embaſſadour.

RElealement out of priſon of Fitzherbert, that was accuſed for writing of letters againſt the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accuſed, & troubled vpon ſuſpition of his dealing, with the Embaſſadour, and licence giuen to him to traffique as he was accuſtomed.

Andrew Atherton and his ſureties releaſed at the Narue and his ſeruaunt at the Mosko, that were in trouble for ſending the merchants letters into England.

A letter graunted to Thomas Southam to the Counſaile for iuſtice againſt them that ſtole the pearles.

His Maieſties fauour promiſed to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can beſt deſerue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Perſia, to paſſe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as alſo letters of fauour to the great Shawe of Perſia.

A graunt vnto the companie that at what time ſoeuer, they ſend to the diſcouery of Cataya, they ſhalbe licenſed to repaire vnto this countrey and haue ſuch conducts and guides, Mariners, veſſels, Men, and victuals as they ſhall ſtand in neede of.

It is alſo promiſed by Kneez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Benet Butler or any Engliſhman complaine, deface, hinder in way of traffique, or otherwiſe goe about to diſcredite the worſhipfull companie, and their doinges, that therein they ſhall not bee harde, and the doers to bee puniſhed, as in ſuch caſes they ſhalbee iudged to haue deſerued.

Certaine perſons graunted to be ſent home into England that ſerued the company, and were practiſers againſt them in that countrey.

A Commiſsion giuen by vs Th. Randolph, Embaſſadour for the *Queenes Maieſtie in Ruſsia, and Th. Banniſter, &c. Vnto Iames Baſſendine,*

Iames Woodcocke and Rich. Browne, the which Baſſendine, Woodcocke, and Browne we appoint ioyntly together, and ayders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of diſcouery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for ſearching of the ſea, and border of the coaſt, from the riuer Pechora, to the Eaſt wardes, as hereafter followeth Ann. 1588. The firſt of Auguſt.

IMprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you ſhall at the beginning of the yeere (as ſoone as you poſſible may) make your repaire to the Eaſterne part of the riuer Pechora, where is an Iſland called Dolgoieue, and from thence you ſhall paſſe to the Eaſt wardes alongeſt by the Sea coaſt of of Hugorie or the mayne lande of Pechora, and ſayling alongſt by the ſame coaſt, you ſhall paſſe within ſeuen leagues of the Iſland Vaigattes which is in the ſtraight, almoſt halfe way from the coaſt of Hugorie, vnto the coaſt of Noua Zembla, which Iſland Vaigattes and Noua Zembla, you ſhall finde noted in your plat, therefore you ſhall not neede to diſcouer it: but proceede on alongeſt the coaſt of Hugorie, towardes the riuer Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the ſaide Vaigattes, & the riuer Obba, that doth byte to the Southwardes, into the lande of Hugorie, in which Bay are two ſmall riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Narmſye, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith, may appeare in the

the which Baye you ſhall not neede to ſpende any time for ſearching of it, but to direct your courſe to the riuer Ob, (if otherwiſe you be not conſtrained to keepe alongſt the ſhoare,) and when you come to the Riuer Ob, you ſhall not enter into it, but paſſe ouer, vnto the Eaſterne parte of the mouth of the ſaid riuer.

And when you are at the Eaſterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you ſhall from thence paſſe to the Eaſtwards, alongſt by the border of the ſaid coaſt, deſcribing the ſame in ſuch perfect order, as you can beſt doe it. You ſhall not leaue the ſaide coaſte or border of the land, but paſſe alongſt by it, at leaſt in ſight of the ſame, vntill you haue ſailed by it ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, and the time of the yeere ſo farre ſpent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be three or 400. leagues to the Eaſtwards of the Ob, if the ſea doe reach ſo farre, as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the ſaid coaſt and ſea to trende ſo farre to the Eaſtwards, yet you ſhall not leaue the coaſt at any time, but proceede alongſt by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnſearched, or ſeene, vnleſſe it be ſome baye, or riuer, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people, that you ſhall finde in thoſe borders, or elſe ſome certaine tokens, wherby you of your ſelues may iudge it to be ſo. For our hope is, that the ſaid border of land, and ſea, doth in ſhort ſpace after you paſſe the Ob, incline Eaſt, and ſo to the Southwardes. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your ſtarreboord ſide, as you proceede in your diſcouerie, to be left vndiſcouered.

But and if the ſaid border of land doe not incline ſo to the Eaſtwards, as we preſuppoſe it, but that it doe prooue to incline, and trende to the Northwardes, and ſo ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the ſea from Vaigats to the Eaſtwards but a baye: yet we will that you doe keepe alongſt by the ſaid coaſt, and ſo bring vs certaine report of that forme and manner of the ſame baye.

And if it doe ſo prooue to be a baye, and that you haue paſſed rounde about the ſame, and ſo by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla, that is againſt Vaigats, whereas you may from that ſee the ſaid Iſland Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you ſhall from thence paſſe alongſt by the ſaid border & coaſt of Noua Zembla, to the Weſtwards, and ſo to ſearch whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the lande, that ſir Hugh Willoughbie diſcouered in anno 53. and is in 72. degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla, 120. leagues to the Weſtwards, as your plat doth ſhewe it vnto you: and if you doe finde that lande to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you ſhall proceede further along the ſame coaſt, if the time of the yeere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be ſufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to winter, either at Pechora, or into Ruſſia, at your diſcretion: for we referre the ſame to your good iudgements, truſting that you will loſe no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20. of Auguſt, 56. ere the Serchethrift began to returne backe from her diſcouerie, to winter in Ruſſia, and then ſhe came from the Iſland Vaigats, being forcibly driuen from thence, with an Eaſterly winde, and yce, and ſo ſhe came into the riuer Dwina, and arriued at Colmogro, the 11. of September, 56. If the yce had not bene ſo much that yeere, as it was, in the Streights, on both ſides of the Iſland Vaigats, they in the ſaid pinneſſe, would that yeere haue diſcouered the partes that you are nowe ſent to ſeeke: which thing (if it had pleaſed God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reſerued it for ſome other. Which diſcouerie, if it may be made by you, it ſhall not onely proue profitable vnto you, but it will alſo purchaſe perpetuall fame and renowme, both to you, and our Countrey. And thus not doubting of your willing deſires, and forwardnes towards the ſame, we pray God to bleſſe you, with a luckie beginning, fortunate ſucceſſe, and happily to ende the ſame. Amen.

Neceſſarie notes to be obſerued, and followed in your diſcouerie, *as hereafter followeth.*

WHen your barke with all furniture, and neceſſaries, ſhall be in readines for you to depart to the ſea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you ſhall from thence, euen as timely in the ſpring as the yce will permit you, ſaile, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora, (as your commiſſion doth leade you) and as you paſſe by the coaſt all alongſt, notwithſtanding the plat that ſheweth you the deſcription of the ſaid coaſt, from Dwina vnto Vaigats,) yet you ſhall ſeeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the ſame plat, vſing as many obſeruations, as you poſſibly can doe: and theſe notes following, are to be obſerued by you principally.

1. Firſt, that you doe obſerue the latitude as often, and in as many places, as you may poſſibly

bly doe it, noting diligently the place where you doe so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compasse, how ỹ land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgementes howe farre there may bee betweene eche of them.

3 Item, that you doe alwayes vse to drawe the proportion, and lyting of the land, as well the lying out of the poyntes, and head lands, vnto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where lowe lande is, whether sandie hilles, or whatsoeuer: omitte not to note any thing, that may be sensible, and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound, at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doeth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the grounde, and at euery time, howe farre the same sounding may be from the next shore to it: and howe the next poynt or head land doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your porte, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what grounde, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could finde no ground.

5 Also that you doe diligently obserue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a ship in an houre, as neere as you can iudge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the Instrument, which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conueniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and pinke, and keepe a continuall iournall, or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shal fal out worth the knowledge, not forgetting, or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will bee easie for you to make a platte, and perfect description of your discouerie, and so shall your notes bee sufficient to answere that which is looked for at your handes. But withall you may not forgette, to note as manie thinges as you can learne and vnderstande by the reporte of anie people whatsoeuer they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master George Turberuile out *of Muscouia, which went as Secretarie thither with Master Tho. Randolph,* her Maiesties Embassadour to the Emperour 1568. to certaine friends of his in London, describing the manners of the Countrey, and people.

To his especiall friend Master Edward Dancie.

MY Dancie deere, when I recount within my brest,
My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee aboue the rest:
I feele a thousand fittes of deepe and deadly woe,
To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did goe.
I left my native soyle, full like a retchlesse man,
And vnacquainted of the coast, among the Russies ran:
A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
Folke fitte to be of Bacchus trayne, so quaffing is their kinde.
Drinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
The sobrest head doeth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
If he to banquet bid his friends, he will not shrinke
On them at dinner to bestowe a douzen kindes of drinke:
Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
But chiefly two, one called Kuas, whereby the Mouſike liues.
Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tarte in taste,
The rest is Meade of honie made, wherewith their lippes they baste.
And if he goe vnto his neighbour as a guest,

the

He cares for litle meate, if ſo his drinke be of the beſt.
No wonder though they vſe ſuch vile and beaſtly trade,
Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefeſt gods be made.
Their Idoles haue their heartes, on God they neuer call,
Unleſſe it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs againſt the wall.
The houſe that hath no god, or paynted Saint within,
Is not to be reſorted too, that roofe is full of ſinne.
Beſides their priuate gods, in open places ſtand
Their croſſes vnto which they crooche, and bleſſe themſelues with hand.
Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
Was neuer more deceit in ragges, and greaſie garments found.
Almoſt the meaneſt man in all the countrie rides,
The woman eke againſt our vſe, her trotting horſe beſtrides.
In ſundry colours they both men, and women goe,
In buſkins all, that money haue on buſkins to beſtoe.
Eche woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
Which all of auncient vſe, and ſome of very pride doe weare.
Their gate is very braue, their countenance wiſe and ſadde,
And yet they follow fleſhly luſtes, their trade of liuing badde.
It is no ſhame at all accounted to defile
Anothers bedde, they make no care, their follies to conceile.
Is not the meaneſt man in all the land but hee,
To buy her paynted colours doth allow his wife a fee.
Wherewith ſhe deckes her ſelfe, and dyes her tawnie ſkinne,
She prankes and paintes her ſmoakie face, both browe, lippe, cheeke, and chinne.
Yea thoſe that honeſt are, if any ſuch there bee
Within the lande, doe vſe the like: a man may plainely ſee
Upon ſome womens cheekes the painting how it lyes,
In plaiſter ſort for that too thicke, her face the harlot dies.
But ſuch as ſkilfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
By daily practiſe doe it well, yea ſure they doe exceede.
They lay their colours ſo, as he that is full wiſe,
May eaſily be deceiu'd therein, if he doe truſt his eyes.
I not a little muſe, what madnes makes them paint
Their faces, waying how they keepe the ſtoue by meere conſtraint.
For ſeldome when, vnleſſe on Church or marriage day
A man ſhall ſee the Dames abroade, that are of beſt aray.
The Ruſſie meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
And ſo he mewes her to be ſure, ſhe lye by no mans ſide.
Thus much friend Dancie, I did meane to write to thee,
To let thee weete in Ruſſia land, what men and women bee.
Hereafter I perhaps of other thinges will write
To thee, and other of my friendes, which I ſhall ſee with light:
And other ſtuffe beſides, which true report ſhall tell,
Meane while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I ſhould now forget, or not remember thee,
Thou Spencer mighteſt a foule rebuke, and ſhame impute to mee.
For I to open ſhew did loue thee paſſing well,
And thou wert he at parture, whom I loathde to bid farewell.
And as I went thy friend, ſo I continue ſtill,
No better proofe thou canſt then this deſire of true good will.
I doe remember well when needes I ſhould away,
And that the Poſte would licence vs, no longer time to ſtay:
Thou wrongſt me by the fiſt, and holding faſt my hand,
Didſt craue of me to ſend thee newes, and how I liked the land.

It is a ſandie ſoile, no very fruitfull vaine,
More waſte and wooddie grounds there are, then cloſes fit for graine.
Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a ſtake.
And laying ſheafe by ſheafe, their harueſt ſo they drie,
They make the greater haſte, for feare the froſt the corne deſtroy.
For in the winter time, ſo glarie is the ground,
As neither graſſe, nor other graine, in paſtures may be found.
In coms the cattell then, the ſheepe, the colt, the cowe,
Faſt by his bed, the Mowlike then, a lodging doth allowe,
Whom he with fodder feedes, and holds as deere as life:
And thus they weare the winter with the Mowlike, and his wife.
Seuen months the winter dures, the glare it is ſo great,
As it is May before he turne, his ground to ſowe his wheate.
The bodies eke that die, vnburied lie they then,
Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the pooreſt men.
As thoſe of greater ſtate: the cauſe is lightly found,
For that in winter time, they can not come to breake the ground.
And wood ſo plenteous is, quite throughout all the land
As rich, and poore, at time of death allurd of coffins ſtand.
Perhaps thou muſeſt much, how this may ſtand with reaſon,
That bodies dead can vncorrupt abide ſo long a ſeaſon.
Take this for certaine trothe, as ſoone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the bodie binds as hard as any ſtone,
Without offence at all to any liuing thing:
And ſo they lye in perfect ſtate, till next returne of ſpringe.
Their beaſts be like to ours, as farre as I can ſee
For ſhape, and hewe, but ſomewhat leſſe of bulke, and bone they be.
Of watriſh taſte, the fleſh not firme, like Engliſh beefe,
And yet it ſerus them very well, and is a good releefe:
Their ſheepe are very ſmall, ſharpe ſingled, handfull long,
Great ſtore of fowle on ſea and land, the moorish reedes amonge.
The greatnes of the ſtore, doth make the prices leſſe,
Beſides in all the land they knowe, not how good meate to dreſſe.
They vſe neither broach nor ſpit, but when the ſtoue they heate,
They put their victuals in a pan, and ſo they bake their meate.
No pewter to be had, no diſhes but of wood,
No vſe of trenchers, cups cut out of byrche are very good.
They vſe but wooden ſpoones, which hanging in a caſe,
Eache Mowlike at his girdle ties, and thinkes it no diſgrace.
With whitles two or three, the better man the moe,
The cheefeſt Ruſſies in the land, with ſpoone and kniues doe goe.
Their houſes are not huge of building, but they ſay,
They plant them in the loftieſt ground, to ſhift the ſnowe away.
Which in the winter time, eache where full thicke they lie,
Which makes them haue the more deſire, to fet their houſes high.
No ſtone worke is in vſe, their roofes of rafters be,
One linked in another faſt, their wals are all of tree.
Of maſts both long, and large, with moſſe put in betweene,
To keepe the force of weather out, I neuer earſt haue ſeene
A groſſe deuiſe ſo good, and on the roofe they lay
The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and ſudden ſhowres away.
In euery roome a ſtoue, to ſerue the winter turne,
Of wood they haue ſufficient ſtore, as much as they can burne.
They haue no Engliſh glaſſe, of ſlices of a rocke
Hight ſluda, they their windowes make, that Engliſh glaſſe doth mocke.
They cut it very thinne, and ſowe it with a threed
In prettie order like to panes, to ſerue their preſent neede.

No

No other glaſſe good faith,doth giue a better light:
And ſure the rocke is nothing rich,the coſt is very ſlight.
The chiefeſt place is that,where hangs the god by it.
The owner of the houſe himſelfe doth neuer ſit,
Unleſſe his better come,to whom he yeelds the ſeat,
The ſtranger bending to the god,the ground with brow muſt beat.
And in that very place which they moſt ſacred deeme,
The ſtranger lyes: a token that his gueſt he doth eſteeme.
Where he is woont to haue a beares ſkinne for his bed,
And muſt in ſtead of pillow,clap his ſaddle to his head.
In Ruſſia other ſhift there is not to be had,
For where the bedding is not good,the boalſters are but bad.
I muſed very much,what made them ſo to lie,
Sith in theyr countrey downe is rife,and feathers out of crie:
Unleſſe it be becauſe the countrey is ſo hard,
They feare by niceneſſe of a bed theyr bodyes would be mard,
I wiſht thee oft with vs,ſaue that I ſtood in feare
Thou wouldſt haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
As I and Stafford did,that was my mate in bed:
And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue ſped.
Loe thus I make an end: none other newes to thee,
But that the countrey is too colde, the people beaſtly bee.
I write not all I know, I touch but heere and there,
For if I ſhould, my pen would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
Who ſo ſhall read this verſe,coniecture of the reſt,
And thinke by reaſon of our trade,that I do thinke the beſt.
But if no traffike were,then could I boldly pen
The hardneſſe of the ſoile,and eke the maners of the men.
They ſay the Lions paw giues iudgement of the beaſt:
And ſo may you deeme of the great, by reading of the leaſt.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
And idle heads, that little do, haue leiſure to indite:
Wherefore, reſpecting theſe, and thine aſſured loue,
If I would write no newes to thee, thou might'ſt my pen reproue.
And ſithence fortune thus hath ſhou'd my ſhippe on ſhore,
And made me ſeeke another realme vnſeene of me before:
The maners of the men I purpoſe to declare,
And other priuate points beſides,which ſtrange and geazon are.
The Ruſſie men are round of bodies,fully faſte,
The greateſt part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the waſte,
Flat headed for the moſt,with faces nothing faire,
But browne,by reaſon of the ſtoue,and cloſeneſſe of the aire:
It is theyr common vſe to ſhaue or els to sheare
Theyr heads,for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
Unleſſe perhaps he haue his ſouereigne prince diſpleaſ'd,
For then he neuer cuts his haire,vntill he be appeaſ'd.
A certaine ſigne to know who in diſpleaſure be,
For euery man that viewes his head,will ſay, Loe this is he.
And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
Dares no man for his life to him a face of friendſhip ſhow.
Theyr garments be not gay,nor handſome to the eye,
A cap aloft theyr heads they haue,that ſtandeth very hye,
Which colpacke they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
The beſt haue collers ſet with pearle,which they Rubaſca call.
Theyr ſhirts in Ruſſie long,they worke them downe before,

And on the ſleeues with coulered ſilks, two inches good and moze
Aloft theyr ſhirts they weare, a garment iacket wiſe
Hight onoziadka, and about his burlie waiſte he tyes
His poztkies, which in ſtead of better breeches bee:
Of linnen cloth that garment is, no codpiece is to ſee.
A payre of parnen ſtocks to keepe the colde away,
Within his boots the Ruſſie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
With clouting clamps of ſteele ſharpe pointed at the toes,
And ouer all a ſuba furd, and thus the Ruſſies goes.
Well butned is the ſube, according to his ſtate,
Some ſilke, of ſiluer other ſome, but thoſe of poozeſt rate
Do weare no ſubes at all, but groſſer gownes to ſight,
That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
Theſe are the Ruſſies robes. The richeſt vſe to ride
From place to place, his ſeruant runnes, and followes by his ſide.
The caſſacke beares his felt, to foyce away the raine:
Their bridles are not very braue, their ſaddles are but plaine.
No bits but ſnaffles all, of birch their ſaddles bee,
Much faſhioned like the Scotiſh ſeats, broad flacks to keepe the knee
From ſweating of the horſe, the pannels larger farre
And broader be then ours, they vſe ſhort ſtirrups foz the warre:
Foz when the Ruſſie is purſued by cruell foe,
He rides away, and ſuddenly betakes him to his boe,
And bends me but about in ſaddle as he ſits,
And therewithall amids his race, his following foe he hits.
Theyr bowes are very ſhort, like Turkie bowes outright,
Of ſinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
Small arrowes, cruell heads, that fell and foxked bee,
Which being ſhot from out thoſe bowes, a cruell way will flee.
They ſeldome vſe to ſhoo their horſe, vnleſſe they ride
In poſt vpon the frozen fluds, then cauſe they ſhall not ſlide,
He ſets a ſlender calke, and ſo he rides his way.
The horſes of the countrey go good foureſcore verſts a day,
And all without the ſpurre, once pyckethem and they ſkippe,
But go not forward on their way, the Ruſſie hath his whippe
To rappe him on the ribbes, foz though all booted bee,
Yet ſhall you not a payre of ſpurres in all the countrey ſee.
The common game is cheſſe, almoſt the ſimpleſt will
Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practiſe comes theyr ſkill.
Againe the dice as faſt, the poozeſt roges of al
Will ſit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
Their dice are very ſmall, in faſhion like to thoſe
Which we do vſe, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
Not ſhaking them a whit, they caſt ſuſpiciouſlie,
And yet I deeme them void of art that dicing moſt applie.
At play when ſiluer lacks goes ſaddle, horſe and all,
And ech thing els worth ſiluer walkes, although the price be ſmall.
Becauſe thou loueſt to play friend Parker other while,
I wiſh thee there the weary day, with dicing to beguile.
But thou weart better fare at home, I wiſt it well,
And wouldeſt be loath, among ſuch lowts ſo long a time to dwell,
Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
That neere the frozen pole to waſte our weary dayes were glad.
In ſuch a ſauage ſoile, where lawes do beare no ſway,
But all is at the king his will, to ſaue oz els to ſlay.
And that ſans cauſe God wot, if ſo his minde be ſuch,
But what meane I with kings to deale, we ought no ſaints to touch.
Conceiue the reſt your ſelfe, and deeme what liues they lead,

Where luſt is law, and ſubiects liue continually in dread,
And where the beſt eſtates haue none aſſurance good
Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
But all of cuſtome doth vnto the prince redowne,
And all the whole reuenue comes vnto the king his crowne.
Good faith I ſee thee muſe at what I tell thee now,
But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleaſure bow.
So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou remembrſt well,
And what his fortune was at laſt, I know thy ſelfe canſt tell.
Where will in common weale doth beare the onely ſway,
And luſt is law, the prince and realme muſt needs in time decay.
The ſtrangeneſſe of the place is ſuch for ſtudy things I ſee,
As if I would I can not write ech priuate point to thee.
The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince ſo full of pride,
The realme ſo ſtored with moonks and nunnes, and prieſts on euery ſide:
The maners are ſo Turkie like, the men ſo full of guile,
The women wanton, temples ſtuft with idols that defile
The ſeats that ſacred ought to be, the cuſtomes are ſo quaint,
As if I would deſcribe the whole, I feare my penne would faint.
In ſumme, I ſay I neuer ſaw a prince that ſo did raigne,
Nor people ſo beſet with ſaints, yet all but vile and vaine.
Wilde Iriſh are as ciuill as the Ruſſies in their kinde,
Hard choice which is the beſt of both ech bloudy, rude and blinde.
If thou be wiſe, as wiſe thou art, and wilt be ruled by me,
Liue ſtill at home, and couet not thoſe barbarous coaſts to ſee.
No good befalles a man that ſeeks, and findes no better place,
No ciuill cuſtomes to be learnd, where God beſtowes no grace.
And truelie ill they do deſerue to be belou'd of God,
That neither loue nor ſtand in awe of his aſſured rod:
Which though be long, yet plagues at laſt the vile and beaſtly ſort
Of ſinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefeſt ſport.
Adieu friend Parker, if thou liſt, to know the Ruſſes well,
To Sigiſmundus booke repayre, who all the trueth can tell:
For he long earſt in meſſage went vnto that ſauage king,
Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech reſpect did bring.
To him I recommend my ſelfe, to eaſe my penne of paine,
And now at laſt do wiſh thee well, and bid fare well againe.

The fourth voyage into Perſia, made my M. Arthur Edwards *Agent, Iohn Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Chriſtopher Faucet, and* Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568, declared in this letter written from Casbin in Perſia, by the foreſayd Laurence Chapman to a worſhipfull merchant of the companie of Ruſſia in London. Anno Domini 1569. Aprill 28.

WOrſhipfull ſir, my dutie alwayes remembred, and your proſperous health, and good ſucceſſe in all your affayres wiſhed, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts deſire, &c. May it pleaſe you to vnderſtand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards & we departed from Yeraſlaue in July 1568, & the 14 of Auguſt arriued at our port called Bilbill, with your ſhip the Grace of God, & the goods in her in good ſafetie, God be thanked for it, finding there neither ỹ people ſo ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & vnlading of the goods, nor yet ſo obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worſhipfull company haue beene informed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open and ſell as they would ſet the price, or otherwiſe it would haue bene worſe for vs. Being ſo ſatisfied to their contentment, we were ſpeedily ayded with camels by the prince Erasbecke Sultan his appoyntment, to carry our goods to Shamakie, to which place we attayned the firſt of September, finding it ſo thoughly furniſhed with all maner of commodities by occaſion of our late comming, and by ſuch as came before vs, that no man would alke to buy any one

Their arrinall at Bilbill the 14 of Auguſt 1568.

Prince Eraſbecke.

piece of karſie of vs, and lying then the ſpace of one whole moneth before your Agent Arthur Edwardes would diſperſe vs abroad with the goods, ſuch as came out of Ruſſia afterwardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and ſpoyled thoſe ſales we might haue made, being ſent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worſhipfull, as alſo great griefe vnto vs to ſee. To conclude, through our daily calling vpon him, he bent himſelfe for Casbin, taking with him the greateſt ſumme of the goodes, and two of the worſhipfuls ſeruants, to witte, Iohn Sparke and my ſelfe, to helpe and procure the better ſale for the ſame: and leauing at Shamakie Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karſies in their hands, ſuppoſed to be ſolde there or in Arraſh before he ſhould be able to make his returne from Casbin, which ſo farre forth as I can vnderſtand, lie for the greateſt part vnſolde. And being vpon our way, at a certayne towne called Ardowill, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karſies with thoſe merchants for foureſcore and foure batemans of cynamom, ſelling the karſies at one hundred and fiftie ſhawghs the piece.

Chriſtopher Faucet and Richard Pingle.

And being at that preſent not farre from Teueris, called the principall place in this countrey for vttering of cloth or karſies, by much intreaty I perſuaded your Agent to ſend thither to proue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karſies, as alſo his commiſſion for ſale of the ſame, I proceeded on that voyage my ſelfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great ſtore of broade cloth and karſies, brought thither, ſome part by the Turkes, who be reſident there, ſome by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and ſome by the townesmen, who trauell vnto Venice, and there buy them, ſo that no man offered me one penie more then a hundred and fortie ſhawghs for a karſie: and hauing ſpeciall commiſſion and charge from your Agent not to ſtay there aboue the ſpace of ſeuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repayre to Casbin with all ſpeed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe vp the price of the worſhipfuls commodities, according to their deſire, I found meanes to barter them away for ſpices, ſuch as were there to be had, neither in goodneſſe nor yet in price to my content: neuertheleſſe, conſidering the colde ſales which were there, as well for your karſies, as alſo the hotneſs, that Ormuz way was ſhut vp by occaſion that the Indians do warre againſt them, which is true indeed: and againe the deſire that the worſhipfull hath to haue ſuch commodities bought, I thought it neceſſarie to buy them, the prices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my account ſent to the worſhipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole ſumme of ſpices bought at this time.

War againſt the Portingals at Ormus.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozyne, who was not a little deſirous to bargen with me for a hundred pieces of karſies for his maiſter called Leuontie, and offering me ſo good bands for the payment of the money or ſilke to the merchants contentment vpon the deliuery of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me beſides his own letter in the behalfe of his maiſter, that no cuſtome ſhould be demanded for the ſame, and the obtaining alſo at his maiſters hand as large a priuiledge for the worſhipfull to trauell into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good report made of him by the Armenians alſo, and that he was a Chriſtian, I was much more the willing to bargen with him, and ſolde him a hundred pieces for a hundred and threeſcore ſhawghs a piece, to be payd to the merchant in Grozine either in money or ſilke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliuerie of the karſies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, for the performance of the ſame, which is as ſure as any heere is to be deuiſed: and vpon the ſame I ſent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamakie, with ſuch goodes as I bought at Teueris, and to the end he might cauſe the worſhipfuls ſeruants there to ſee this bargen accompliſhed. At whoſe arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the captaine would not accompliſh his bargen to take them, but ſayth he hath no need of them: ſuch is the conſtancie of all men in this countrey, with whomſoeuer you ſhall bargen. If the ware be bought, and they doe miſlike it afterwardes, they will bring it againe, and compell you to deliuer the money for it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifeſteth the contrary, as a ſtraw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the worſhipfull may know whether all be true that hath beene written of this countrey people or not.

The gouernor of Grozine his merchant.

The generall inconſtancy in the merchants and dealers of thoſe parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no ſuch ſtore of ſpices as the worſhipfull doth looke for, that heere will be put away in Teueris, ſome for money, and other ſome for barter, to the number of three hundred or foure hundred pieces of karſies, being in coulers and goodneſſe to the examples here ſent you, the reſt of the karſies to make them vp a thouſand, and broad clothes to the ſumme of a hundred, be as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, ſo farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade betweene the Venetians and the Armenians not eaſily to be broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venetians and the whole company of the Armenians, it is not poſſible, vnleſſe the worſhipfull will finde ſome meanes to receiue them yeerely to the number of

100 catters or mules lading, and deliuer them for the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karsies fitted in coulers meet for this countrey: the examples, as aboue said, are sent vnto you.

At Amadia sixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galles, which are brought by yeerely by the Uenetians, and be solde there for two bisses the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent heere sayth, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it will not so be proued. Neuertheless it is supposed much good will be done by buying of them: which might at this present haue partlie beene proued, if so be that some could doe but halfe that which hath beene written.

Touching druggs, I finde many as well at Teueris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: and the price is so high, that small gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had beene furnished with money, as I might haue beene, if some would, I would haue bought some, to the end the goodnesse of them might haue beene seene in England. At my comming to Casbin, I found no maner of sales of any commoditie made, but all lying there whole, and newes giuen out (as your Agent saith) that the Shawgh would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke & spices for the same: but by report the Shawgh neuer tooke cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now beginne: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as vse to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, he hath driuen off the time, not sending to any other places: by meanes whereof the worshipfuls goodes lye vnsolde to this day to their great hinderance, which I for my part am not a little sorrie to see.

Babylon is from hence fifteene dayes iourney, whereas by true report, be great store of dates, and solde for a bisse the bateman, the commoditie fit for England: and the place so neere vnto vs, might easily haue beene knowne, if he, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had beene willing to the same. Cashan also is but seuen dayes iourney from hence, and a place by report, where most store of spices be at all times to be had, ouer and aboue any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seene and proued at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words. Babylon 15 dayes iourney from Casbin.

To trauell in this countrey, is not onely miserable and vncomfortable, for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night commeth, and to refresh men with wholesome victualles in time of need, but also such scarsitie of water, that sometime in three dayes iourney together is not to be found any droppe fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these infidels, who do account it remission of sinnes, to wash their hands in the bloud of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a begger in England during life, then to remaine a rich merchant seuen yeeres in this countrey, as some shall well finde at their comming hither.

By commandement of the Agent also, I went to Gillan, as well to see what harbor was there for your shippe, as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best solde, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my penne I am not able to note it vnto you: no man trauelleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraineth to buy Rice, for their relefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboue twentie batemans vpon a catter, and it lyeth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and he escapeth very hardly that commeth there with the same. His voyage to Gillan.

The towne of Layghone, which was the chiefest place in all that land, haue I seene, and Langroe and Rosare also, which be now latelie ouerrunne by the Shawgh and his power, and be so spoyled, and the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karsie. The best commoditie there to be bought, is rawe silke, and is solde in the Summer time for eight and thirtie shawghs the Layghone bateman, which is little aboue fortie pound weight, and for readie money: also there is to be had what store of Allome you will, and solde there for one bisse the Teueris bateman.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew, as though they were glad of our comming hither, but secretlie they be our mortall enemies, searching by all meanes to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in processe of time I hope will grow to better perfection. They wish vs to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities vnsolde, where they say we shall haue good intertainement in spight of the great number of Uenetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karsies to be solde presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which makes of this money one hundred sixe and fiftie shawghs: but by such as know the place, market & custome, The malice of the Turkish merchants.

it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that ſuch karſies as ours be are not ſolde for aboue eight duckets there: the cuſtome thirtie in the hundred, & more, that no place in the world is ſo well furniſhed with good cloth, and karſies, & of ſo braue couler, as that place is, ſuppoſing it to be craftily purpoſed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The price of ſpices. The prices of ſpices be theſe, at this preſent inhanſed by reaſon the way is ſhut to Ormuz, which when God ſhall ſend open, I purpoſe (God willing) to ſee, and at my returne to aduertiſe the worſhipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, ſo neere as I can learne: Pepper 25 ſhawghs the Teueris bateman: Cloues 50 ſhawghs, Long pepper 25 ſhawghs, Maces large 50 ſhawghs, Ginger 24 ſhawghs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the beſt ſort of raw ſilke is ſolde for 60 ſhawghs the Teueris bateman. Thus for want of further matte. to inlarge, I end for this time, beſeeching God to preſerue you in continuall health.

By your obedient ſeruant
Laurence Chapman.

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Perſia, begunne in *the moneth of Iulie* 1568, *gathered by M. Richard VVilles*

from the mouth of M. Arthur Edwards which was Agent in the ſame.

When he came firſt to the Sophies preſence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his interpretour with him, and ſtanding far off, the Sophie (ſitting in a ſeat royall with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that thrice, vntill he came ſo neere him that he might haue touched him with his hand. Then the firſt demand that he aſked him, was from what countrey he came: he anſwered, that he came from England. Then aſked he of his noble men, who knew any ſuch countrey: But when Edwards ſaw that none of them had any intelligence of that name, he named it Ingilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble men ſaid Londro, meaning thereby London, which name is better knowen in farre countries out of Chriſtendome, then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name Londro, he ſaid that that was the name of the chiefe citie of England, as was Teueris of the chiefe citie of Perſia. He aſked him many thinges more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it ſhould be an Iſland, of ſo great riches and power, as Edwards declared vnto him, of the riches & abundance of our merchandize, as he further vnderſtood by our traffike in Moſcouia, and other cuntries. He demanded alſo many things of the Queenes Maieſtie, and of the cuſtomes and lawes of the realme: ſaying oftentimes in his owne language, Bara colla (that is to ſay) Well ſaid. He aſked alſo many things of king Philip, & of his wars againſt the Turke at Malta. Then he demanded of him what was the chiefe cauſe of his reſort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he aſked what kinde of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (ſaid he) as the Venetian merchants do, which dwelling in our country in the citie of Londro, ſend to Uenice, & from thence into Turkie by Halepo and Tripoli in Syria, from whence, as by the ſecond and third hands, with great charges of many cuſtomes and other thinges thereunto perteining, they are at the length brought into your countrey and cities of Perſia. What merchandize are thoſe: ſaid the Sophie. Edwards anſwered, that they were great abundance of fine karſies, of broad clothes, of all ſorts and coulers, as ſcarlets, violets, and other of the fineſt cloth of all the world. Alſo that the Venetians brought out of England, not onely ſuch clothes ready made, but furthermore great plenty of fine wooll to mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwiſe make fine cloth: affirming that there went out of England yeerly that wayes, aboue two hundred thouſand karſies, and as many broad clothes, beſide fine wooll and other merchandize, beſide alſo the great abundance of like clothes, the which were carryed into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then aſked him by what meanes ſuch merchandize might be brought into Perſia. Right well ſir (ſaid he) by the way of Moſcouia, with more ſafetie and in much ſhorter time then the Venetians can bring them: firſt from England to Uenice, and from thence into Perſia, by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it ſhall pleaſe your Maieſtie to grant vs free paſſage into all your dominions, with ſuch priuileges as may appertaine to the ſafegard of our liues, goods, and merchandize, we will furniſh your countries with all ſuch merchandize, and other commodities, in ſhorter time, and better cheape then you may haue the ſame at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was betweene the Sophie and Edwardes for the ſpace of two houres, all which thinges liked him ſo well, that ſhortly after he granted to the ſaide Arthur Edwardes other priuileges, for the trade of merchandize into Perſia,

Londro. London.

The Venetians traffike in England.

all

all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great ſeale. The lord keeper was named Coche Califay, who ſayd that when the Shaugh (that is the king or prince) did ſit to ſeale any letters, that laſt priuiledge ſhould be ſealed and deliuered to Laurence Chapman. In this priuiledge is one principall article for ſeruants or merchants: That if the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would become Buſor men, that then the Agent whereſoeuer he ſhall find any ſuch ſeruant or ſeruaunts, to take them and put them in priſon, and no perſon to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in reſpect of a cuſtome among the Perſians, being Mahumetans, whoſe maner is friendly to receiue and wel entertaine both with gifts and liuing, all ſuch Chriſtians, as forſaking their religion, will become of the religion of the Perſians. Inſomuch that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great occaſion of naughtie ſeruants to deceiue and rob their maſters, that vnder the colour of profeſſing that religion, they might liue among them in ſuch ſafetie, that you might haue no lawe againſt them, either to puniſh them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elſewhere. For before the Sophie (whom they ſay to be a maruelous wiſe and gracious prince) ſeemed to fauour our nation, and to graunt them ſuch priuiledges, the people abuſed them very much, and ſo hated them, that they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them Cafars and Gawars, which is, infidels or miſbeleeuers. But after they ſaw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kiſſe their hands, and vſe them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare falſe witneſſe againſt them, and ſuch merchandizes as they had bought or ſold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as them liſted. And if any ſtrauger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one ſlaine, and for the debts of any ſtranger, would take the goods of any other of the ſame nation, with many other ſuch like abuſes, in maner vnknowen to the prince, before the complaints of our men made vnto him for reformation of ſuch abuſes: which were the cauſe that no merchant ſtrangers of contrary religion, durſt come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profite of him and his ſubiects.

The Articles of the ſecond priuiledge deliuered to Lawrence Chapman, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their firſt priuiledge, to goe vnto Gillan, and all other places of his dominions, now or hereafter when occaſion ſhall be giuen.

11 Item, if by miſfortune any of their ſhips ſhould breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the ſea coaſt, his ſubiects to helpe with all ſpeed to ſaue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the ſaid merchaunts that liueth: or otherwiſe to bee kept in ſafetie vntill any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to ſee their goods ſafely kept, and to bee deliuered to any other of them that ſhall demaund them.

13 Item, the ſaid merchants to take ſuch camell men as they themſelues will, being countrey people, and that no Kiſſell Baſh doe let or hinder them. And the ſaid owners of the camels to bee bound to anſwere them ſuch goods as they ſhall receiue at their hands, and the camell men to ſtand to the loſſes of their camels or horſes.

14 Item more, that the ſaid carriers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a price with any carriers, & haue geuen earneſt, the Camel men to ſee they keepe their promiſe.

16 Item, if any of the ſaid merchants be in feare to trauell, to giue them one or more to go with them, and ſee them in ſafetie with their goods to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to ſay, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his ſubiects to giue them honeſt roume, and vitails for their money.

18 Item, the ſayd merchants may in any place where they ſhall thinke beſt, build or buy any houſe or houſes to their owne vſes. And no perſon to moleſt or trouble them, and to ſtand in any Carauan where they will, or ſhall thinke good.

THe commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Perſia, are thought to be great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into the Eaſt Indies, for aſmuch as by the way of Perſia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: where as

as the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous voiage all by sea: for whereas the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulfe of Persia, is the most famous marte towne of all East India, whither all the merchaundises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely, be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen vnto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreis of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land a hundred and fourescore miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water, euen vnto England.

The merchandises which be had out of Persia for the returne of wares, are silke of all sortes and colours, both rawe and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles and precious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told mee of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one citie of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the citie of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat, doth carie yeely fiue hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being foure daies iourny frō Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continual abiding, and send from thence silkes which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busor men,

and forsake their religiō.

I Haue noted here before that if any Christian will become a Busor man, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many gifts, and sometime also a liuing. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or gouernour of the towne, to whom hee maketh protestation of his diuelish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busor man bearing an arrow in his hand, and rideth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, hee is guiltie of death, as is signified by the sword borne before him. A young man, a seruant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faultes, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himselfe to the deuill. If he had become a Busor man, he had greatly troubled the merchants, for if he would then haue sayd that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges that no Busor man, &c. as there appeareth.

In Persia in diuers places, oxen and kine beare the tents and houshold stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasine cotton, or Gossampine.

IN Persia is great abundance of Bombasine cotton, & very fine, this groweth on a certaine litle tree or briar, not past ỹ height of a mans waste or litle more: the tree hath a slender stalk like vnto a brier, or to a carnation gilleflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a cod, growing in round forme, conteining in it the cotton: & when this bud or cod commeth to the bignesse of a wallnut, it openeth and sheweth foorth the cotton, which groweth still in bignesse vntill it be like a fleece of woll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruit. The seeds of these trees are as big as peason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round: they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countries in Persia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

ARthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subsigned with the hands both of the Sophie and his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription, was only one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long and narow, about ỹ length of a foote, and not past three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie, was a round printed marke about the bignes of a riall, onely printed vpon the same paper without any waxe or other seale, the letters seeme so misshapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somwhat scribled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter with his pricke or circunflexe, signifieth a whole word. Insomuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand, their writing doth containe as much as doth ours almost in a sheete of paper.

The

The firſt voyage into Perſia made by M. Thomas Baniſter, and M. Ieffrey Ducket Agents for the Moſcouie companie, begun from England in the yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the mouth of M. Lionell Plumtree.

VPon the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themſelues at Yeraſlaue, being accompanied with Lionell Plumtree, and ſome 12. Engliſhmen more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonauenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking alſo along with them of Ruſſes to the number of 40. for their vſe and imploiments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Aſtracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartares, being a kind of theeuiſh and cruell people, made an aſſault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, ſome with ſwords, ſome with ſpeares, and ſome others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they diſcouered to bee about 300. men. They for their partes, although they could haue wiſhed a quiet voiage and iourney without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be ſpoiled with ſuch Barbarians as they were, began to defend themſelues againſt their aſſault, by meanes whereof a very terrible and fierce fight followed and continued hote & ſharpe for two howers, wherein our men ſo well plaid their parts with their caliuers, that they forced the Tartares to flee with the loſſe of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enformed by a Ruſſe priſoner, which eſcaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Aſtracan, at which towne they arriued the 20. of Auguſt.

In this towne of Aſtracan they were ſomwhat hindered of their iourney, and ſtaied the ſpace of 6. weekes by reaſon of a great armie of 70000. Turkes and Tartares which came thither vpon the inſtigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue ſurpriſed it ſuddenly or by continuance of ſiege to win the ſame. But in the end by reaſon that the Winter approched, as alſo, becauſe they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Ruſſia was in prouiding for the defence of the ſayde place, they were conſtrained to raiſe their ſiege, and to leaue the towne as they found it.

Vpon their departure our men had opportunitie to proceed on their voyage, and vſing the occaſion, they left Aſtracan, and came to Bilbill towards the ende of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tents) they were greatly moleſted with ſtrange troopes of ſholcaues or foxes, which were ſo buſie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mightie wild Boze that was ſent vnto them for a preſent from the gouernour of the countrey.

Hauing ſtaied here ſome three or foure dayes in prouiding of cariages and other neceſſaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamachie, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforeſayd Shauaran. In this towne of Skamachie their whole company ſpent out the Winter, and from thence in Aprill following, they tooke their iourney towards Ardowill a place of great account and much eſteemed, by reaſon of the ſepulchres of the Emperours of Perſia, which for the moſt part lie there buried, and ſo is growen to be a place of their ſuperſtitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardowill they ſoiourned the ſpace of 5. or 6. moneths, finding ſome traffique and ſales, but to no purpoſe, the towne being more inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother ſought the deſtruction of the brother, and the neereſt kinſemen roſe vp one againſt an other, inſomuch that one of their companie Lionell Plumtree hath ſeene in one day ſometimes 14. ſlaine in a garboile. And he being further deſirous to ſee their maner of fight, or rather ſomewhat more curious to behold, then miſtruſtfull of their blowes, was like to haue borne a ſhare in their bloodie tragedie, being twiſe wounded with their ſhot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thamas ſent a meſſenger for our men to come to his preſence at Caſbin, to whom Thomas Baniſter failed not to goe, although maiſter Ducket lay very ſicke at Ardowill, and in ſuch caſe that they almoſt deſpaired of his recouerie. Hee being come to the Shawgh, was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and ſpeciall countenaunce, and had the moſt part of all his requeſts graunted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or ſufferance to tranſport and carie through his dominions certaine horſes into India, the Shawgh ſeemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to ſome further time. As for the point of traffique, hee could not make that motion or requeſt that was not ſo ſoone graunted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himſelfe bought there of him many kerſies, and made him as good paiment as any man could wiſhe, and oftentimes would ſend his

money

money for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might bee the ſurer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing ſomewhat ſtraunge I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee purpoſed to ſend a great ſumme of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not ſend any money or coine of his owne, but ſent to the Engliſh merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reaſon for the ſame, that the money of the merchaunts was gotten by good meanes, and with good conſciences, and was therefore woorthie to bee made an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppreſſion, and vnhoneſt meanes, and therefore was not fit to ſerue for ſo holie a vſe.

After ſixe moneths ſpent in Casbin, the ſayd Thomas Baniſter departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arriued, hee found maſter Ducket well recouered of his ſickneſſe, whom he had left ill at Ardowill.

At this Citie the foreſayde maſter Ducket made ſales of the Engliſh commodities, remaining there to that purpoſe the ſpace of two yeeres and a halfe. And beſides other kindes of merchandiſes of that countrey, he bought great ſtore of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within one dayes iourney of the aforeſaid Tauris.

The death of M. Baniſter.

After this Thomas Baniſter departed from Tauris, and went to Shamakie, to giue order for the tranſporting of thoſe commodities which were bought for England. And hauing diſpatched them away, hee went there hence to Arraſh, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamachie, for the buying of rawe ſilke. But there by reaſon of the vnwholeſomneſſe of the ayre, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, hee with Lawrence Chapman and ſome other Engliſh men vnhappily died: which being knowen of maſter Ducket, hee immediately came from Tauris to Arraſh, to take poſſeſſion of the goods, for otherwiſe by the cuſtome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchaunt or other friend of his to enter vpon that which hee left, all had fallen into the Shaughs hands, which goods notwithſtanding could not bee recouered from the officers which had ſeaſed and ſealed vp the ſame, vntill maſter Ducket had beue in perſon with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

Lionell Plumtree in the meane time that maſter Ducket was at Casbin in ſute for goodes vpon the perſwaſion of certayne Bogharians, made proviſion for a iourney to Cathaya, with cariages and commodities, and hauing all things readie, departed ſecretly with a Carauan: but beyng gone forwards on his way ſixe dayes iourney, ſome fiftie horſemen by the procurement of Humfrey Greenſell (who afterwardes beyng at Ormuz in the Eaſt Indias, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquiſition by the Portingals) were ſent after him in poſte from Soltan Eraſbecke, the Shawghs Lieuetenaunt, to fetche him backe agayne, not ſuffering him to paſſe on ſo perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniences that might follow.

After this maſter Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamachie againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Caſhan, beyng about foure dayes iourney from Shamachie, and caried with him 4. mules laden with money.

In the way of his trauell hee paſſed through Perſipolis, ſometime the royall ſeate of the Emperours of Perſia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remayne to be ſeene at this day two gates onely that are diſtant one from the other the ſpace of 12. miles, and ſome few pinnacles in the mountaines and conueiances for freſh water.

The foreſayde Caſhan is a Towne that conſiſteth all together of merchaundiſe, and the beſt trade of all the lande is there, beyng greatly frequented by the merchauntes of India.

Heere our men bought great ſtore of all maner of wrought Silkes, and ſome Spices, and good ſtore of Turkie ſtones.

The towne is much to bee commended for the ciuill and good gouernement that is there vſed. An idle perſon is not ſuffered to liue amongſt them.

The childe that is but fiue yeeres olde, is ſet to ſome labour. No ill rule, diſorder or riote by gaming or otherwiſe, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cardes is by the lawe preſent death.

At this Caſhan they remayned about the ſpace of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Shamachie, and after ſome time ſpent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe

ſilke

ſilke and other commodities, they came at laſt to Shauaran againe, where their ſhip was in harbour, and then they ſhipt all their goods and embarked themſelues alſo, ſetting ſayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573. intending to fetch Aſtracan. By reaſon of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caſpian ſea, they beat it vp and downe ſome 20. dayes. And the 28. day riding at anker vpon the flats, certaine Ruſſe Caſſaks, which are outlawes or baniſhed men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendſhip, and entred their ſhip, but immediately they tooke their hatchets and ſlew diuers of the Ruſſes that were of the ſhip vpon the hatches: Whereupon maſter Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the maſter, a man of ſingular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Spardecke, did ſo well behaue themſelues, that they ſkowred the hatches, and ſlew 14. of the Caſſaks gunners, and hurt and wounded aboue 30. more, being of them all in number 150. at the leaſt, armed with caliuers and other weapons fit for ſo vilanous a purpoſe.

M. Ducket notwithſtanding and the reſt aforeſayd, receiued diuers wounds from the enemie, and were ſo hurt, and withall ſo oppreſſed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at laſt conſtrained to make an agreement with the Caſſaks by rendring the ſhip into their hands, hauing receiued firſt their othes ſworne by their crucifixes, not to doe any further harme to their perſons.

Thus the ſhippe being taken, and all the Engliſh greuouſly hurt, the Caſſaks immediately diſcharged the ſhip of them, putting them all into the ſhip boate with two or three Perſian targets full of horſe fleſh and ſwines fleſhe, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that caſe, made the beſt haſt they could to get to Aſtracan: and being come to the towne, maſter Ducket made great ſute to the captaine, to haue men and boates ſet out for the reſkuing and recouering of the ſhip if it were poſſible, who immediately ſent out his ſonne with fortie boates and fiue hundred men to purſue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ſhip, but by reaſon of their fooliſhneſſe in ſtriking vp their drummes before they were come neere them, the Caſſaks diſcouering the boates, cut their cables, and put out to Sea, whereupon the boates not being able to follow them, returned againe to Aſtracan. After which, three ſcore boates more were ſent out to purſue them agayne the ſecond time: and that ſecond armie came to a place where they found many of thoſe Caſſaks, and ſlew them and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the cheſtes of the ſhip: all which they recouered againe for the Engliſh merchants, to the valew of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thouſand pound, but all the reſt the Caſſaks in the ſhip had caried away.

In the ſame place they found further, diuers of the Caſſaks which the Engliſh men had ſlaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt ſome in fortie or fiftie yardes of Sattin, and Taffataes, and ſome in Turkie carpets cut and ſpoyled by thoſe vilanous Pirats, of whom afterwardes as many as could be taken by the Perſians, who entirely loued the Engliſh merchants, were put to moſt cruel torments in all places according to their deſerts.

But our men being thus ſpoyled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Aſtracan, for their better recouerie: and hauing gotten ſome reaſonable ſtrength, they then prouided boates, and went vp the riuer Volga to Cazan, with ſuch goods as they had recouered from the Caſſaks. From Cazan they went towards Yeraſlaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where ſuddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement froſt, and therewithall the waters ſo congeled, that their boates were cruſhed and cut in ſunder with the ice, whereby they ſuſtained both a further daunger of life and loſſe of goods: but as much as they could preſerue with much adoe, they conueyed ouer land in ſleds to Vologda, and from thence ſent much of it to S. Nicholas, to bee laden in the ſhippes for England.

But maſter Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, and Amos Riall went with ſome parcels to the Moſko, and there ſold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie loſſe that they had ſuſtained by his owne rebellious people and ſubiects, bought himſelfe as much as hee liked, and paied preſent money for the ſame. So that Winter being ſpent out in Moſko, and ſuch wares prouided by them as ſerued for England, they departed to S. Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of Auguſt: and hauing indured a very terrible paſſage in nine weekes and three dayes, with ſome hardneſſe of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other ſea accidents, they arriued at London in the moneth of October one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie and foure, and ſo made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage, which if it had pleaſed God to proſper, that all things had come home as ſafely as they were carefully prouided, and painfully laboured for,

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it had prooued the richeſt voyage and moſt profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vndertaken by Engliſh merchants, who notwithſtanding all miſfortunes, loſt nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the intereſt and gaine that might haue riſen by the vſe of their ſtocke in the meane time.

Further obſeruations concerning the ſtate of Perſia, taken in the foreſayd fift voyage into thoſe partes, and written by M. Ieffrey Ducket, one of the Agents employed in the ſame.

SHamachie is the faireſt towne in all Media, and the chiefeſt commoditie of that countrey is rawe ſilke, and the greateſt plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamachie called Araſh: and within three dayes iourney of Araſh, is a countrey named Groiſine, whoſe inhabitants are Chriſtians, and are thought to bee they which are otherwiſe called Georgians: there is alſo much ſilke to bee ſolde. The chiefe Towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Perſia, an incredible quantitie of Haſell nuts, all of one ſort and goodneſſe, and as good and thinne ſhaled as are our Filberds. Of theſe are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Of the name of the Sophie of Perſia, and why he is called the Shawgh, and of other cuſtomes.

THe king of Perſia (whom here we call the great Sophi) is not there ſo called, but is called the Shawgh. It were there daungerous to call him by the name of Sophi, becauſe that Sophi in the Perſian tongue, is a begger, and it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is ſituate in a goodly fertile valley of three or foure dayes iourney in length. The towne is but euill builded, and for the moſt part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but onely dried at the Sunne, as is the moſt part of the building of all Perſia. The king hath not come out of the compaſſe of his owne houſe, in three and thirtie or foure and thirtie yeeres, whereof the cauſe is not knowen, but as they ſay, it is vpon a ſuperſtition of certaine prophecies to which they are greatly addicted: hee is now about foureſcore yeeres of age, and very luſtie. And to keepe him the more luſtie, hee hath foure wiues alwayes, and about three hundred concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about, brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruſeth, feeling them in all partes, taking ſuch as he liketh, and putting away ſome of them which hee hath kept before, and with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth ſome ſuch as hath done him the beſt ſeruice. And if he chaunce to take any mans wife, her huſband is very glad thereof, and in recompence of her, oftentimes he giueth the huſband one of his olde ſtore, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How ſtrangers are vſed.

If any ſtranger being a Chriſtian ſhall come before him, he muſt put on a new paire of ſhooes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entereth, there is digged as it were, a cauſie all the way, vntill he come to the place where he ſhall talke with the king, who ſtandeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any ſtrangers: and when the ſtranger is departed, then is the cauſie caſt downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Perſians.

THeir religion is all one with the Turkes, ſauing that they differ who was the right ſucceſſour of Mahumet. The Turkes ſay that it was one Homer and his ſonne Vſman. But the Perſians ſay that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They ſay there was a counſell called to decide the matter who ſhould bee the ſucceſſour: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleaſure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleaſure that Mortus Ali ſhould bee his ſucceſſour. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man, and ſlew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a ſword that he fought withall, with the which he conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he ſtroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that ſhortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which hee charged them to lay the body & ſword of Mortus Ali, and to ſuffer the Camel to carie it whither he would.

A goodly and well grounded religion.

The

The which being perfourmed, the ſaid white camell caried the ſword and body of Mortus Ali vnto the ſea ſide, and the camell going a good way into the ſea, was with the ſword and body of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whoſe returne they haue long looked in Perſia. And for this cauſe, the king alwayes keepeth a horſe readie ſadled for him, and alſo of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but ſhe died in the yeere of our Lorde 1573. And ſay furthermore, that if hee come not ſhortly, they ſhalbe of our beliefe: much like the Iewes, looking for their Meſſias to come and reigne among them, like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are nowe in among the Chriſtians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

The Shaugh, or king of Perſia, is nothing in ſtrength and power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turkes: neither hath hee any great Ordinance or gunnes, or harquebulles. Notwithſtanding, his eldeſt ſonne Iſmael, about twentie and fiue yeeres paſt, fought a great battaile with the Turke, and ſlew of his armie about an hundreth thouſand men, who after his returne, was by his father caſt into priſon, and there continueth vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh, had him in ſuſpition that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himſelfe.

Their opinion of Chriſt is, that hee was an holy man, and a great Prophete, but not like vnto Mahumet: ſaying, that Mahumet was the laſt prophet, by whome all things were finiſhed, and was therefore the greateſt. To prooue that Chriſt was not Gods ſonne, they ſay that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no ſonne or children. They goe on pilgrimage from the furtheſt part of Perſia, vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they viſit alſo the Sepulchre of Chriſt at Ieruſalem, which they now call Couche Kalye. Their opinion of Chriſt.

The moſt part of ſpices which commeth into Perſia, is brought from the Iſlande of Ormus, ſituate in the gulfe of Perſia, called Sinus Perſicus, betweene the maine lande of Perſia and Arabia, &c. The Portingals touche at Ormus both in their voyage to Eaſt India, and homewarde againe, and from thence bring all ſuch ſpices as are occupied in Perſia and the regions there about: for of pepper they bring very ſmall quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they ſell as good cheape as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine lande of Perſia, and the Portingals fetche their freſh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Perſia.

Within Perſia, they haue neither golde nor ſiluer mines, yet haue they coyned money, both of golde and ſiluer, and alſo other ſmall moneis of copper. There is brought into Perſia an incredible ſumme of Dutch dolers, which for the moſt part are there employed in rawe ſilke. Their money.

They haue fewe bookes, and leſſe learning, and are for the moſt part very brutiſh in all kinde of good ſciences, ſauing in ſome kind of ſilke workes, and in ſuch things as pertaine to the furniture of horſes, in the which they are paſſing good. Their bookes and learning.

Their lawes are, as is their religion, wicked and deteſtable. And if any man offend the prince, he puniſheth it extreemely, not onely in the perſon that offendeth, but alſo in his children, and in as many as are of his kinne. Theft and murther are often puniſhed, yet none otherwiſe then pleaſeth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence. Such was the lawe of the Macedonians for treaſon.

There is oftentimes great mutenie among the people in great townes, which of Mortus Ali ſonnes was greateſt: Inſomuch that ſometimes in the towne two or three thouſande people are together by the eares for the ſame, as I haue ſeene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouill, and alſo in the great citie of Teueris, where I haue ſeene a man comming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hande foure or fiue mens heads, carrying them by the haire of the head: for although they ſhaue their heads moſt commonly twiſe a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon the crowne, about two foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue that tuft of haire vpon their heads. They anſwere, that thereby they may eaſlyer bee caried vp into heauen, when they are dead. Diſſention for religion.

For their religion, they haue certaine prieſtes, who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vſe euery morning and afternoone, to goe vp to the tops of their Churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumet & Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Chriſtmas, not in abſtinence from fleſh onely, but from all meates and drinkes, vntill the day be off the ſkie: but then they eate ſometimes the whole night. And although it be againſt their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great exceſſe thereof, and be dronken. Their prieſts, and preaching. Their Lent.

Their lent beginneth at the newe Moone, and they doe not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: Neither yet doeth their lent ende, vntill they haue seene the next newe Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seene in long time.

Their saints and holy men.

Pilgrimage.

They haue among them certaine holy men, whome they call Setes, counted holy for that they or any of their auncestours haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoeuer goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumet, both hee and all his posteritie, are euer after called Setes, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselues. And if a man contrary one of these, hee will say that hee is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleeued: and that hee cannot lie, although he lye neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be to holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride, of a minde puffed vp with his owne opinion of holinesse. These Setes doe vse to shaue their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a little aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braide the same as women doe their haire, and to weare it as long as it will growe.

Their prayer and worshipping of God and Mahumet.

Euery morning they vse to worship God, Mahumet, and Mortus Ali, and in praying turne themselues toward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauaile on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselues to the South, and will laye their gownes before them, with their swordes and beades, and so standing vpright, worship to the South: And many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beades, or somewhat els that lieth before them.

Washing and outward cleanlinesse.

The men or women doe neuer go to make water, but they vse to take with them a potte with a spoute, and after they haue made water, they flash some water vpon their priuie partes, and thus doe the women aswell as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water, the men doe cowre downe as well as the women.

Their swearing.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumet, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by al at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla Mahumet Ali. But if hee sweare by the Shaughes head, in saying Shaugham bashe, you may then beleeue him if you wil.

The kings magnificence.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or sixe weekes, none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they dayly to the court, and tarie there a certaine time, vntill they haue knowen his pleasure whether he will commaund them any thing or not. He is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curshes, who are they that hee vseth to sende into the Countreis about his greatest affaires. When he sendeth any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should beate any of them to death.

Pursuants.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathstoue, and when hee is disposed to goe thither, hee taketh with him fiue or sixe of his concubines, more or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailes, and other matters. The greatest part of his life, hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath nowe reigned about fiftie and foure yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or more: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because hee hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of the kingedome.

I haue saide before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chaunce to haue any children by any of his concubines, and bee minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whome hee so fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whome hee so loueth best, hee ordaineth to bee king after him.

Circumcision.

What I heard of the maner of their marriages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as doe the Turkes.

Their houses and maner of eating.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but little furniture of houshold stuffe, except it be their carpets, and some copper worke: for all their kettles and dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as doe tailers. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roome wherein hee sitteth, is wholy couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat rookes, couered with earth: and in the sommer time, they lie vpon them all night.

They haue many bond seruants both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one

of

of the beſt kinde of Marchandiſe that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vſe to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horſes: when one hath bought a young woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vſe as long as him liſteth, and then ſelleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is ſometimes ſolde in the ſpace of foure or fiue yeeres, twelue, or twentie times. If a man keepe a houde woman for his owne vſe, and if hee finde her to be falſe to him, and giue her bodie to any other, hee may kill her if hee will. Bondmen and bond women. Women bought and ſold, and let to hire.

When a marchant or trauailer commeth to any towne where he entendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or ſometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when hee commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the ſame alſo: for there they vſe to put out their women to hire, as wee doe here hackney horſes.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauat, which falleth into the Caſpian ſea, by a towne called Backo, neere vnto which towne is a ſtrange thing to behold. For there iſſueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of Dyle, which Dyle they fetch from the vttermoſt bounds of all Perſia: it ſerueth all the Countrey to burne in their houſes. Abundance of Dyle iſſuing out of the ground.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte: they vſe to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & aſſes, of which you ſhall oftentimes meete, with foure or fiue hundred in a companie. There is alſo by the ſaid towne of Backo, an other kinde of oyle which is white and very precious: and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that here is called Petroleum. There is alſo not farre from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and iſſueth out of the ground, whereof wee haue made the proofe, that in our ſhips it ſerueth well in the ſtead of tarre. Oleum Petroleum.

In Perſia are kine of two ſorts, the one like vnto ours in theſe partes, the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones, and very leane, and but little haire vpon them: their milke is walowiſh ſweete: they are like vnto them which are ſpoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao ſignified the ſeuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or more euill fauoured beaſt, can no man ſee. Two ſorts of kine.

In the Countrey of Shiruan (ſometime called Media) if you chaunce to lye in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you ſhall haue about you two or three hundred fores, which make a marueilous wayling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it ſhall ſcape them hardly but they will haue part with you. Fores in great plentie.

The Caſpian ſea, doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except ſometimes by rage of winde it ſwelleth vp very high: the water is very ſalt. Howbeit, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great riuer of Volga, maketh the water freſh at the leaſt twentie leagues into the ſea. The Caſpian ſea is marueilous full of fiſh, but no kinde of monſtrous fiſh, as farre as I could vnderſtand, yet hath it ſundrie ſortes of fiſhes which are not in theſe partes of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the ſheepe great, hauing very great rumps with much fat vpon them.

Riſe and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The Copie of a letter ſent to the Emperour of Moſcouie, by Chriſtopher Hodſdon, and VVilliam Burrough, Anno 1570.

MOſt mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas ſir William Garrard and his fellowſhip, the Companie of Engliſh Marchants this laſt winter ſent hither to the Narue, 3. ſhips laden with marchandiſe, which was left here, & with it Chriſtopher Hodſdon one of the ſaide fellowſhip and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came firſt hither, and vntill ſuch time as hee had diſpatched thoſe ſhippes from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene ſailes of good ſhippes, againſt this ſhipping, wherefore hee wrote vnto the ſaide ſir William Garrard and his companie to ſende hither this ſpring the ſaide nomber of thirteene ſhippes. And becauſe that in their comming hither wee founde the Freebooters on the ſea, and ſuppoſing this yeere that they would be very ſtrong, hee therefore gaue the ſaide ſir William and his Companie aduiſe, to furniſh the ſaide nomber of ſhippes ſo ſtrongly, as they ſhoulde bee able to withſtande the force of the Freebooters: Whereupon they haue according to his aduiſe ſent this yeere thirteene good ſhippes together well furniſhed with men and munition, and all other neceſſaries for the warres, of which 13. ſhippes William Burrough one of the ſaid felowſhip is Captaine generall,

vnto whome there was giuen in charge, that if hee mette with any the Danske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and theeues, that are enemies to your highnesse, hee should doe his best to apprehende and take them: It so happened that the tenth day of this moneth the saide William with his fleete, mette with fiue shippes of the Freebooters neere vnto an Islande called Tuttee, which is about 50. verstes from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his fleete gaue chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but 3. men, the rest were fledde to shoare in their boates amongst the woods vpon Tuttee, on which shippe hee set fire and burnt her. Hee also tooke foure more of those shippes which are nowe here, and one shippe escaped him: out of which foure shippes some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they sawe they could not escape, cast themselues willingly into the Sea, and were drowned. So that in these 5. shippes were left but 83. men.

Fiue shippes of Freebooters taken.

The saide William Borough when hee came hither to Narue, finding here Christopher Hodsdon aforenamed, both the saide Christopher and William, together in the name of sir William Garrard, and the rest of their whole Companie and fellowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freeboters taken by our shippes 82. men, which wee deliuered here vnto Kneze Voivoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snarke a Captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When we should haue deliuered him with the rest of his felowes vnto the Viouodaes officers, there were of our Englishmen more then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that hee might be reserued in the shippe, and carried backe into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour besides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with vs into England, wherein wee request your Maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you command of him shalbe obserued.

Wee haue also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and writings, as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whome, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which writings wee haue commended vnto Kneze Yoriue your Maiesties Viouoda at Plasco, by our seruant. And haue requested his furtherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your Maiesties handes: which writings when you haue perused, wee desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruant, as speedily as may be: for these shippes which we now haue here, will be soone dispatched from hence, for that wee haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your Maiesties order) bene kept from trafiquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your Maiestie will hereafter haue consideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to trafique in all parts of your Maiesties Countreis, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, wee pray for your Maiesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Narue the 15. of July. Anno 1570.

Your Maiesties most humble
and obedient,

{ Christopher Hodsdon,
{ William Borough.

A note of the proceeding of M. Anthonie Ienkinson, Ambassadour *from the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia*, from the time of his arriuall there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly, 1572.

THe said 26. day I arriued with the two good shippes called the Swallow and the Harry in safetie at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia aforesaide, and landed at Rose Island, from whence immediatly I sent away my Interpreter Daniel Silvester in poste towardes the Court, being then at the Mosco, whereby his Maiestie might as well be aduertised of my arriuall in his Dominions, as also to knowe his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse. And remayning at the saide Island two or three dayes, to haue conference with your Agent about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the saide Agent, and others your seruants, that I was entred

into

into great perill and danger of my life, for they reported to mee that they heard ſaide at the Moſco, that the Princes diſpleaſure was ſuch againſt mee, that if euer I came into his Countrey againe I ſhould looſe my head, with other wordes of diſcouragement: Whereat, I was not a little diſmayde, not knowing whether it were beſt for mee to proceede forwards, or to returne home againe with the ſhippes for the ſafegard of my life. But calling to minde mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my ſelfe not to haue offended his Maieſtie any maner of wayes either in word or deede, or by making former promiſes not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falſely ſurmiſed, and being deſirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iuſtifie my true dealings, and to reproue my ſaid enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceaſed of late by vntrue reports to impute the cauſe of the ſaide Emperours diſpleaſure towards you to proceede of my dealings, and promiſes made to him at my laſt being with him (although by his letters to the Queenes Maieſtie, and by his owne wordes to mee the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my ſelfe rather to put my life into his handes, and by the prouidence of God to proſecute the charge committed vnto mee, then to returne home in vaine, diſcouraged with the wordes of ſuch, who had rather that I had tarried at home, then to bee ſent ouer with ſuch credite, whereby I might ſift out their euill doings, the onely cauſe of your loſſe.

Wherefore, leauing the ſaide ſhippes the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the ſeaſide, and the firſt of Auguſt arriued at Colmogro, where I remayned attending the returne of my ſaide meſſenger with order from his Maieſtie.

But all the Countrey being ſore viſited by the hande of God with the plague, paſſage in euery place was ſhutte vp, that none might paſſe in paine of death: My meſſenger being eight hundreth miles vpon his way, was ſtayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee ſuffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or ſende vnto mee: by meanes whereof in the ſpace of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor knowe what was become of him, in which time my ſaide meſſenger founde meanes to aduertiſe the Gouernour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his ſtay, as of the cauſe of his comming thither, who ſent him worde that it was not poſſible to paſſe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maieſtie, who was gone to the warres againſt the Swethens, and that hee would aduertiſe his highneſſe ſo ſoone as hee might conueniently: And ſo my ſaide meſſenger was forced to remaine there ſtill without anſwere. During which time of his ſtay through the great death (as aforeſaide,) I founde meanes to ſende another meſſenger, with a guide by an vnknowen way through wilderneſſe, a thouſande miles about, thinking that way hee ſhould paſſe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewiſe hee being paſſed a great part of his iourney, fell into the handes of a watche, and eſcaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horſes had not bene burnt, according to the lawe prouided for ſuch as would ſeeke to paſſe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the ſmart thereof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither coulde that meſſenger returne backe vnto mee.

And thus was I kept without anſwere or order from his Maieſtie, and remained at the ſaide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of Januarie following, neither hauing a Gentleman to ſafegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey faſhion for Ambaſſadours, which argued his grieuous diſpleaſure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the ſame, vſed towards mee and my companie ſome diſcourteſies: but about the 28. day aforeſaid, the plague ceaſed, and the paſſages being opened, there came order from his Maieſtie that I ſhould haue poſte horſes, and be ſuffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraſlaue neere to the Court, his Maieſtie being newly returned frō the ſaid warres. And I arriued at the ſaid Peraſlaue the 7. of Februarie, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a houſe appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but ſo ſtraitly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or ſend vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March following, I was ſent for to the Court, and being within 3. miles of the ſame, a poſte was ſent to the Gentleman which had charge of mee to returne backe againe with mee to the ſaid Peraſlaue, and to remaine there vntill his Maieſties further pleaſure, wherewith I was much diſmayed, and marueiled what that ſudden change ment, and the rather, becauſe it was a troubleſome time, and his Maieſtie much diſquieted through the ill ſucceſſe of his affaires, (as I did vnderſtand.) And the twentieth of the ſame, I was ſent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maieſtie, who cauſed mee to kiſſe his hande, and gaue gratious audience vnto my Oration, gratefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maieſties princely letters, and her preſent, in the preſence of all his nobilitie. After I had finiſhed my Oration to long here to rehearſe, and deliuered her highneſſe letters, and preſent (as aforeſaid) the Emperour ſitting in royal eſtate ſtood vp

and ſaid, How doth Queene Elizabeth my ſiſter, is ſhe in health? to whom I anſwered, God doth bleſſe her Maieſtie with health, and peace, and doeth wiſh the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maieſtie ſitting downe againe, commanded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, ſauing the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell, and willing me to approch neere vnto him with my Interpretor, ſaid vnto me theſe words.

Anthonie, the laſt time thou waſt with vs heare, wee did commit vnto thee our truſtie and ſecret Meſſage, to bee declared vnto the Queenes Maieſtie herſelfe thy Miſtreſſe at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time we appointed, with a full anſwere of the ſame from her highneſſe. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at ſeuerall times three meſſengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Marchants affaires: to whome we ſent our meſſenger to knowe whether thou Anthonie, were returned home in ſafetie, and when thou ſhouldeſt returne vnto vs againe: but thoſe meſſengers coulde tell vs nothing, and did miſcall, and abuſe with euill wordes, both our meſſenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderſtanding that the ſaide Goodman had letters about him, wee cauſed him to be ſearched, with whome were found many letters, wherein was written much againſt our Princely eſtate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, whereat wee were much grieued, and would ſuffer none of thoſe rude meſſengers to haue acceſſe vnto vs: and ſhortly after wee were informed that one Thomas Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambaſſadour from the Queene, and wee ſent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Moſco, at which time wee looked that thou ſhouldeſt haue returned vnto vs againe. And the ſaide Thomas being arriued at our ſaide Citie, wee ſent vnto him diuers times, that hee ſhoulde come and conferre with our Counſell, whereby wee might vnderſtande the cauſe of his comming, looking for anſwere of thoſe our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refuſed to come to our ſaide Counſell: wherefore, and for that our ſaide Citie was viſited with plague, the ſaide Thomas was the longer kept from our preſence. Which being ceaſed, foorthwith wee gaue him acceſſe and audience, but all his talke with vs, was about Marchants affaires, and nothing touching ours. Wee knowe that Marchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the ſtaye of our Princely treaſures: But firſt Princes affaires are to bee eſtabliſhed, and then Marchants. After this the ſaide Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and vs, might be eſtabliſhed for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambaſſadour and vs, and thereupon wee ſent our Ambaſſadour into England with him to ende the ſame, but our Embaſſadour returned vnto vs againe, without finiſhing our ſaid affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your ſaid Ambaſſadour.

Thus when his Maieſtie had made a long diſcourſe, I humbly beſeeched his highneſſe to heare me gratiouſly, and to giue me leaue to ſpeake without offence, and to beleeue thoſe words to be true which I ſhould ſpeake. Which he graunted, and theſe were my wordes.

Moſt noble and famous Prince, the meſſage which thy highneſſe did ſende by mee vnto the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie touching thy Princely and ſecret affaires, immediatly, and ſo ſoone as I came home, I did declare both ſecretly and truely vnto the Queenes Maieſtie her ſelfe, word for word, as thou Lorde diddeſt commaunde mee. Which her highneſſe did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to anſwere the ſame, the next ſhipping after her Maieſtie did ſende vnto thee Lorde, her highneſſe Ambaſſadour Thomas Randolfe, whoſe approoued wiſedome and fidelitie was vnto her Maieſtie well knowen, and therefore thought meete to bee ſent to ſo worthy a Prince, who had Commiſſion not onely to treate with thy Maieſtie of Marchants affaires, but alſo of thoſe thy Princely and ſecret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cauſe (moſt gracious Prince) that I was not ſent againe, was, for that I was imployed in ſeruice vpon the Seas againſt the Queenes Maieſties enemies, and was not returned home at ſuch time as Maſter Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maieſties Countrey, otherwiſe I had bene ſent. And whereas thy Maieſtie ſayeth, that Thomas Randolfe woulde not treate with thy Counſell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commiſſion: which was: Firſt to deale with thy Maieſtie thy ſelfe, which order is commonly vſed among all Princes, when they ſende their Ambaſſadours about matters of great waight. And whereas the ſaide Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the ſame time, and promiſed the ſame ſhould bee perfourmed by the Queene her Maieſtie: Whereupon (Lorde) thou diddeſt ſend thy Ambaſſadour with him into Englande, for anſwere thereof: It may pleaſe thy Maie-

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ſtie to vnderſtand, that as the ſaid Thomas Randolfe doth confeſſe, that in deede he had talke with thy Highnes, and counſell diuers times about princely affaires: euen ſo he denieth that euer he did agree, conclude, or make any promiſe in any condition or order, as is alleaged otherwiſe then it ſhould pleaſe the Queene her Maieſtie to like of, at his returne home, which he did iuſtifie to thy Highnes Ambaſſador his face in England. Wherefore moſt mightie Prince, it doth wel appeare, that either thy Ambaſſador did vntruly enforme thy Maieſtie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes Highnes her Ambaſſador, for want of a good Interpretor, was not well vnderſtoode: and how thankefully the Queene her Maieſtie did receaue thy Highnes commendations, and letters ſent by thy Maieſties Ambaſſador, and how gratiouſly ſhe gaue him audience ſundry times, vſing him with ſuch honour in al points for thy ſake Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer ſhewed to any Ambaſſador in our Realme, and how honorably with full anſwere in all things, her Maieſtie diſmiſſed him, when he had finiſhed all thy princely affaires (as it ſeemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately ſent with her Highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her Meſſenger Robert Beaſt, and her Maieſtie did ſuppoſe that that thy Ambaſſador would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy Highnes would haue bene ſatisfied in all things: otherwiſe ſhe would haue ſent her Maieſties Ambaſſador with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her Highnes perceauing that thy Maieſtie is not fully ſatisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her Highnes Ambaſſador, nor by thine owne Ambaſſador Andrea Sauyne, nor yet by her Maieſties letter, ſent by the ſaid Andrea: and alſo vnderſtanding thy great griefe and diſpleaſure towards ſir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, hath thought good to ſend me at this preſent vnto thee Lord Emperour, and great Duke, as wel with her Highnes ful mind, touching thy princely affaires, as alſo to knowe the iuſt cauſe of thy Maieſties ſaid diſpleaſure towards the ſaid companie of merchants: and hath commanded me to anſwere to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her Highnes doth ſuppoſe thy Maieſties indignation, to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntrue reports of thy late Ambaſſador in England, and of ſuch wicked perſons of our nation reſident here in thy Highnes dominions, rebels to her Maieſtie, and their countrie, then of any iuſt deſerts of the ſaid merchants, who neuer willingly deſerued thy Highneſſe diſpleaſure, but rather fauour in all their doinges and meaninges. And ſince the firſt time of their traffiking in thy Maieſties dominions, which is now nineteene yeeres, the ſaid merchants haue bene, and are alwaies readie and willing truely to ſerue thy highneſſe of all thinges meete for thy treaſurie, in time of peace and of warre in deſpite of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the Eaſt ſeas were agreed to ſtoppe the ſounde, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time ſuch commoditie to thee Lord, as her Maieſty doth not ſuffer to be tranſported forth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great loſſes the ſayd Sir William Garret, with his companie hath ſuſtained of late yeeres in this trade, as wel by ſhipwracke, as by falſe ſeruants it is manifeſtly knowen: and what ſeruice the ſaid companies ſhips did vnto thy Maieſtie againſt thy enemies, two yeeres paſt in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles ſhippes Freebutters, and burnt the ſame and ſlew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue, I truſt thy Highnes doth not forget. Wherefore moſt mighty Prince, the premiſes conſidered, the Queene her moſt excellent Maieſtie thy louing Siſter, doeth requeſt thy Highnes to reſtore the ſaide Sir William Garret with his companie into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffike with thy accuſtomed goodnes and iuſtice, to be miniſtred vnto them throughout all thy Maieſties dominions, as afore time: and that the ſame may be ſignified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highneſſe commandement or reſtraint to the contrarie notwithſtanding. And further that it will pleaſe thy Maieſtie, not to giue credite to falſe reports, and vntrue ſuggeſtions of ſuch as are enemies, and ſuch as neither would haue mutuall amity to continue betwixt your Maieſties, nor yet entercourſe betwixt your countries. And ſuch rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which lye lurking here in thy Highnes dominions, ſeeking to ſowe diſſentions betwixt your Maieſties by falſe ſurmiſes, ſpending away their maſters goodes riotouſly, and will not come home to giue vp their accounts, aduancing themſelues to bee merchants, and able to ſerue thy Highnes of all thinges fitte for thy treaſurie, whereas indeede they be of no credite, nor able of themſelues to doe thy Maieſtie anie ſeruice at all: the Queenes Highneſſe requeſt is, that it would pleaſe thy Maieſtie to commaunde that ſuch perſons may bee deliuered vnto me to be carried home, leaſt by their remaining here, and hauing practiſes & friendſhip with ſuch as be not thy highneſſe friends, their euill doing might be a cauſe hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from Sir William Garret and his companie, who haue true meaning in all

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their doings, and are ready to ſerue thy Highnes at all times, vſing many other wordes to the aduancement of your credits, and the diſgracing of your enemies, and ſo I ended for that time.

Then ſaid his Maieſtie, we haue heard you, and will conſider of all things further, when wee haue read the Queene our ſiſters letters: to whome I anſwered, that I ſuppoſed his Maieſtie ſhould by thoſe letters vnderſtand her Highnes full mind to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accompliſh in word. Wherewith his Maieſtie ſeemed to be well pleaſed, and commanded me to ſit downe. And after pawſing a while, his Maieſtie ſaid theſe wordes vnto me, It is now a time which we ſpend in faſting, and praying, being the weeke before Eaſter, and for that we will ſhortly depart from hence, towards our borders of Nouogrode, we can not giue you anſwere, nor your diſpatch here, but you ſhall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where we will ſhortly come, and then you ſhall knowe our pleaſure, and haue your diſpatch. And ſo I was diſmiſſed to my lodging, and the ſame day I had a dinner ready dreſt ſent me from his Maieſtie, with great ſtore of drinkes, of diuers ſortes, and the next day following, being the foure and twentieth of Marche aforeſaide, the chiefe Secretarie to his Maieſtie, ſent vnto mee a Gentleman, to ſignifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maieſties pleaſure was, I ſhould immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Otwer, three hundred miles, from the aforeſaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Staryts, three ſcore miles from the ſaid Otwer.

Then I ſent my Interpretor to the chiefe Secretarie, requeſting him to further, and ſhewe his fauour vnto our ſaid merchants in their ſutes, which they ſhould haue occaſion to moue in my abſence: who ſent me word againe, that they ſhould be well aſſured of his friendſhip, & furtherance in all their ſutes. And forthwith poſt horſes were ſent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And ſo departing from the ſaide Sloboda, I arriued at the ſaide Otwer, the 28. of Marche aforeſaide, where I remained till the eight of May following. Then I was ſent for, to come vnto his Maieſtie, to the ſaide Staryts, where I arriued the tenth of the ſame, and the twelfth of the ſame, I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretarie, who at our meeting ſayde vnto mee theſe wordes.

Our Lord Emperour, and great Duke, hath not onely peruſed the Queene her Highnes letters ſent by you, and thereby doth perceaue her mind, as well touching their princely affaires, as alſo her earneſt requeſt in the merchants behalfe, but alſo hath well pondered your wordes. And therefore his Maieſties pleaſure is, that you let me vnderſtand, what ſutes you haue to moeue in the merchants behalfe, or otherwiſe, for that to morrowe, you ſhall haue acceſſe againe vnto his Highnes, and ſhall haue full anſwere in all things, with your diſpatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine briefe articles of requeſts, which I had drawen out ready, as followeth.

1. Firſt the Queenes Maieſtie her requeſt is, that it would pleaſe the Emperours Highnes to let me knowe the iuſt cauſe of his great diſpleaſure fallen vpon ſir William Garret, & his companie, who neuer deſerued the ſame, to their knowledge.

2. Alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes, not to giue credite vnto falſe and vntrue reportes, by ſuch as ſeeke to ſowe diſſention, and breake friendſhippe, betwixt the Queenes Highnes, and his Maieſtie.

3. Alſo that it would pleaſe his Maiеſty to receaue the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his companie, into his fauour againe, and to reſtore them to their former priuiledges, and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of all his Maieſties dominions, in as ample manner as aforetime, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accuſtomed goodnes.

4. Alſo it would pleaſe his Highnes to grant, that the ſaid companie of merchants may haue iuſtice of all his ſubiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout all his dominions ſuffred ſince the time of his diſpleaſure, during which time, the merchants were forced by ſeuere iuſtice to anſwer to all mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5. Alſo that his Maieſtie would vnderſtand, that much debts are owing to the ſaid merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and ſome executed, and the ſaid merchants know not how to be paid, and anſwered the ſame, except his Highnes pitie their caſe, and command ſome order to be taken therein.

6. Alſo it would pleaſe his Highnes to command that the ſaide merchants may be paide all ſuch ſumme, or ſummes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maieſtie, for wares, as well Engliſh, as Shamakye, taken into his Highnes treaſurie by his officers in ſundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the ſaid companie of merchants.

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7 Alſo it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that at this preſent time there are in Perſia of Engliſh merchants, Thomas Baniſter, and Geofrye Ducket, with their companie, and goods, ready to come into his Maieſties Countrey of Aſtracan, and would haue come the laſt yeere, but that the ſhip, with our merchants, and marriners, appointed to goe for them, were ſtaied at Aſtracan by his Highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the ſaid merchants. Wherefore it may now pleaſe his Maieſtie, to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines, and rulers, both at Aſtracan, and Cazan, not onely to ſuffer our people, as well merchants, as marriners, quietly, and freely to paſſe and repaſſe with their ſhippes, barkes, or other veſſels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caſpium, to fetch the ſaid Engliſh merchants, with their companie, and goods, out of the ſaid Perſia, into his Maieſties dominions, but alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes ſtreightly to command, that when the ſaid Thomas Banneſter, and Geofrye Ducket, with their charge, ſhall arriue at the ſaide Aſtracan, his Maieſties Captaine there, and in all other places, vppon the riuer Volga, ſhall ſo aide and aſſiſt the ſaid merchants, as they may be ſafely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and others their enemies.

8 Alſo it may pleaſe his Highnes to vnderſtand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamakye, haue bene ill vſed by his Maieſties Cuſtomers, both at Aſtracan, and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay cuſtome for their wares, although they ſolde no part thereof, but brought the ſame into his Highnes treaſurie at Sloboda: and the ſaid Cuſtomers did not only exact, and take much more cuſtome then was due by his Maieſties lawes, but alſo for want of preſent monie, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted cuſtome, and doe keepe the ſame as a pawne. It may therefore pleaſe his Highnes to direct his princely letters to the ſaid Cuſtomers, to ſignifie vnto them his great goodnes againe reſtored vnto the ſaide Engliſh merchants, as alſo to command them to ſend the ſaid merchants their ſaid goods ſo detained, vp to the Musko, they paying ſuch cuſtome for the ſame, as ſhall be by his Maieſtie appointed.

9 Alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes to grant, that ſir William Garret, with his companie, may eſtabliſh their trade for merchandiſe at Colmogro in Dwina, and that ſuch wares as ſhal be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treaſurie might be looked vpon, and receaued by his officers there: and that his Maieſties people trafficking with our merchants, may bring downe their commodities to the ſaid Colmogro, by meanes whereof the ſaide Engliſh merchants auoiding great troubles, and charges, in tranſporting their goods ſo farre, and into ſo many places of his dominions, may ſell the ſame better cheape, to the benefite of his Maieſties ſubiects.

10 Alſo if it ſeemed good to his Highnes, that the whole trade likewiſe from Perſia, Boghar, and all other thoſe Countreies beyond the Mare Caſpium, might be eſtabliſhed at Aſtracan, the ancient marte towne in times paſt, which would be both for the great honour, and profite of his Maieſtie, and ſubiects, as I am well able to proue, if it will pleaſe his Highnes to appoint any of his counſell to talke with me therein.

11 Alſo foraſmuch as it pleaſed his Maieſtie immediatly after the burning of the Musko, to command that the ſaid Engliſh merchants ſhould giue in a note into his treaſurie, for their loſſes ſuſtained by the ſaid fire, which was done by William Rowlye, then cheefe Agent for ſir William Garret, and his company, and the particulars in the ſame note conſumed with the ſaid fire, did amount to the ſumme of 10000. rubbles, and aboue: It may pleaſe his Highnes of his accuſtomed goodnes, and great clemencie, to conſider of the ſame, and to giue the ſaide companie ſo much as ſhall ſeeme good vnto his Maieſtie, towards their ſaid loſſes.

12 Alſo that it will pleaſe his Highnes, to vnderſtand that the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, at the earneſt ſute and requeſt of Andrea Sauyne his Maieſties Ambaſſador, did not onely pardon and forgiue Thomas Glouer, his great and grieuous offences towards her Highnes committed, only for his Maieſties ſake, but alſo commanded ſir William Garret, with his companie, to deale fauourably with the ſaid Glouer, in his accompts, to whome he was indebted greatly, and being their ſeruant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the ſaid ſir William Garret, with his companie, counted with the ſaide Glouer, and ended all thinges, euen to his ſaid contentation, and was found to be debter to the ſaid companie, 4000. robbles, and aboue, and bound him ſelfe both by his ſolemne othe, and his hand writing, to pay the ſame immediatly after his returne into Ruſſia, with the ſaid Andrea Sauyne, vnto Nicholas Proctor, chiefe Agent there, for the ſaid companie of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres paſt, ſince the ſaide agreement, and that the ſaid Nicholas hath diuers, and ſundry times requeſted the ſaid monie of the ſaid Thomas, yet will he not pay the ſame debt, but maketh delay from time to time, alleaging that his Maieſtie oweth him a great ſumme of money, without the paiment whereof, he can not be able to pay the ſaid merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In conſidera-

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tion of the premiſſes, It may pleaſe his Highnes, to giue order that the ſaid Glouer may be paid, and that he may diſcharge his debt to the ſaide company of merchants, and the rather for that he found ſuch mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maieſties ſake.

13 Alſo foraſmuch as Ralfe Rutter, a rebell to the Queenes Maieſtie, and an enemie to his Countrey, and to ſir William Garret, and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the ſpoiles and goods of the ſaid merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his hands, rioteouſly ſpending the ſame, during the time that he was their ſeruant, and would not come home when he was ſent for, and alſo for that the Queenes Maieſtie doth vnderſtand, that the ſaid Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe ſeeke by all falſe meanes, to ſowe diſſention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maieſties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the ſaid merchants: her Highnes requeſt is, that the ſaid Ralfe, with his complices, may be deliuered vnto me, to be carried home, and none other of her Maieſties ſubiects, not being of the ſocietie of the ſaid ſir William Garret, and his companie, to be ſuffered to traffike within his Highnes dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to be ſent home: for that the ſaid merchants with great charges and loſſes, both by ſhipwracke, and riotous ſeruants, did firſt finde out this trade, and haue continued the ſame, theſe 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Alſo whereas diuers Maſters, and artificers of our nation, are here in his Maieſties ſeruice, and doe finde themſelues grieued that they can not haue licence to depart home into their natiue Countrey, at their will and pleaſure: the Queenes Maieſties requeſt is, according to her Highnes writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will pleaſe his Maieſtie to permit, and ſuffer ſuch artificers, here reſident in the ſeruice of his Highnes, to haue free libertie to depart, and goe home with mee, if they requeſt the ſame, but alſo all other the like, which ſhall come hereafter to ſerue his Maieſtie, to haue free libertie to depart likewiſe, without any let or ſtay.

15 Alſo it may pleaſe his Maieſtie to vnderſtand, that during the time of my long being at Colmogro, attending his Highnes pleaſure, for my further acceſſe, I with my company, haue not onely bene ill vſed, and intreated there, and likewiſe the merchants there, by one Beſſon Myſſereuye, his Maieſties chiefe officer, who hath diſhonored me, and ſmitten my people, and oweth the ſaid merchants much money, and will not pay them: but alſo the ſaide Beſſone hath ſpoken wordes of diſhonor againſt the Queenes Maieſtie. Wherefore it may pleaſe his Highnes to ſend downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to ſerch fourth his euill behauiour towards her Maieſtie, as towards me her Highnes Ambaſſador, and to puniſh him accordingly: and alſo that it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to ſende downe his letter of iuſtice, by vertue whereof, the ſaid Beſſone may be forced to pay all ſuch money as he oweth to the ſaide merchants, without delay.

16 Alſo that it would pleaſe his Highnes to vnderſtand, that ſir William Garret, with his companie, vnderſtanding of the great dearth in his Maieſties dominions, by licence of ỹ Queenes Maieſtie, (not otherwiſe permitted) hath ſent certaine ſhips laden with corne into his Highnes Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maieſties ſubiects, then for any gaine: yet the good will of the ſaid merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to ſell the ſaid corne, to their great diſcouragement hereafter to ſend any more. Wherefore it may pleaſe his Highnes, to tender the good will of the ſaid merchants, as well in ſending the ſaid corne, as in all other things, ready to ſerue his Maieſtie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwyna, to ſuffer the ſaide merchants, with their companie, to ſell the ſaid corne by meaſure great, or ſmall, at their pleaſure, without paying cuſtome.

Theſe articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretarie, as aforeſaide, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforeſaid, I had warning earely in the morning, to prepare my ſelfe to be at the Court, betwixt the howres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I ſhould haue acceſſe vnto the preſence of the Prince, as well to receaue anſwere of all things, as to be diſmiſſed to goe home. At which howres I was ſent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of preſence, where his Maieſtie did ſit apparelled moſt ſumptuouſly, with a rich Crowne vpon his head, garniſhed with many pretious ſtones, his eldeſt ſonne ſitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my dutie done, his Highnes commanded me to approch very neere vnto him, and ſaide vnto me theſe wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing ſiſter her letters wee haue cauſed to be tranſlated, and doe well vnderſtande the ſame, and of all things as well therein contayned, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared, wee haue well conſidered, and doe perceaue that our ſecrete meſſage vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were

aduertiſed

aduertiſed to the contrarie) and now we are by you fully ſatisfied. And when we did ſend our Ambaſſador into England, about thoſe our great, and waightie affaires, to conclude the ſame with the Queene our ſiſter, our Ambaſſador could ende nothing for want of ſuch aſſurance as was requiſite in princely affaires, according to the manner of all Countreyes, but was diſmiſſed vnto vs againe, with letters of ſmall effect, touching the ſame, and no Ambaſſador ſent with him from the Queene: which cauſed vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were ſet aſide, and little regarded, wherewith we were at that time much greeued: for the which cauſe, and for the euill behauiour of your merchants, reſident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes tranſgreſſed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in all their doings) we did lay our heauie diſpleaſure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commanding that the ſame throughout all our dominions, ſhould be void, and of none effect: and thereupon did write to the Queene our ſiſter, touching our griefes.

And now her Highnes hath ſent vnto vs againe, you her Ambaſſador, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankefully receaue, and are thereby fully ſatiſfied. And for that our princely, and ſecret affaires were not finiſhed to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all thoſe matters, and ſet them aſide for the time, becauſe our minde is nowe otherwiſe changed, but hereafter when occaſion ſhall moue vs to the like, we will then talke of thoſe matters againe. And for that it hath pleaſed the Queene, our louing ſiſter, to ſende vnto vs at this preſent, and doeth deſire to continue in friendſhippe with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the ſame) we of our goodnes for her Highnes ſake, will not onely from hencefoorth put away, and forget all our diſpleaſure towardes the ſame Sir William Garret, and his companie (as though they had neuer offended vs) but alſo will reſtore them to their priuiledges, & liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will ſignifie the ſame by our letters, in all townes and cities, where the ſaid merchants doe traffike, and we will ſhewe them fauour as afore time, if they deſerue not the contrary. And if the Queene our ſiſter had not ſent thee Anthony vnto vs, at this preſent, God knoweth what we ſhould haue done to the ſaid merchants, or whether we would haue called backe our indignation.

Then I humbly beſeeched his Maieſtie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the ſaid merchants, and the offendors names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maieſtie, my miſtres, accordingly, that the ſaide offendors might receaue iuſt puniſhments for their deſerts: but he ſaid, I ſhould not know them, becauſe he had cleerely remitted all offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgiue, and after to accuſe the parties, whereby her Maieſties diſpleaſure might fal vpon them at home. Notwithſtanding I did after vnderſtand ſome part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maieſtie proceeding in talke, ſaide: As touching the articles of requeſt, concerning the merchants affaires, which you did yeſterday deliuer vnto our Secretarie, we haue not onely read the ſame our ſelfe, but alſo haue appointed our ſaid Secretarie to declare vnto you our mind, and anſwere to the ſame. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence ſhortly, we will diſmiſſe you to the Queene our louing ſiſter, your miſtres, with our letters, and full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requeſts, & will ſend a Gentleman one of our houſhold with you, to ſafeconduct you to your ſhips: and of our goodnes wil giue you victuals, boates, men, and poſt horſes, ſo many as you ſhall neede. And therewith his Maieſtie ſtanding vp, and putting off his cappe, ſaid vnto me theſe words. Doe our hartie commendations vnto our louing ſiſter, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whome wee wiſh long life, with happie ſucceſſe: and therewith his Highnes extended his hand to me to kiſſe, and commanded his ſonne, ſitting by him, to ſend the like commendations, which he did, whoſe hand likewiſe I kiſſed. And then his Maieſtie cauſed me to ſit downe, and commanded wine, and drinkes of diuers ſortes to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke, with his owne hand, and ſo after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14. of May aforeſaid, I was ſent for to come to the cheefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counſell with him, who at our meeting ſaid vnto me theſe wordes: We are appointed by the Emperour his Maieſtie, to giue you anſwere from his Highnes, touching your requeſts deliuered in writing, which his Maieſtie himſelfe hath peruſed, and anſwered as followeth.

1 To the firſt requeſt it is anſwered, that all his Maieſties greefes and diſpleaſure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, becauſe the Queenes Maieſtie did not accompliſh and ende with his Ambaſſador, his ſecrete and waightie affaires, according to his expectation, and the promiſe made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and alſo of the ill behauiour of your merchants

chants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiestie willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiestie, without good, and iust cause.

3 To the third, you are answered by the Emperours Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants, shall be restored, and the same to be knowen by his gratious letters of priuiledge, now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his Maiestie hath commanded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibite, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offred them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his Maiestie doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is alleaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not, the trueth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answere to be giuen: and hereafter his Maiestie would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his Maiestie hath commanded search to be made, what money is owing to the merchants, for wares receaued into his treasurie, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Musko:) and such as is due, and founde meete to bee paide, shall be paide foorthwith to the merchants, their factors, or seruants, which shall come for the same. And for paiment of the rest, his Maiesties further pleasure shall be signified hereafter.

7 To the seuenth, his Maiesties answere is, that letters shall be written foorthwith to his Captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whome it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both merchants, and mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetche Thomas Bannister, and Geofrye Ducket, with their companie, and goods, out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to ayde, and assist them, and see them safely conducted vp the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

7 To the eight, his Maiestie hath commanded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan, and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so deteined by them for custome, and to take custome for the same, according to his Maiesties letters of priuiledge.

9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasurie, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Musko, in their houses there, his Maiesties pleasure was, to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might knowe the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador, of the Queenes great mercie and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receaued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said sir William Garret, and his companie, and the said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the saide merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the saide Thomas sayth is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, and growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasurie, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid foorthwith to the saide Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter, and Bennet, accompted traytors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answere was, that as his Maiestie will not detaine any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to goe home, according to the Queenes request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present, to sende the saide Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his cheefe officer at the Musko, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologhda, by the fine of Maye, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuiledge, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the foureteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart, to their natiue Countrey, as are willing to goe.

15 To

15 To the 15. touching Beſſon Meſſeriuey, the Emperors maieſtie is much offended with him, and wil ſend downe a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for ſpeaking of vndecent words againſt the Queens maieſtie as you haue alleaged, as alſo againſt you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, and the ſaid Beſſone being found guiltie, to bee impriſoned and puniſhed by ſeuere iuſtice accordingly, and after to put in ſuerties to anſwer ẏ Emperours high diſpleaſure, or els to be brought vp like a priſoner by the ſaid gentleman, to anſwere his offences before his maieſtie. And his highnes doth requeſt that the Queenes highneſſe would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her meſſengers ſent hither two yeeres paſt, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maieſtie, as may appeare by the letters ſent by Daniel Siluester by his highneſſe, leaſt by the bad demeanor of ſuch lewd perſons, the amitie and friendſhip betwixt their maieſties might be diminiſhed.

16 To the 16 and laſt article touching the corne brought into the Emperours dominions by the merchants, his maieſtie doth greatly commend them for ſo well doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalfe, directed to his officers of Dwina, to ſuffer the ſaid merchants to ſell their corne, by meaſure great or ſmall at their pleaſure without cuſtome.

Thus I receiued a full anſwere from his maieſtie by his chiefe Secretarie and one other of his counſell, to the 16. articles afore rehearſed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter alſo ſent by me to the Queenes maieſtie. Which being done, I requeſted that the new letters of priuiledge granted by his highnes vnto you, might be forthwith diſpatched to the intent I might carie the ſame with me. Alſo I requeſted that ſuch money due to you, which it had pleaſed his maieſtie to command to be paid, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuiledge, the Secretarie anſwered me, it is not poſſible you can haue them with you, for they muſt be firſt written and ſhewed vnto the Emperour, and then three to bee written of one tenour according to your requeſt, which cannot be done with ſuch ſpeed, for that his maieſties pleaſure is, you ſhall depart this night before him, who remoueth himſelfe to morrow towards Nouogrode: but without faile the ſaid letters ſhall be diſpatched vpon the way, and ſent after you with ſpeed to Colmogro. And as touching the mony which you require, it cannot be paid here becauſe we haue not the bookes of accounts: for want whereof wee know not what to paie, wherefore the beſt is that you ſend one of the merchaunts after the Emperour to Nouogrode, and let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will pay all ſuch money as ſhall be appointed by his maieſtie to be paied, after the bookes ſeene.

But foraſmuch as there was none of your ſeruaunts with mee at that preſent (although I had earneſtly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne ſeruaunts, one moneth before my comming to Starites, where I had my diſpatch, that he ſhould not faile to come himſelfe, or ſend one of your ſeruaunts to me hither, to follow all ſuch ſutes as I ſhould commence in your behalfs, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requeſted the ſaid Secretarie that I might leaue Daniell my interpreter with him, as well for the receit of money, as for the ſpeedie diſpatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not bee granted in any wiſe that I ſhould leaue any of mine owne companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full diſpatch, and departed to my lodging, and forthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as well to conduct me, and prouide boates, men, poſt horſes and victuals for me all the way to the Sea ſide, being a thouſand and three hundred miles, as alſo to doe iuſtice of the ſayd Beſſone, as aforeſayd. And he ſayd vnto me, the Emperours pleaſure is, that you ſhall preſently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the ſayd Starites, being the fourteenth of May aforeſayd. And paſſing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the laſt of the ſayd May, where I remayned fiue dayes as well expecting a meſſenger to bring vnto mee the new letters of priuiledge, as the comming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maieſtie himſelfe commaunded before my face, ſhould be ſent vnto me without faile, and I did ſee the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Moſko for the ſame. Neuertheleſſe the ſayd Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the ſudden cauſe of his ſtay contrary to the princes owne worde and meaning, as I ſuppoſe. But I could not helpe the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redreſſe, becauſe by abſence I could not complaine. Notwithſtanding, I vſed all my indeuour, and ſent a meſſenger Iohn Norton one of your ſeruaunts from Vologda to Nouogrode, where the court then lay expreſſely with letters, as well to aduertiſe his maieſtie that the ſayd Rutter was not ſent vnto me according to his highneſſe commaundement and order, as alſo about the diſpatch of the ſaid letters of priuiledge and receit of your money, with ſtraight charge that he ſhould in any wiſe returne vnto me againe before the departing of the ſhips.

And the firſt day of June I departed from the ſaid Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21. of June aforeſaid, and remained there vntill the 23. of Julie, looking for the ſaid Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in all that time, which had reſpite fully inough in that ſpace both to goe to the court to diſpatch his buſineſſe, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwiſe determined before his going, as I did after vnderſtand, & can more at large by word of mouth declare vnto your worſhips, the occaſion thereof.

Neuertheleſſe, I am well aſſured before this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the ſayd letters of priuiledges, and ſhall haue diſpatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maieſties graunt by me obtained, and as hee hath written to the Queenes maieſtie at this preſent, wiſhing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous diſpleaſure from you, and reſtored you againe into his fauour, ſo your Agent and others your ſeruants there reſident may behaue, and endeuour themſelues to keepe & augment the ſame, whoſe euill doings haue bene the onely occaſion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of ſuch countries as I Anthonie Ienkinſon haue trauelled vnto from the ſecond of October, 1546. at which time I made my firſt voiage out of England, vntill the yeere of our Lord, 1572. when I returned laſt out of Ruſſia.

FIrſt, I paſſed into Flanders, and trauelled through all the baſe countries, and from thence through Germanie, paſſing ouer the Alpes I trauelled into Italy, and from thence made my iourney through Piemont into France, throughout all which realme I haue throughly iourneied.

I haue alſo trauelled through the kingdoms of Spaine and Portingall, I haue ſailed through the Leuant ſeas euery way, and haue bene in all the chiefe Iſlands within the ſame ſea, as Rhodes, Malta, Sicilia, Cypres, Candie, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of Grecia, Morea, Achaia, and where the olde citie of Corinth ſtood.

I haue trauelled through a great part of Turkie, Syria, and diuers other countreys in Aſia minor.

I haue paſſed ouer the mountaines of Libanus to Damaſco, and trauelled through Samaria, Galile, Philiſtine and Paleſtine, vnto Ieruſalem, and ſo through all the holy land.

I haue bene in diuers places of Affrica, as Algiers, Cola, Bona, Tripolis, the Gollet within the gulfe of Tunis.

I haue ſailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where wee haue had continuall day, and light of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samagotia, and other very ſtrange places.

I haue trauelled through all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Ruſſia and Moſcouia, which extende from the North ſea, and the confines of Norway, and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caſpium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caſpian ſea, Gentiles, and Mahometans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremiſi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of ſtrange cuſtomes and religions.

I haue ſailed ouer the Caſpian ſea, and diſcouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircaſſi, Comul, Shaſcall, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40. daies iourney beyond the ſaid ſea, towards the Orientall India, and Cathaia, through diuers deſerts and wildernes, and paſſed through 5. kingdomes of the Tartares, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagatay, and ſo to the great citie of Boghar in Bactria, not without great perils and dangers ſundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I paſſed againe ouer the Caſpian ſea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a citie called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, and from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Perſia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamaſſo, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maieſtie, and remayned in his court 8. moneths, and returning homeward, paſſed through diuers other countreys. Finally I made two voyages more after that out of England into Ruſſia, the one in the yeere 1566. and the other in the yeree 1571. And thus being wearie and growing old, I am content to take my reſt in mine owne houſe, chiefly comforting my ſelfe, in that my ſeruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maieſtie and the reſt by whom I haue bene emploied.

The

The requeſt of an honeſt merchant to a friend of his, to be aduiſed and directed in the courſe of killing the Whale, as followeth. Anno 1575.

I pray you pleaſure me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder ſpecified.

FOr the prouiſion and furniture for a ſhip of 200. tunnes, to catch the whale fiſh in Ruſſia, paſſing from England.

How many men to furniſh the ſhip.

How many fiſher men ſkilfull to catch the Whale, & how many other officers, and Coopers.

How many boats, and what faſhion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of ſuch ſkilfull men and other officers, as we ſhall need, out of Biſkay.

How many harping irons, ſpeares, cordes, axes, hatchets, kniues, and other implements for the fiſhing, and what ſort and greatneſſe of them.

How many kettles, the greatneſſe and maner of them, and of what mettall, and whether they bee ſet on triuets or on furnaces for boiling of the trane oile, and others.

What quantitie of caſke, and what ſort of caſke, and what number of hoopes and twigges, and how much thereof to be ſtaued for the trane.

What quantitie of victuals, & what kind of victuals for the men in all ỹ ſhip for 4. moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to gouerne the ſhip, we ſhall not neede any out of Biſkaie, but onely men ſkilfull in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oile, and one Cooper ſkilfull to ſet vp the ſtaued caſke.

Alſo what other matters are requiſite to bee knowen, and done for the ſaid voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

Theſe requeſts were thus anſwered, which may ſerue as directions for all ſuch as ſhall intend the ſame voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the ſetting foorth of a ſhip of 200. *tunne,* for the killing of the Whale.

THere muſt be 55. men who departing for Wardhouſe in the moneth of Aprill, muſt be furniſhed with 4. kintals and a half of bread for euery man.
250. hogſheds to put the bread in.
150. hogſheds of Cidar.
6. kintals of oile.
8. kintals of bacon.
6. hogſheds of bicke.
10. quarters of ſalt.
150. pound of candles.
8. quarters of beanes and peaſe.
Salt fiſh and herring, a quantitie conuenient.
4. tunnes of wines.
Halfe a quarter of muſtard ſeed, and a querne.
A grindſtone.
800. emptie ſhaken hogſheds.
350. bundles of hoopes, and 6. quintalines.
800. paire of heds for the hogſheds.
10. Eſtachas called roſes for harping irons.
10. pieces of Arpozieras.
3. pieces of Baibens for the Jauelings ſmall.
2. tackles to turne the Whales.
A halſer of 27. fadome long to turne the Whales.
15. great Jauelings.
18. ſmall Jauelings.
50. harping irons.
6. machicos to cut the Whale withall.
2. dozen of machetos to minch the Whale.
2. great hookes to turne the Whale.

3. paire of Can hookes.
6. hookes for staues.
3. dozen of staues for the harping irons.
6. pullies to turne the Whale with.
10. great baskets.
10. lampes of iron to carrie light.
5. kettels of 150. li. the piece, and 6. ladles.
1000. of nailes for the pinnases.
500. of nailes of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.
18. axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.
12. pieces of lines, and 6. dozen of hookes.
2. beetles of Rosemarie.
4. dozen of oares for the pinnases.
6. lanternes.
500. of Tesia.
Item, gunpouder and matches for harquebushes as shall be needfull.
Item, there must be caried from hence 5. pinnases, fiue men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5. coopers, and a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the Whalefishing, receiued of master W. Burrough.

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.
A dozen of great baskets.
4. furnaces to melt the Whale in.
6. ladles of copper.
A thousand of nailes to mend the pinnases.
500. great nailes of spikes to make their house.
3. paire of bootes great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.
8. calue skins to make aprons or barbecans.

The deposition of M. William Burrough to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23. of Iune, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarell betwene Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie companie, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

FIrst, whether the villages or townes vulgarely called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes of the same towne, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuiledge by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectiuely were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect to the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the sayd Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesayd, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiuely of the sayd places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the said townes and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and Northeast or Northwest, and betweene the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the foresayd priuiledge, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffique, sauing to the societie aforesaid.

The deponents answer

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the said priuiledge (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiuely to bee vnder the iurisdiction, and subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the sayde graunt, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectiuely they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mightie prince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe gouernour respectiuely of the said places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the said places are situated from London Northwards, betweene the East and the North, and within

within the grant of the letters patents, and priuiledges of the ſaid companie of merchants for the diſcouerie of new trades, and the ſame places whereunto by force of the ſaid letters patents, it is forbidden to any other ſubiect to haue traffique ſauing to the ſocietie aforeſayd.

Notwithſtanding the Deponent ſaith, that hee hath heard it crediblie reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his ſubiects or more by himſelfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places, Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certaine tribute or head pence, which the ſaid Lappies haue willingly giuen to win fauour of the ſaid prince, and to liue quietly by his ſubiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouſe is the ſtrongeſt hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. He hath alſo heard that in the time of peace betweene the ſaid Emperor of Ruſſia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or more that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarkes ſeruaunt vſeth to doe, and did demaund of them ſome tribute or dutie which they willingly paid: but ſince the late wars betweene the ſaid Emperour and king of Sweden, he hath not heard of any thing that hath bin paid by them to the king of Sweden: ſuch is the ſimplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all thoſe that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill wils.

But the truth is, as this Deponent ſaith, that the ſaid mightie prince the Emperour of Ruſſia, is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the ſaid countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obſerued by them, he takes toll and cuſtome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become chriſtians, it is after the Ruſſe law. If there happen any controuerſie betweene thoſe people, ſuch as cannot be ended amongſt themſelues, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Moſco as their higheſt court, & there haue it ended. Betweene the place ſpecified Kegor, & the confines of Finmarke aforeſaid in Lappia, is the monaſterie Pechingam, which are monkes, and vſe the Ruſſe law, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwaies appointed by the clergie in Moſko. Pechingam abbey.

Alſo in the yeere of our Lord, 1557. the ſaid Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great aſſembly of people, at a Mart there, the Ruſſes, Kerils and Lappians, on the one ſide ſubiects to the ſaid mightie prince ỹ Emperour of Ruſſia, and the Norwegians or Noſſes and people of Finmarke, ſubiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fiſh for other commodities. The deputie for the Ruſſe had the chiefe gouernment of the ſaid Mart, and tooke toll of thoſe people that were ſubiect to his maſter, and the captaine of Wardhouſe, had then the gouernment of the people ſubiect to his maſter the king of Denmarke. He ſaith alſo, that betweene the abbey Pechingam, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, vpon the border of the ſaid coaſt of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the ſhore at diuers places, where freſh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken freſh Salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the ſubiects of the ſaid Emperour, and he the ſaid Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he ſaith, that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any ſuch riuer or creeke of freſh water which falleth out of the ſaid countrey of Lappia into the ſea, betweene the ſaid abbey Pechingam, and the baie of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueth the rent for them.

Item, whether as well before, as alſo within the memory of men, till the time of the grant of the ſaid letters patents any of the Engliſh merchants (ſauing the merchants of the ſaid ſocietie) ſubiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exerciſed or frequented buſines or trade in the ſaid villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam, & Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the ſaid Emperour of Ruſſia. The ſecõd Interrogatorie.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent anſwereth, that the ſubiects of this Realme before the graunt of the ſaid letters patents did not commonly exerciſe, neither frequent or trade to any of the ſaid places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingam or Cola, or to any of them. The depoſnents anſwer.

Certaine reaſons to diſſwade the vſe of a trade to the Narue aforeſayd, by way through Sweden.

THe merchandiſe of the Narue are groſſe wares, viz. flaxe, hempe, waxe, tallow & hides. The traffique at that place ſtandeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Ruſſia, with the king of Sweden: for all theſe merchandizes that are brought thither come from Pleſcoue, Nouogrode, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

For tranſporting thoſe merchandizes from Narue to Stockholm, or what other place ſhall bee thoght cõuenient in Swedē, it muſt be in veſſels of thoſe cõtries, which will be of ſmal force to reſiſt

Freebooters, or any other that shall make quarell or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into Sweden, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to carry the same by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to bee vnladen and transported by land to Newles.

So as the ordinarie charges for transporting of goods from Narue to Newles by way as aforesaid, besides the spoile by so often lading and vnlading, cariage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shal be so brought to Newles, it will be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be worth to be sold in London, wherefore the trade that wayes can not be profitable to our nation.

Moreouer, when the goods shall be in Newles, it may bee thought doubtful to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of Denmarke, forasmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the Sound by our trade to S. Nicholas, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it? The danger that may grow in our trade to Russia by way of S. Nicholas, though the displeasure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the Sweden to Narue, is also to be considered.

Note.

A remembrance of aduise giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for Cola aboue sayd. 1578.

WHere as you require my counsell after what order the voyage for Cola is to be set forth, I answere that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore vsed, which is after this maner. First of all we haue hired the ship by the great, giuing so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the ship, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if she be about the burden of 100. tunnes, we pay 80. pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victuall the ship our selues, and do ship all our men our selues, shipping no more mē, nor giuing them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voiage hitherto, to haue our men to fish with one boate, & costing vs no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing sauing the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yeere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9. and 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to vs in mony with the oile that came of it, about 15. or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides all this our ship did take in so much oile and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I do suppose, it is not the vse of London to take ships to fraight after that order before prescribed, neither I thinke that the marriners will take such paines as our men will: Therefore my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of Hull or Newcastle, for I am sure that you may haue them better cheape to freight, then here at London. Besides all this, one may haue such men as will take paines for their merchaunts. And furthermore when it shall please God that the ship shal returne to come to discharge at Hull, which will be the most for your profite for the sales of all such like commoditie as comes from that place, as for fish, oile, & Salmon chiefly, he þ will seeke a better market for the sales then at Hull, he must seeke it out of England, for the like is not in England. This is the best way that I can deuise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also set you downe all the commodities that are necessary for such a voiage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or three yeeres be forced to leaue of the trade of Cola which may easilie be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vse the matter so that they should either leaue of the trade, or els cary light ships with them home againe.

Hull the best market of England for sale fish.

Aduertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the partes of Persia and Media, for the company of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundry letters written by Christopher Burrough seruant to the said company, & sent to his vnkle M. William Burrough.

IN first it is to be vnderstood, that the ships for the voiage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors & merchandise for the Persian voiage were transported, departed frō Grauesend the 19. of June, 1579. which arriued at S. Nicholas in Russia, the 22. of July, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandize were discharged and laden into doshnikes, that is, barkes of the countrey, to be caried from thence vp by riuer vnto Vologda. And the fiue and twentie day of the sayde Julie, the Doshenikes departed from Rose Island by Saint Nicholas vp the Riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, poste by continuall sayling, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of men, which came to Colmogro,

the

the 27 day, and departed thence the 29 day of Julie vp the ſayd riuer Dwina, and came to Vſtyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9 of Auguſt, where they ſtayed but a ſmall time, prouiding ſome victualles, and ſhifting certaine of theyr caſſacks or barkemen, and ſo departed thence the ſame day vp the riuer Sughano, and came to Totma, (which is counted ſomewhat more then halfe the way from Vſtioug) the 15 day, where they ſhifted ſome of theyr caſſaks, and departed thence the ſame day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19 of Auguſt, where they landed theyr goods, and ſtayed at that place till the 30 of the ſame. Hauing prouided at Vologda, Telegas, our wagons, whereupon they laded theyr goods, they departed thence with the ſame by land towards Yeraſlaue the ſayd 30 of Auguſt, at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the Eaſt ſide of the riuer Volga ouer againſt Yeraſlaue, with 25 Telegas laden with the ſaid goods the ſeuenth of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone. Then the three ſtroogs or barks prouided to tranſport the ſaid goods to Aſtracan (where they ſhould meet the ſhippe that ſhould carrie the ſame from thence into Perſia) came ouer from Yeraſlaue vnto the ſame ſide of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the ſaid goods. And hauing prepared the ſaid barks ready with all neceſſarie furniture they departed with them from Yeraſlaue downe the riuer Volga, on the 14 day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arriued at Niznouogrod, the 17 day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they ſhewed the Emperours letters to paſſe free without paying any cuſtome, and tarryed there about three houres to prouide neceſſaries, and then departing, arriued at Cazan (or neere the ſame towne) on the 22 of September at fiue of the clocke afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for prouiding new caſſaks in the places of ſome that there went from them) they remayned till the 26 day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arriued at Tetuſhagorod, which is on the Crim ſide of Volga, and in latitude 55 degrees 22 minuts the 28 day at ten in ꝑ forenoone, where they aukered, and remained about three houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims ſide (on the Weſterne ſide of Volga) the firſt of October about fiue of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan, and Aſtracan: and heere there groweth great ſtore of Licoras: the ſoile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueake is 51 degrees 30 minuts. At this place had beene a very fayre ſtone caſtle called by the name Oueake, & adioyning to the ſame was a towne called by Ruſſes, Sodom: this towne & part of the caſtle (by report of the Ruſſes) was ſwallowed into the earth by the iuſtice of God, for the wickedneſſe of the people that inhabited the ſame. There remaineth at this day to be ſeene a part of the ruines of the caſtle, and certain tombs, wherein as it ſeemeth haue beene laid noble perſonages: for vpon a tombe ſtone might be perceiued the forme of a horſe and a man ſitting on it with a bowe in his hand, and arrowes girt to his ſide: there was a piece of a ſcutchion alſo vpon one of the ſtones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof ſome part had beene conſumed with the weather, and the reſt left vnperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen alſo vpon another tombe ſtone. Now they departed from Oueake the ſaid firſt of October, at fiue of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauoloke, the 10 day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke at night, making no abode at that place, but paſſed alongſt by it. This word Perauoloke in the Ruſſe tongue, doth ſignifie a narrow ſtraight or necke of land, betweene two waters, and it is ſo called by them, becauſe from the riuer Volga, at that place to the riuer Don, or Tanais, is counted thirtie verſts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foot in one day. And ſeuen verſts beneath, vpon an Iſland called Tſaritſna, the Emperour of Ruſſia hath fiftie gunners all the ſummer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool. Betweene this place and Aſtracan are fiue other Carawools or watches.

Yeraſlaue.

Great ſtore of Licoras.

1 The firſt is named Kamenie Carawool, and is diſtant from Perauoloke 120 verſts.
2 The ſecond named Stupino Carawool, diſtant from the firſt 50 verſts.
3 The third called Polooy Carawool, is 120 verſts diſtant from the ſecond.
4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50 verſts diſtant from the third.
5 The fift named Ichkeebre, is 30 verſts diſtant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Aſtracan is 30 verſts.

The 16 of October they arriued at Aſtracan with theyr three ſtroogs in ſafetie about nine of the clocke in the morning, where they found the ſhippe prouided for the Perſia voyage in good order and readineſſe. The 17 day the foure principall factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talboys, and Peter Garrard, were inuited to dine with the chiefe diake or ſecretarie of Aſtracan (Vaſilie Pheodooruich Shelepin) who declared then vnto them the troubles that were in Media and Perſia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered,

Aſtracan.

Peter Garrard.

and

and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid before them that winter was at hand, and if they should put out with their shippe to the sea, they should be constrayned to take what hazards might happen them by wintring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to atchieue: whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all winter to learne further of the state of those countries.

Ice at Astracan for foure moneths.

The 19 of Nouember the winde being Northerly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the riuer: the next day being the 20 of Nouember the ice stood in the riuer, and so continued vntill Easter day.

The 22 of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the shippe.

Anno 1580.

Thursday the seuenth of Januarie betweene eight & nine of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and North end thereof.

The first of January being Twelfe day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuer Volga, and hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiors of the towne shotte off their small pieces vpon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castle being a duke, whose name is Pheodore Michalouich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the shippe, beholding them as they were on the riuer, was shot off all the ordinance of our shippe being fifteene pieces, viz. two faulcons, two faulconets, foure fowlers, foure fowlers chambers, and three other small pieces made for the strooges to shoot hailestones, and afterwards the great ordinance of the castle was shot off.

On the 31 of January there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about twelue of the clocke at night, and continued before she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: she was wholly darkened by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26 of Februarie the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within three quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualtie was set on fire about ten of the clocke at night, & continued burning till midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabit that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place, of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiors in very good order, and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners, and cassaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiours, and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiors which alwayes keepe the castle, and the cassaks also vsing their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kinde of labors.

The seuenth of March 1580, the Nagayes and Crims came before Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russe versts and a halfe off from the castle and towne: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came vpon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was sayd that two of the prince of the Crims his sonnes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captaine of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great shotte or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tell them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of fagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the duke of two Nagayes, which were seene at Gostine house, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence before they were suspected. This Gostine house is a place a little without the towne where the Tisiks (or Persian merchants) do vsually remaine with their merchandize. The 11 day the sayd Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that house early in the morning, where they were taken by the Russes, and brought to the captayne of the castle, and being examined, confessed that their comming was onely to seeke two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which fauor the sayd captaine commonly sheweth if they be not Russies, and they were set at liberty. The 15 day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the Northwards into the countrey of Nagay.

Astracan situate vpon an Island.

The variation of the compas in Astracan was 13 deg. 40 minuts.

The 17 of Aprill the variation of the compasse obserued in Astracan was 13 deg. 40 min. from North to West. This spring there came newes to Astracan that ỹ queene of Persia (the king being blinde)

blinde) had beene with a great armie againſt the Turks that were left to poſſeſſe Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithſtanding Derbent, and the greateſt part of Media were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company conſulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Aſtracan, the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other three factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed voyage to the coaſt of Media, to ſee what might be done there, where if they could not finde ſafe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coaſt of Gillan, which is an Iſland in the Caſpian ſea bordering vpon Perſia: and therupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden aboord the ſhippe, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandize of Tiſiks or Perſian merchants.

The 29 of Aprill Amos Riall, and Anthony Marſh, the companies ſeruants were ſent from Aſtracan by the ſaid factors, vp the riuer Volga to Yeraſlaue, with letters of aduiſe to be ſent for England, and had order for ſtaying the goods in Ruſſia that ſhould come that yeere out of England for maintaining the trade purpoſed for Perſia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in thoſe parts.

The firſt day of May in the morning, hauing the ſhippe in readineſſe to depart, the factors inuited the duke Pheodore Micalouich Proiocoorow, and the principall ſecretary Vaſilie Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefeſt about the duke to a banket aboord the ſhip, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was ſhot off all the ordinance of the ſhip, and about nine of the clocke at night the ſame day they weyed anker, and departed with their ſhip from Aſtracan, and being but little winde, towed her with the boat about three verſts, and then ankered, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The ſecond day at foure of the clocke in the morning they weyed & plyed downe the riuer Volga toward the Caſpian ſea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning they paſſed by a tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the riuer as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agatch, or Mahomets tree, and about three verſts further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to ſay, the Ruſſe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certaine cotages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fiſhermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Aſtracan 60 verſts: they proceeded downe the ſaid riuer without ſtaying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhoald water, and were forced to lighten their ſhippe by the pauos: the 11 day they ſent backe to the Vchoog for an other pauos: This day by miſchance the ſhippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, whereby the company had ſuſtained great loſſes, if the chiefeſt part of their goodes had not beene layd into the pauos: for notwithſtanding their pumping with three pomps, heauing out water with buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The 12 day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the ſhippe of all the goods. The 13 day in the morning there came to them a ſmall boat, ſent by the captaine of Aſtracan, to learne whether the ſhippe were at ſea cleere off the flats. The 15 day by great induſtrie and trauell they got their ſhippe cleare off the ſhoales and flats, where with they had beene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhippe in three foot water or leſſe. The 16 day they came to the Chetera Bowgeri, or Iſland of Foure Hillocks, which are counted fortie verſts from Vchoog, and are the furtheſt land towards the ſea. The 17 day they bare off into the ſea, and being about twelue verſts from the Foure hillocks, riding in fiue foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoſes into the ſhippe, and filled their ſhippe with all things neceſſary. The 18 day in the morning about ſeuen of the clocke, the pauoſes being diſcharged, departed away toward Aſtracan, the winde then at Southeaſt, they road ſtill with the ſhippe, and obſeruing the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45 degrees 20 minuts. The 19 day, the winde Southeaſt, they road ſtill. The 20 day the winde at Northweſt they ſet ſaile about one of the clocke in the morning, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and Southſouthweſt, about three leagues, and then ankered in fiue and a halfe water, about nine of the clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the eleuation of the pole at that place 45 degrees 13 minuts. The 21 hauing the winde at Northweſt, they ſet ſaile, and ſtered thence South by Weſt, and South vntill eleuen of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they obſerued the latitude, and found it to be 44 degrees 47 minuts: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare off the flats. It is counted from the Foure hillocks to the ſea about fiftie verſts. From the ſaid noone tide vntill foure of the clocke they ſayled South by Eaſt fiue leagues and a halfe: then had they fiue fathoms and a halfe and brackiſh water: from that till twelue at night they ſayled South by Eaſt halfe a league Eaſt tenne leagues: then had they eleuen fathome, and the water ſalter. From that till the 22 day three of the clocke

Note.

The Caſpian ſea.

45 degrees 20 minuts.

The firſt obſeruation in the Caſpian ſea.

Brackiſh water farre within the ſea.

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in the morning they sayled three & fiftie leagues, then had they sixteene fathome water: from thence they sailed vntill noone South and by West seuen leagues and a halfe, the latitude then obserued
42 degrees 15 minuts. 43 degrees 15 minuts, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that vntill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East fiue leagues and a halfe, then had they three and fortie fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23 foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed Southsouthwest three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence vntill noone they sailed South nine leagues, then the latitude obserued was 42 degrees 24 minuts. From that till the 24 day at noone they sayled
41 degrees 32 minuts. South by West seuenteene leagues and a halfe, then the latitude obserued was 41 degrees 32 minuts. From noone till seuen of the clocke at night, they sailed Southsouthwest foure leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hilles, which were almost couered with snowe, and the mids of them were West from the shippe, being then about twelue leagues from the neerest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed Southwest vntill midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25 day foure of the clocke in the morning, they sailed West three leagues, being then little winde, and neere the land, they tooke in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude obserued, was 40 degrees 54 minuts: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At foure of the clocke in the afternoone, the winde Northwest, they set their sayles, and from thence till the 26 day at noone they sailed East southeast foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night Southwest three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed vntill the 27 day two of the clocke in the morning, Westsouthwest eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the said two till foure of the clocke they sayled South by West one league: then being day light, they saw the land playne, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about fiue leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash) they sayled betweene those rocks and the land, and about fiue of
Bilbill. the clocke they passed by the port Bilbill, where they should haue put in but could not: and bearing longst the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildigh in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, against which place they ankered in nine foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboord of them a boat, wherein were seuen or eight persons, two Turks, the rest Persians, the Turks vassals, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of they arriuall, who tolde the factors that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turks Basha remayned in Derbent with a garrison of Turks, and that Shamackie was wholly spoyled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basha, sent one of the Tisiks (or merchants that went ouer with them from Astracan, passingers) and one of the companyes seruants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the captaine of Backow, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendshippe to haue quiet and safe traffike for the same. Backow is from Bildih, the place where they road, about a dayes iourney, one foote easily to be trauelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the captaine of Backowe, the said captaine gaue him very friendly intertainement, and after he vnderstood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much thereat: who gaue the sayd Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentith day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which answere the sayd Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentith day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentith day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set vp at shoare neere the shippe, against the comming of the sayde captayne: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiours, that attended on him, in shirts of male, and some of them had gauntlets of siluer, others of steele, and very fayre. The factours met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betweene them, they gaue him for a present a gayment of cloth of veluet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefullie: after they had talked together by their interpretours, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their comming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours made request vnto him, that he would helpe them to the speeche of the Basha, who answered that their demaund was reasonable, and that hee would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd because the way to Derbent, where the Basha remayned, was dangerous, he would send thither, and certifie him of their arriuall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same
Bachu port.

for,

for he would procure the ſaid Baſha to prouide for them: and therefore willed the factors to conſult together, and certifie him what they moſt deſired, and what quantitie they would haue prouided: ſo whileſt the factors were conſulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tiſike merchant that came ouer in the ſhip with them from Aſtracan, which Tiſike among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before the factors and their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Aſtracan, and that they were about to way their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maiſter of the barke, Thomas Hudſon of Limehouſe, perſuaded them that the winde was not good for them to depart, &c. When the factors came againe to talke with the captaine, they deſired to go to the Baſha, and that he would ſafely conduct them thither: he granted their requeſts willingly, deſiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they ſhould go to Backow, and from thence proceed on their iourney to Derbent. They were vnwilling to go that night with him, becauſe their prouiſion for the way was not in readineſſe, but requeſted that they might ſtay till the morning. Thereupon the captaine ſayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it ſhould ſo happen, he were in great danger of looſing his head: for which cauſe he requeſted to haue ſome one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factours offered himſelfe to go, who becauſe he could not ſpeake the Ruſſe tongue, tooke with him Chriſtopher Burrough, and a Ruſſe interpretour: that night they road from the ſea ſide, to a village about ten miles off, where at ſupper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countries were neere vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Ruſſe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we ſhould be: but when by the ſituation he perceiued we were Engliſhmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Engleterra, is it not? anſwere was made it was ſo: whereof he was very glad when he knew the certainty. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard next to himſelfe, and Chriſtopher Burrough, with the Ruſſie interpretour for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gillan merchant with him at that preſent, of whom he ſeemed to make great account: him he placed next to himſelfe on the other ſide, and his gentlemen ſate round about him talking together. Their ſitting is vpon the heeles, or croſſe legged.

Thom. Hudſon of Limehouſe, maiſter of the Engliſh barke.

M. Chriſtoph. Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requeſted them to eat. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and likewiſe their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice ſodden thicke, and hony mingled withall: after all which, came a ſheepe roſted whole, which was brought in a tray, and ſet before the captaine: he called one of his ſeruitours, who cut it in pieces, and laying therof vpon diuers platters, ſet the ſame before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he caſt meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers queſtions he had with M. Garrard and Chriſtopher Burrough at ſupper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fiſh or fleſh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in thoſe parts is nothing but water. After ſupper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vſe was in England to lie in the houſe or in the garden, and which he had beſt liking of: he anſwered, where it pleaſed him, but their vſe was to lye in houſes: thereupon the captaine cauſed beds to be ſent into the houſe for them, and cauſed his kinſman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himſelfe with his gentlemen and ſouldiors lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he ſent horſe for the reſt of the company which ſhould go to Derbent, ſending by them that went tenne ſheepe for the ſhippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requeſting M. Garrard to go alſo to the ſame to waſh himſelfe, which he did. Shortly after their comming out of the Stoue, whileſt they were at breakfaſt, M. Turnbull, M. Taylboyes, and Thomas Hudſon the M. of the ſhippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their faſts, they went to Backow: but Chriſtopher Burrough returned to the ſhip, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Backow they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promiſed, being accompanyed on their way for their ſafeconduct, with a gentleman, and certaine ſouldiors, which had the captaine of Backow his letters to the Baſha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their iourney to Derbent they forſooke the ordinary wayes, being very dangerous, and trauelled thorow woods till they came almoſt to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentleman road before with the captaines letters to the Baſha, to certifie him of the Engliſh merchants comming, who receiuing the letters, and vnderſtanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and ſent forth to receiue them, certaine ſouldiors gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, ſaluting

ting them with great reuerence, and afterwardes road before them: then againe met them other ſouldiours, ſomewhat neerer the caſtle, which likewiſe hauing done theyr ſalutations road before them, and then came forth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the caſtle and towne. As they entred the caſtle there was a ſhot of twentie pieces of great ordinance, and the Baſha ſent M. Turnbull a very fayre horſe with furniture to mount on, eſteemed to be worth an hundred markes, and ſo they were conueyed to his preſence: who after he had talked with them, ſent for a coate of cloth of golde, and cauſed it to be put on M. Turnbulles backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take theyr eaſe, for that they were wearie of theyr iourney, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when the factors came againe to the preſence of the Baſha, according to his appointment, they requeſted him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike ſafely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleaſed his Maieſty to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his minde therof to the captaine of Backow, it ſhould be deliuered him accordingly. The Baſhaes anſwere was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded theyr ſafetie, hauing come ſo farre, and knowing the ſtate of his country to be troubleſome, he would haue them to bring theyr commodity thither, & there to make ſale of it, promiſing he would prouide ſuch commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, ſo that they ſhould not be iniured by any: wherupon the factors ſent Thomas Hudſon backe for the ſhip to bring her to Derbent, and the Baſha ſent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Backow, to certifie him what was determined, which meſſage being done, the captaine of Backow, and the Baſhaes meſſenger, accompanied with a dozen ſouldiours, went from Backow with Thomas Hudſon, and came to the ſhip at Bildih the 11 day of June. After the captaine and his men had beene aboord and ſeene the ſhip, they all departed preſently, but the gentleman, meſſenger from the Baſha, with three other Turks, remained aboord, and continued in the ſhippe till ſhe came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obſeruations is 40 degrees 25 minuts: the variation of the compaſſe 10 degrees 40 minuts from North to Weſt. After the returne of Thomas Hudſon backe to Bildih, they were conſtrayned to remayne there with the ſhippe through contrary windes vntill the 16 day of June foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weyed anker, ſet ſaile and departed thence towardes Derbent, and arriued at anker againſt Derbent Eaſt and by South from the ſayd caſtle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22 day of June at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp theyr ordinance, which before they had ſtowed in holde for eaſing the ſhippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Baſha came downe to the water ſide againſt the ſhippe, and hauing the ſaid ordinance placed, and charged, it was all ſhotte off to gratifie him: and preſently after his departure backe, he permitted the factors to come aboord the ſhippe. The 29 day theyr goods were vnladen and carryed to the Baſhaes garden, where he made choyce of ſuch things as he liked, taking for cuſtome of euery fiue and twentie karſies, or whatſoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factours after his choyce made, determined to ſend a part of the reſt of the goods to Backow, for the ſpeedier making ſale thereof, for which cauſe they obteined the Baſhaes letter to the captaine of Backow, written very fauourably in theyr behoofe: and thereupon was laden and ſent in a ſmall boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thouſand pound ſterling: videlicet, one hundred pieces of karſies, ſeuen broad clothes, two barrels of cochenelio, two barrels of tinne, foure barrels of ſhaffe. There went with the ſame of the companyes ſeruantes William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Ruſſies, whereof one was an interpretor, beſides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the ſayd barke the 19 of July, and arriued at Bildih the 25 day: theyr paſſage and carriage of their goods to Backow was chargeable, although theyr ſales when they came thither were ſmall: they had great friendſhip ſhewed them of the captaine of Backow, as well for the Baſhaes letter, as alſo for the factours ſakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding deſirous to vnderſtand what might be done at Shamakie, which is a daies iourney from Backow, went thither, from whence returning, he was ſet on by theeues, and was ſhot into the knee with an arrow, who had verie hardly eſcaped with his life and goodes, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horſes with his caliuer, and ſhot a Turke thorow both cheeks with a dag. On the ſixt day of Auguſt the factors being aduertiſed at Derbent that theyr ſhip was ſo rotten and weake, that it was doubtfull ſhe would not carry them backe to Aſtracan, did therupon agree and bargen at that place with an Armenian, whoſe name was Iacob, for a barke called a Buſſe, being of burden about 35 tunnes, which came that yeere from Aſtracan, and was at that inſtant riding at an iſland called Zere, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eaſtwardes of Bildih, which barke for theyr more ſafety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Aſtracan, and therupon wrote vnto Wincoll and

The latitude of Bildih 40 deg. 25. min.

The variation of the compas 10 deg. 40 min.

Zere Iſland.

the

the reſt at Backow, that they ſhould receiue the ſame Buſſe, and lade in her their goods at Bildigh to be returned to Derbent, and to diſcharge their firſt boate, which was obſerued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboorde the ſaide Buſſe at Bildigh, and being readie to haue departed thence for Derbent, there aroſe a great ſtorme with the winde out of the ſea, by force whereof the cables and hallters were broken, and their veſſell put a ſhoare, and broken to pieces againſt the rockes: euery of them that were in her ſaued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a Carobia or cheſſe, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the companie, which they ſolde at Backowe, which at the taking out of the Buſſe, fell by the barkes ſide into the water amongſt the rockes, and ſo was loſt. The packes of cloth which they could not well take out of the Buſſe were alſo loſt, other thinges that were more portable they ſaued.

The 18. of Auguſt, the Factors receiued from the Baſha 500. Batmans of rawe ſilke, parcell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the reſt of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the Baſha according to his appointment, but that day they could not ſpeake with him, but it was deliuered them as from him, that they ſhould looke and conſider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieued the Factors, and thereupon M. Turnebul anſwered, that their heads and all that they had were at the Baſhaes pleaſure; But then it was anſwered there was no ſuch matter in it: but that they ſhould caſt vp their reckonings, to ſee how it ſtood betweene them. The 20. day they caſt vp their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue ſpoken with the Baſha, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a Buſſe that came from Aſtracan, that Arthur Edwards (whome the Factors left at Aſtracan with the moitie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the of *Arthur Edwards dieth at Aſtracan.*

The 23. day the Factors receiued more from the Baſha 500. Batmans of ſilke. The 4. of September newes was brought to Derbent, that Golding comming from Shamakie, was ſet on by theeues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

The 5. Tobias Atkins the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Caſtle of Derbent, where the Armenian Chriſtians do vſually burie their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to Derbent, that the Buſſe which they had bought of Iacob the Armenian as before, was caſt away at Bildih, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboord the ſhippe 40. bales of ſilke. From the 26. til the 2. of October, they tooke into the ſhippe, bread, water, and other neceſſary prouiſion for their ſea ſtore: the ſaid 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the ſuddaine to auoyd their houſe, and get them with their prouiſion out of the towne: Whereupon they were conſtrained to remoue and carry their things to the ſea ſide againſt the ſhip, and remained there all the night. The cauſe of this ſudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the Baſha had receiued newes of a ſupplie with treaſure that the Turke had ſent, which was then neere at hand comming towards him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the ſhoare aboorde the ſhip: and that day the Factors went to the Baſha to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended thoſe the Companies ſeruants, &c. which they had ſent to Backow, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who cauſed their names to be written, and promiſed they ſhould want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboord purpoſing preſently to haue ſet ſaile and departed towards Aſtracan, the winde ſeruing well for that purpoſe at South Southeaſt; And as they were readie to ſet ſaile, there came againſt the ſhippe a man who weued: whereupon the boate was ſent a ſhoare to him, who was an Armenian ſent from William Wincoll, with his writing tables, wherein the ſaide Wincoll had written briefly, the miſhappe of the loſſe of the Buſſe, and that they were comming from Bildih towardes Derbent, they, and ſuch things as they ſaued with a ſmall boate, forced to put a ſhoare in a place by the ſea ſide called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors cauſed the ſhippe to ſtay hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ſhippe, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to ſaile with the ſhippe, with the next winde that would ſerue them, againſt the place where they were, & take them in if they could: which ſtay and loſſe of thoſe Southerly windes, was a cauſe of great troubles, that they afterwards ſuſtained through pouertie, &c. entring the Volga as ſhalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeaſt, the ſhippe rode ſtill: This day Chriſtopher Burrow was ſent to ſhore to Derbent to prouide ſome neceſſaries for the voyage, & with him a Tiſike

or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he sawe there the comming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and 100. pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished, went out from Derbent about three or foure miles to meete the saide treasure, and receiued the same with great ioye and triumphe. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long before, the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutenie amongst them, because hee had long differred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in 7. wagons, and with it were brought 10. pieces of brasse.

The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to bee bought of any value, but rawe silke, neither was that to bee had but at the Bashaes handes: who shortly after their comming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreeme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefest part, for which hee gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had prouided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which otherwise they coulde not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes and Persians differed litle from the trueth: For the Turkes armie with ayde of the Crims, (being in nomber by the information of 2. Spaniards that serued in those warres, about 200000.) inuaded & conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke vnderstood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamakie the chiefe Citie of Media, and principal place of trafique, vnto whome was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the saide Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where hee thought conuenient, the armie was dissolued and sent backe: When the Persians vnderstoode that the Turkes armie was dissolued and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entred the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they founde, as well people, cattell, as what soeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamakie, where the saide Basha Lieutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee coulde not long indure to withstande them, fledde thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordinance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamakie, the Persians entred the same and spoyled it, leauing therein neither liuing creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselues about Teueris, where there grewe some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselues together in a great armie and encountring the saide Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sworde. This ouerthowe of the Turkes grieued the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Moreouer, newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashaes, (that is to say the nobles & Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Backow there lay an armie readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation it was amended.

The Latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. The variation of the Compasse at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land, 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamakie by land 45. leagues. From Shamakie to Backow about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Backow to Bildih 5. or sixe leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbent Eastwards there reache 2. stone walles to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those walles are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. geometrical paces, that is 800. foote. There are yet to be perceiued of the ruine of those walles, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: Also from the Castle Westward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wall as it is reported, did passe from thence

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg. 52. min.

to

to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the Caſtle Derbent was made.

The 5. of October about noone the winde North Northeaſt they waped ancre, and ſet ſaile from Derbent, being longeſt the coaſt to the Southwards to ſeeke their men, but as they had ſailed about foure leagues the winde ſcanted Eaſterly, ſo that they were forced to ancre in three fathome water.

The 6. day they waped ancre and bare further off into the ſea, where they ancred in 7. fathome water, the ſhippe being very leke and ſo rotten abaſte the maine maſte, that a man with his naile might ſcrape through her ſide.

The 7. day about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they ſet ſaile, the winde Southweſt. They conſidered the time of the yeere was farre ſpent, the ſhip weake, leke and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes but to leaue them behinde, bent themſelues directly towards Aſtracan: and ſayling North Northeaſt vntill midnight about 16. leagues, the winde then came to the North Northweſt, and blew much, a very ſtorme, which cauſed them to take in all their ſailes, ſauing the fore coarſe, with which they were forced to ſteere before the ſea, South by weſt, and South ſouthweſt. And on the 8. day about 2. of the clocke in the morning their great boate ſunke at the ſhips ſterne, which they were forced to cut from the ſhipps to their great griefe and diſcomfort: for in her they hoped to ſaue their liues if the ſhippe ſhoulde haue miſcaried. About 10. of the clocke before noone they had ſight of the lande about 5. leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longſt the coaſt to the Southeaſtwards vnto Nezauoo, where they came at ancre in 3. fathoms and blacke oze, good ancre holde, whereof they were glad as alſo that the winde was ſhifted to the Northweſt, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the reſt of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18. verſts to the weſtwards of Nezauoo, the place where againſt they rode at ancre, ſaw the ſhip as ſhe paſſed by that place, and ſent a man in the night following alongſt the coaſt after her, who came againſt the ſhip where ſhe rode, and with a firebrand in the top of a tree, made ſignes, which was perceiued by them in the ſhippe, whereupon they hoyſed out their ſkiffe, and ſent her a ſhoare to learne what was ment by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherin he wrote that they were with ſuch goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the ſame goods be taken into the ſhippes. The 9. day it was litle winde, they waped and bare a litle further off into the ſea towards the ſaid village, and ancred. The 10. day they ſent their ſkiffe to the Armenian village to fetch thoſe men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde ſerued, that they could not returne to fetche the ſhippe, they of the ſhippe promiſed to come for them, againſt the ſaide village; this day it was calme.

The 11. day the winde Northweſt they rode ſtill. The 12. day the winde Southeaſt they waped ancre, and bare againſt and neere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the ſkiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at ſhoare, were like to be ſpoyled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the ſkiffe ſent backe againe to charge them at any hand they ſhould haſten aboorde the ſhippe whatſoeuer it coſt them. Whereupon, all the companie came aboorde the ſame day ſauing Richard Relfe, and two Ruſſes, but as ſoone as the ſkiffe was returned aboorde the ſhippe, the winde blewe at Southeaſt, and the Sea was growen: ſo as they were forced to take in their ſkiffe into the ſhip and rode ſtill till the 13. day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the ſkiffe was hoyſed out of the ſhippe, and ſent to ſhoare to fetch the ſaid Relfe and the two Ruſſes, which were readie at the ſhoare ſide, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goletta in Barbarie, which ſerued the Turke as ſouldiers. Thoſe Spaniards (of Chriſtian charitie) they brought alſo aboord the ſhippe to redeeme them from their captiuitie, which were brought ouer into England, and ſet free and at libertie here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at North Northeaſt, faire weather. The 14. day they ſent the ſkiffe to ſhoare, and filled freſh water. The 15. day they rode ſtill being litle winde and fogge. The 16. day the winde Eaſt Southeaſt, they waped ancre and ſet ſaile bearing Northwards towardes Aſtracan, and the ſame night they ancred in 10. fathoms water, about 5. miles from the ſhoare of the Shalkaules countrey, which place is 8. leagues North Northweſt from Derbent. The 17. day the winde at North very ſtormie, they rode ſtil all that day & night. The 18. the winde all Southeaſt about one of the clocke afternoone, they waped ancre & ſailed thence til 4. of the clocke North Northeaſt 6. leagues, then might they ſee the land Northweſt about 10. leagues from the winde Southeaſt: frō thence they ſailed til midnight North northeaſt 12. leagues. Frō thence til ỹ 19. day 7. a clocke in ỹ morning they ſailed Northnortheaſt 8. leagues: the wind then Eaſt ſoutheaſt, a faire gale, they ſounded and had 17. fathoms, and ſand, being (as the M. iudged) about the head of Shedly: from theuce till 12. of the clocke at noone they

Two Spaniards deliuered by our Engliſhmen.

ſailed North 5. leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they ſounded and had 5. fadoms. From thence till 8. of the clocke at night, they ſailed North 7. leagues: the winde then at North-east with ſmall raine, they tooke in their ſailes and ancred in 3. fadoms water and ſoft oze, where they rode ſtill all night, and the 20. day and night the winde Northeaſt, as before with ſmall raine.

The 21. day the winde Northweſt, they likewiſe rode ſtill. The 22. day about 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, they waped ancre the winde Weſt Northweſt, and ſailed from thence till ſixe of the clocke at night North 4. leagues, then they ancred in 2. fathoms and a halfe ſoft oze, the winde at Weſt a ſmall breath.

The 23. day about 7. of the clocke in the morning, they waped ancre and ſet ſaile being little winde Eaſterly, and ſailed till 2. of the clocke after noone Northweſt in with the ſhoare about ſixe leagues, and then ancred in 6. foote water, hauing perfect ſight of the lowe lande (ſande hilles) being about three miles from the neereſt land. This place of the land that they were againſt, they perceiued to be to the Weſtwards of the foure Iſlands (called in the Ruſſe tongue Chetera Boogori) and they founde it afterwards by due proofe, to be about 50. verſts, or thirtie Engliſh miles to the Southweſt, or Southweſt by South, from the ſaid Chetera Bogori.

The 24. day the winde at East, and by South, a ſea winde called Gillauar, cauſed them to ride ſtill. The 25. day they thought good to ſende in their ſkiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Ruſſes, to rowe him longeſt Northwards by the ſhoare, to ſeeke the foure Iſlands, and ſo to paſſe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the ſaide Rob. Golding to proceede to Aſtracan, to deliuer Amos Riall a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauozes to meete the ſhippe at the ſaide Iſlands, and the ſkiffe with the Ruſſes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the ſhippe, which ſkiffe departed from the ſhippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26. 27. 28. and 29. dayes, the windes Eaſterly, and Northeaſt they roode ſtill with their ſhippe. The 30. day the winde Southeaſt, they waped and ſet ſaile to the Northeaſtwards: but the ſhippe fell ſo on the ſide to the ſhorewards, that they were forced eftſoones to take in their ſailes and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remooued her. That day they ſhared their bread: but in their want God ſent them two couies of partridges, that came from the ſhoare, and lighted in and about their ſhippes, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay ſicke, of whoſe life was ſmall hope, recouered his health.

A ſtrange accident of prouiſion for their reliefe.

November. The 4. of November the ſkiffe returned to the ſhippe with ſome victuals, and certified that the 4. Iſlands were about 60. verſts from them to the Northeaſtwards. When Robert Golding came to Aſtracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, Captaine of that place, was done to vnderſtand of the ſhips arriual, and of the ſtate they were in, and their requeſt for Pauoſes, who was very glad to heare of their ſafe returne, and appointed to be ſent with all ſpeede 2. Pauoſes, and a Strooge, with gunners to garde and to defende them. With the which Strooge and Pauoſes, Amos Riall went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4. Iſlands aforeſaid, where hee ſtayed with thoſe barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5. day they purpoſed to ſend from the ſhippe their ſkiffe with the carpenter, and 4. Ruſſes, to rowe him to the 4. Bowgories, to requeſt Amos Rial to come from thence with the Pauoſes to the ſhip with al poſſible ſpeed. The ſkiffe with thoſe men departed from the ſhip in the morning, and within one houre they met with a ſmall boat with Ruſſes, rowing towards the ſhip which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde ſwine and other victuals to ſell: with the ſame boate the ſkiffe returned backe to the ſhip after the Ruſſes had receiued and were ſatiſfied for the victuals they brought: the ſame day they returned with their boate backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the ſame boate was ſent the carpenter of the ſhip to the Chetera Bougori which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Riall the meſſage before appointed him. From the 5. vntill the 9. day the ſhip rode ſtill with contrary winds Eaſterly. The ſame 9. day came to the ſhip certaine Ruſſes in a ſmall boate, which brought with them ſome victuals ſent by Amos Riall, and declared, that hee with the Pauoſes and Strooge, had remained at the Chetera Boogori 5. dayes expecting the comming thither of the ſhip. The 10. day being doubtfull of the Pauoſies comming, they ſent Thomas Hudſon maſter of the ſhip in the ſkiffe (and with her went the aforeſaid ſkiffe boate) towards the Chetera Boogori to the Pauoſes, to bring word whether they would come to the ſhip or not, the winde then at Northeaſt with fogge. The 11. day the winde Northerly with fogge, the ſhip roode ſtill. The 12. day Amos Rial, Chriſtopher Fawcet, and a new gunner came to the ſhip, and with them the M. Thomas Hudſon returned (but the Strooge with the gunners remained at the Chetera Boogori) and from thence (when it began to freeſe,) returned to Aſtracan. Amos Rial declared that he ſent the carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a ſmall boate on the 10. day, and marueiled that he

was

was not come to the ſhippe (but in the fogge the day before as afterwards they learned) miſſed the ſhippe, and ouerſhot her, and afterwards returning backe, hee found the ſhip at ancre, and nothing in her but the Ruſſes that were left to keepe her, and then hee departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there ſtaied. Preſently vpon the comming of the Pauoſes to the ſhippe, they vſed as much ſpeede as might be, to get the goods out of the ſhippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in alſo of the ſhippes Ordinance, furniture and prouiſion, as much as they coulde.

The 13. day in the morning Amos Riall was ſent away in a ſmall boate towards Aſtracan, to prouide victuals and carriages to relieue and helpe them, who coulde paſſe no further then the foure Iſlands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boate, and from thence paſſed poſte to Aſtracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremitie of the colde. The ſame day they departed alſo in thoſe lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ſhippe at ancre, and in her two Ruſſes, which with three more that went in the Pauoſes, to prouide victuals for themſelues and the reſt, and therewith promiſed to returne backe to the ſhippe with all ſpeede, had offered to vndertake for twentie rubbles in money to carry the ſhippe into ſome harborowe, where ſhee might ſafely winter, or els to keepe her where ſhee rode all winter, which was promiſed to be giuen them if they did it: and the ſame day when with thoſe lighters they had gotten ſight of the 4. Iſlands being about eight verſts Southweſt from them, the winde then at Northeaſt, did freeſe the ſea ſo, as they could not rowe, guide, ſtirre or remooue the ſaide lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them; And ſo they continued driuing with the yce, Southeaſt into the ſea by the ſpace of fourtie houres, and then being the ſixteene day the yce ſtoode. Whiles they droue with the yce the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and ſea did breake, pieces of it were toſſed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to beholde, and the ſame happened at ſometimes ſo neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it woulde haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter deſtruction: but God who hath preſerued them from many perils before, did alſo ſaue and deliuer them then.

Ice the 13. of Nouember in the mouth of the riuer of Volga.

The 16 day.

Within three or foure dayes after the firſt ſtanding of the yce when it was firme and ſtrong, they tooke out all their goods, being fourtie and eight bales or packes of rawe ſilke, &c. layde it on the yce, and couered the ſame with ſuch prouiſions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the good there vpon the yce, and to goe to the ſhoare: and thereupon brake vp their cheſts and Corobias, wherewith, and with ſuch other things as they coulde gette, they made ſleds for euery of them to drawe vpon the yce, whereon they layde their clothes to keepe them warme, and ſuch victuals as they had, and ſuch other thinges as they might conueniently carry, and ſo they departed from the ſaide goods and Pauoſes very early about one of the clocke in the morning, and trauayling on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the ſame day about two of the clocke in the after noone, they had ſight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillockes of Iſlands ſo called:) vnto the ſame they directed themſelues, and there remained that night.

Chetera Babas.

The goods and Pauoſes which they left on the yce, they iudged to be from thoſe Chetera Babas about 20. verſts.

And the next morning departed thence Eaſtwardes, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Iſlands before ſpoken of) before noone, (the diſtance betweene thoſe places is about fifteene verſtes) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Aſtracan: the next morning very earely they loſt their way through the perſwaſion of the Ruſſes which were with them, taking to much towardes the left hande, (contrary to the opinion of Maſter Hudſon:) Whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or fiue dayes, not knowing whether they were entred into the Crimme Tartars lande or not, at length it fortuned they mette with a way that had bene trauailed, which croſſe backewardes towardes the Sea, that way they tooke, and following the ſame, within two dayes trauaile it brought them to a place called the Craſnoyare, (that is to ſay in the Engliſh tongue) redde cliffe, which diuers of the companie knewe.

There they remayned that night hauing nothing to eate but one loafe of bread which they happened to finde with the two Ruſſes that were left in the ſhippe to keepe her all the winter (as is afore ſaide) whome they chaunced to meete going towards Aſtracan, about fiue miles before they came to the ſaide Craſnoyare, who certified them that the ſhippe was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard ſcaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed earely from Craſnoyare towardes the Ouchooge, and

about 9. of the clocke before noone, being within 10. verſts of the Vchooge, they mette Amos Riall, with the Carpenter, which he founde at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of Englande, and alſo ſixtie and fiue horſes with ſo many Caſſacks to guide them, and 50. gunners for garde, which brought prouiſion of victuals, &c. And were ſent by the Duke to fetche the goods to Aſtracan. The meeting of that company was much ioy vnto them.

The Factors ſent backe with Amos Riall and the ſaide companie to fetche the goods, Thomas Hudſon, the maſter, Tobias Paris his mate, and ſo they the ſaide Factors, and their companie marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreſhed themſelues that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Aſtracan, where they arriued the laſt day of Nouember.

December. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors trauailed the ſame day vntill they came within 10. verſts of the Chetera Babas, where they reſted that night. The next morning by the breake of the day they departed thence, and before noone were at the Chetera Babas, where they ſtayed all night; But preſently departed thence Thomas Hudſon, with the Carpenter and gunner to ſeeke where the goods lay: who founde the ſame, and the next day they returned backe to their company, at the Chetera Babas, and declared vnto them in what ſort they had found the ſaid goods.

The 3. day early in the morning they departed all from the 4. Babas towards the ſaide goods, and the ſame day did lade all the goods they could finde vpon the ſaid ſleds, and with al conuenient ſpeede returned backe towardes Aſtracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they reſted the night, in the morning very early before the breake of day, they were aſſaulted by a great companie of the Nagays Tartars horſemen, which came ſhowting and hallowing with a great noyſe, but our people were ſo inuironed with the ſleds, that they durſt not enter vpon them, but ranne by, and ſhotte their arrowes amongſt them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Ruſſe, and ſo departed preſently. Yet when it was day, they ſhewed themſelues a good diſtance off from our men, being a very great troupe of them, but did not aſſault them any more. The ſame

Their returne to Aſtracan. day our men with thoſe cariages, departed from thence towards Aſtracan, where they arriued in ſafetie the 4. of December, about 3. of the clocke in the after noone: where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue eſcaped ſo many hard euents, trouble and miſeries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cauſe therefore to praiſe the Almightie, who had ſo mercifully preſerued and deliuered them. They remained the winter at Aſtracan, where they found great fauour and friendſhip of the Duke, Captaine and other chiefe officers of that place: But that winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

In the ſpring of the yeere 1581. about the mids of March the yce was broken vp, and cleare gone before Aſtracan, and the ninth of Aprill hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media laden into a Strooge, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthewe Taileboyes, Giles Crowe, Chriſtopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Prouſe gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Th. Hudſon, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Ric. the ſurgean, Rob. Golding, Iohn Smith, Edward Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, Hauing alſo 40. Ruſſes, whereof 36. were Caſſacks to rowe, the reſt Marchants paſſengers, departed from Aſtracan with the ſaid Strooge and goods vp the Volga towards Yeraſlaue. They left behinde them at Aſtracan, with the Engliſh goods & Marchandiſe there remayning, Amos Rial, W. Wincol, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to ſell & barter the ſame, or ſo much thereof as they could to the Tiſiks, if there came any thither that ſpring, and to others as they might, & the reſt with ſuch as they ſhould take in exchange to returne vp to Yeraſlaue that ſummer, when the Emperours carriage ſhould paſſe vp to the Volga. The 21. day they came with their Strooge to the Perauoloke, but made no ſtay

May. at that place: for they had bene much troubled with yce in their comming from Aſtracan. The 3. of May about noone they came to Oueke, and from thence proceeding vp the riuer, on the 17. day William Turnebul departed from the Strooge in a ſmal boate, and went before towards Tetuſha to prouide victuals, and ſende downe to the Strooge from which place they were then about 230. verſts. The 23. day they mette a boate with victuals, which William Turnebull ſent from Tetuſha, and the ſame day they arriued with their Strooge at Tetuſha, where they ſtayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the ſmall boat before to Cazan, to prouide neceſſaries from thence, and to make way for their diſpatch. The 26. day they arriued with their Strooge at Cazan, where they remayned till the fourth of June: the Factors ſent Giles Crowe from Cazan to the Moſco, with their letters the 30. of May. The fourth day of June they departed from Cazan with their Strooge, and arriued at Yeraſlaue the 22. day about 5. of the clocke in the morning.

The 23. day they prouided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda: The 24. day hauing

the

the goods laden vpon Telegos, they departed with the ſame towards Vologhda, and remained there fiue weekes from Yeraſlaue.

The 29. day, they came to Vologhda, with all their goods in ſafetie, and good order. The ſame 29. William Turnebull, and Peter Garrard, departed from Vologhda, poſt by water towards Colmogro: the third of July, hauing their goods laden in a ſmall Doſhenike, they departed with the ſame from Vologhda, towards Roſſe Iſland, by S. Nicholas, where they arriued in ſafetie the 16. of July, and founde there the Agents of Ruſſia, and in the Rode the ſhips ſent out of England, almoſt laden ready to depart.

The 25. day departed for England (out of the rode of S. Nicholas) the ſhippe Elizabeth.

The 26. day departed thence the Thomas Allen, and Marie Suſan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbull, Matthew Tailboys, Thomas Hudſon, and others. The goods returned of the Perſia voyage, were laden into the ſhippe, William, and Iohn, whereof was Maſter William Bigat, and in her with the ſame goods, came Peter Garrard, and Tobias Parris.

The 11. of Auguſt, the ſame ſhippe being laden, and diſpatched, departed from the rode of S. Nicholas, and with her in companie another of the companies fraighted ſhips, called the Tomaſin, whereof was Maſter Chriſtopher Hal. In their returne homewards, they had ſome foule weather, and were ſeparated at the ſea, the William, and Iohn, put into Newcaſtle, the 24. of September: from whence the ſaid Peter Garrard, and Tobias Parris, came to London by lande, and brought newes of the arriuall of the ſhippe.

The 25. of September, both the ſaid ſhippes arriued at the port of London in ſafetie, and anchored before Limehouſe, and Wapping, where they were diſcharged. 1581.

Obſeruations of the latitudes and Meridian altitudes of diuers places in *Ruſſia, from the North to the South. Anno* 1581.

Michael Archangel.	Meridian altitude obſerued at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minuts.	
	The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minuts.	
The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro.	The Engliſh houſe in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m.	
	The meridian altitude there obſerued, the 29. of July, 42. d. 15. m.	
Recola.	Meridian altitude the 30. of July, 41. d. 46. m.	64. d. 20. m.
	Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	
Yeegris.	Meridian, 4. of Auguſt, 41. d. 50. m.	62. d. 59. m.
	Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	
Towlma	Meridian altitude, the 15. of Auguſt, 40. d. 45. m.	60. d. 17. m.
	Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	
Vologhda.	Meridian altitude, the 20. of Auguſt, 40. d.	59. d. 17. m.
	Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	
Vologhda.	Meridian altitude, 21. of Auguſt, 39. d. 36. m.	59. d. 20. m.
	Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	
Yereſlaue.	Latitude by geſſe, 57. d. 50. m.	
Swyaskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d.	56. d. 4. m.
	Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	
Ouſlona Monaſterie.	Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m.	55. d. 51. m.
	Declination, 3. d. 43. m.	
Tetuskagorod.	Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m.	55. d. 22. m.
	Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	
Oueeke.	Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m.	51. d. 30. m.
	Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	
Aſtracan.	Aſtracan Meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m.	46. d. 10. m.
	Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	
Aſtracan.	Meridian altitude, 1. of Nouember, 26. d. 35. m.	46. d. 9. m.
	Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	

Certaine

Certaine directions giuen by Maſter Richard Hakluyt of the *middle Temple, to Maſter Morgan Hubblethorne, Dyer, ſent into Perſia, 1579.*

1 FOr that England hath the beſt wooll, and cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the Realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wiſhed, that the dying of forren Countreies were ſeene, to the ende that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in greateſt excellencie: for thereof will followe honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will followe the ſetting of our poore on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cauſe moſt principally, you are ſent ouer, at the charge of the Citie: and therefore for the ſatisfying of the Lordes, and of the expectation of the Merchants, and of your companie, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge, then you carried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, ſixth, and ſeuenth part riſeth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuiſe to dye as good colours with the one halfe of the preſent price, were to the great commoditie of the Realme, by ſauing of great treaſure in time to come. And therefore you muſt haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the Countreies, that you ſhall paſſe through, that may be vſed in dying, be they hearbes, weedes, barkes, gummes, earths, or what els ſoeuer.

3 In Perſia you ſhall finde carpets of courſe thrommed wooll, the beſt of the worlde, and excellently coloured: thoſe Cities and Townes, you muſt repaire to, and you muſt vſe meanes to learne all the order of the dying of thoſe thrommes, which are ſo died, as neither raine, wine, nor yet vineger, can ſtaine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you ſhall not neede to feare dying of cloth. For if the colour holde in yarne, and thromme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Perſia, they haue great colouring of ſilkes, it behooues you to learne that alſo, for that clothe dying, and ſilke dying, haue a certaine affinitie, and your Merchants minde to bring much rawe ſilke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requiſite you learne the ſame.

5 In Perſia, there are that fleece linnen clothe: it is not amiſſe you learne it, if you can: it hath beene an olde trade in England, whereof ſome excellent clothes yet remaine; but the arte is now loſt, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Perſia, to make in Buſkins of Spaniſh leather, flowers of many kindes in moſt liuely colours, and theſe the Courtiers doe weare there, to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the Eaſt partes of the world, be to be found in Perſia, acquaint your ſelfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You ſhall finde Anyle there, if you can procure the herbe, that it is made of either by ſeede, or by plant, to carry into England, you may doe well to endeuour to enrich your Countrey with the ſame: but withall learne you the making of the Anyle, and if you can get the hearbe, you may ſende the ſame dryed into England, for poſſibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and ſubſtances, that they dye with all in Ruſſia, and alſo in Perſia, that your companie may ſee all.

10 In ſome litle pot in your lodging, I wiſh you to make daily trials in your arte, as you ſhall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing, whatſoeuer you ſhall learne from day to day, leaſt you ſhould forget, or leaſt God ſhould call you to his mercie, and by each returne, I wiſh you ſende in writing whatſoeuer you haue learned, or at the leaſt keepe the ſame ſafe in your coffer, that come death, or life, your Countrey may enioy the thing that you goe for, and not loſe the charge, and trauell beſtowed in this caſe.

12 Learne you there to fixe, and make ſure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: ſo ſhall we not neede to buy oade ſo deere, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of Leckar, and of all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wiſe ſet downe in writing a true note, from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what Countrey each of them doth growe, I meane where the naturall place of each of them is, as how neere to ſuch a Citie, or to ſuch a Sea, or to ſuch a portable Riuer, in Ruſſia, Perſia, or els where.

15 If

15 If before your returne you could procure a ſingular good workeman, in the arte of Turkiſh carpet making, you ſhould bring the arte into this Realme, and alſo thereby increaſe worke to your company.

Commiſsion giuen by Sir Rowland Hayward, Knight, and *George Barne, Aldermen and Gouernours of the company of Engliſh* Merchants, for diſcouerie of newe trades, vnto Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for diſcouerie of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.

IN the name of God Almightie, and euerlaſting, Amen. This writing for commiſsion Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May, Anno Domini, 1580. and in the two and twentieth yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betweene Sir Rowland Hayward, Knight, & George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and Gouernours of the companie of Engliſh merchants, for diſcouerie of newe trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the ſaid companie, on the firſt partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliſe, in the Countie of Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the ſecond partie, and Charles Iackman of Popler, in the ſaide Countie of Middleſex, Captaine, Maſter, and Ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are nowe riding at anker in the riuer of Thames againſt Limehouſe) on the third partie: witneſſeth, that the ſaid Gouernours, and companie, haue hired the ſaid Arthur Pet, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the George, with nine men and a boye: And likewiſe the ſaid Charles Iackman, to ſerue in the ſaid barke, called the William, with fiue men and a boye, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for ſearch and diſcoueries of a paſſage by ſea from hence by Boroughs ſtreights, and the Iſland Vaigats, Eaſtwards, to the countries or dominion of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the ſame vnto the cities Cambalu, and Quinſay, or to either of them.

The which paſſage (vpon authoritie of writers, and great reaſon) is conceaued to be from the Vaigats Eaſtwards according to the deſcription in plat of ſpirall lines, made by maſter William Borough, whereof either of the ſaid Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman, haue one deliuered vnto them and alſo one other ſailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it ſhould not be in all points, according to that deſcription, yet we hope, that the continent or firme land of Aſia, doth not ſtretch it ſelfe ſo farre Northwards, but that there may be found a ſea paſſeable by it, betweene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with theſe two barkes, to make triall of the ſame: wiſhing you both to ioyne in friendſhip together, as moſt deere friendes, and brothers, to all purpoſes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the ſame voyage. And likewiſe order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue ſuch loue and care, to helpe and ſuccour them of the other, as moſt deere friendes and brothers woulde doe: ſo as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is ſo appointed for your greater comfort and aſſurance) yet that you are wholy of one minde, and bende your ſelues to the vttermoſt of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obſerue good order in your daily ſeruice, and pray vnto God, ſo ſhall you proſper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, conſult, and agree howe, and by what meanes you may beſt performe this purpoſed voyage, according to our intents. And at ſuch meeting, we thinke it requiſite, that you call vnto you your mates, and alſo Nicholas Chanceler, (whome we doe appoint as merchant, to keepe accompt of the merchandize you ſhall buy, or ſell, barter, or exchange) to the ende, that whatſoeuer God ſhould diſpoſe of either of you, yet they may haue ſome inſtructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your aſſemblies and conſultations together, and the ſubſtance of matter you ſhall at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper bookes that we giue you for that purpoſe, vnto each barke one. We doe appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admirall, to weare the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Iackman in the William, as Viceadmiral. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of companie together, which we wiſh may be ſuch, as you ſhould neuer loſe ſight the one of the other, except by both your conſents, to diſcouer about an Iſland, or in

ſome

some riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, we referre the same to your good discretions.

And nowe for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good wind and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and conuenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this riuer of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to haue sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe alongst to the Noua Zemla, keeping the same lands alwaies in your sight on your larboordsides (if conueniently you may) to the ende you may discouer, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land, with Noua Zemla, or not: notwithstanding wee would not haue you to entangle your selues in any Bape, or otherwise, so as it might hinder your speedie proceeding to the Iland Vaigats.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer against the South part of the same Iland, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwaies in your sight (if conueniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, passe ouer the saide riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the East side of the same (without any staye to be made for searching inwardly in the same riuer) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceede alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwaies on your starboordside in sight, if you may, and followe the tracte of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may doe both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage, with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can, to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them. But if it happen that you can not conueniently come to either of those places, or shall be driuē to remaine & winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by al meanes possible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or doe wrong to any people or nation whatsoeuer, but therein to bee innocent as dooues, yet wilie as serpents, to auoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall haue gotten friendship through your discreete ordring of your selues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for eche of you partitularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maiestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet seale to be set, the effect of the same letters you haue also written in English, for your owne vnderstanding thereof.

The same her Maiesties letters, you shall procure to deliuer vnto the same mightie Prince, or Gouernour, with some present to be giuen such as you shall thinke meete, and conuenient, vsing your selues in all pointes according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this summer passe the Streights, and compasse about the Northermost land of Asia, vnto the Countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintring in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge against the next peeres spring, you may then after your first setting foorth, search and discouer somewhat further then you had discouered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwaies prouided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduice of your proceedings the same summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this summer attaine to the border of Cathaye, and yet finde the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceede on your discouerie (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this summer, hauing care in the trauel to find out some conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we haue before aduised you to doe with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a Prince or chiefe Gouernour, doe you procure to deliuer vnto the same Prince or gouernour, one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly, if you so happen to winter and obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to be such, that by vsing trade thither with the people, & for the cōmodities, it may be beneficiall vnto vs (as we hope you may) the same wil be some good liking vnto vs: notwithstanding we would haue you the next summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborough, proceede alongest

that

that tracte of land to Cathay, if you see likelihoode to passe it (for that is the Countrey that wee chiefly desire to discouer) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeeres and vpwards, which you may very well make to serue you for two yeeres and a halfe, though you finde no other helpe, you may therefore be the bolder to aduenture in proceeding vpon your discouerie: which if you do, we doubt not, but you shall atchieue the Countrey of Cathay, and deliuer to the Prince there, one of her Maiesties letters, bringing from thence the same Princes letters answerable: & so in the yeere of our Lord, 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenturers in this voyage, but also to our whole Countrey, and nation, which God grant you may doe, Amen.

But if it happen that the land of Asia from beyond the riuer Ob, extend it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the pole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small, or no hope may be looked for, to saile that waies to Cathay, doe you notwithstanding followe the tracte of the same land, as farre as you can discouer this summer, hauing care to finde out by the way a conuenient place for you to winter in, the which (if you may discouer the same lande of Asia, this summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and vpwards, or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintring place may be in the riuer of Ob, or as neere the same riuer as you can, and finding in such wintering place people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. do you gently entreat with them as aforesaid, & if you can learne ẏ they haue a prince or chiefe Gouernour amongst them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maiesties letters, and procure thereof answere accordingly: doe you procure to barter and exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall carie with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to haue, &c.

If you so happen to winter, we would haue you the next summer, to discouer into the riuer Ob, so farre as conueniently you may: And if you shall finde the same riuer (which is reported to be wide or broade) to be also nauigable and pleasant for you, to trauell farre into, happely you may come to the Citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place, habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the second winter: vse you therein your discretions.

But if you finde the said riuer Ob, to be sholde, or not such as you may conueniently trauell in with your barkes, doe you then the next summer returne backe through Boroughs streights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tracke of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starboord side, and the same alwaies in sight, if conueniently you may, vntill you come to Willoughbies land, if outwards bound, you shall not happen to discouer and trie whether the said Willoughbies lande ioyne continent with the same Noua Zembla, or not. But if you shall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your course vnto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conueniently: and from Willougbies land, you shall procede Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northerly) euen so farre as you may or can trauell, hauing regard that in conuenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making obseruations in the same, we referre you to the instructions, giuen by Master William Borough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the first part of this indenture, vnder our seale, for you Arthur Pet, an other copie of it is annexed to the second part of this indenture, vnder our seale also, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copie thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this indenture, remaining with vs the said companie, sealed and subscribed by the said Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

And to the obseruing of all things contained in this commission, (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet, doe couenant by these presents, to perfourme them, and euery part and parcell thereof. And I the said Charles Iackman, doe for my part likewise couenant by these presents to perfourme the same, and euery part thereof, so neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes therof, these indentures were sealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere first aboue written. Thus the Lord God Almightie send you a prosperous voyage, with happie successe, and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions

Instructions and notes very necessarie and needefull to be obserued, *in the purposed voyage for discouerie of Cathay Eastwards,*

by Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

When you come to Orfordnesse, (if the winde doe serue you to goe a seabooard the sands) doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the said Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intend to keepe your continuall watch, and appoint such course as you shall thinke good, according as the wind serueth you: and from that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, vnder saile, a hull or trie) do you at the ende of euery 4. glasses at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you can not get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obserued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coast, or doe finde any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shall thinke it requisite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depthes into harboroughs, riuers, &c.

How to note downe in his Iornall of the voyage, his dead reckoning, and other obseruations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessarie that you doe note at the ende of euery 4. glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagge of the sea, to leewards, accordingly as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what thinges worth the noting, happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force, or strength it is, and what sailes you beare.

But if you should omit to note those things at the ende of euery 4. glasses, I would not haue you to let it slippe any longer time, then to note it diligently at the ende of euery watch, or 8. glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the compasse (especially when you may be at shoare vpon any lande) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you doe the same.

For noting the shape and view of the land at first discouerie, &c.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing compasse, how it beares off you, noting your iudgement howe farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently howe the highest, or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both endes, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way you barke hath made, and vpon what point of the compasse doe you againe set that first land seene, or the partes thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceaue or discerne them, and likewise such other notable pointes or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceaue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the manner of biting in of euery Baye, and entrance of euery harborough or riuers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hils, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plat, you shall thereby perceaue how farre the land you first sawe, or the partes thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the compasse the one lieth from the other.

For obserning of tides and currants.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the slake or still water of full sea, & lowe water, and also which way the flood doth runne, howe the tides doe set, howe much water it hieth, and what force the tide hath to driue a shippe in one howre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betweene the running of the floode, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coast the currant to runne alwaies one way, doe you also note the same duely,

duely how it ſetteth in euery place, and obſerue what force it hath to driue a ſhippe in one houre, &c.

Item, as often, and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obſeruation for the latitude and variation, &c. do you alſo (if you may) with your inſtrument, for tryal of diſtances, obſerue the platforme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently ſee from time to time. Theſe orders if you diligently obſerue, you may thereby perfectly ſet downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell and deſcription of your diſcouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderſtande or perceiue, of the manner of the ſoile, or fruitfulneſſe of euery place and countrey you ſhall come in, and of the maner, ſhape, attire and diſpoſition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they moſt couet and deſire of the commodities you carrie with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto ſuch people as you ſhall happen to ſee, and to offer them all curteſie and friendſhippe you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towards you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you ſhould be offered wrong at their hands, yet not to reuenge the ſame lightly, but by all meanes poſſible ſeeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wiſely and with ſuch circumſpection that you keepe your ſelues out of their dangers.

To take the platformes of places within compaſſe of view vpon land.

Thus I beſeech God almighty to bleſſe you, and proſper your voyage with good and happie ſucceſſe, and ſend you ſafely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenturers with you, and of all your friends, and our whole countrie. Amen.

By M. W. Burrough.

Certaine briefe aduiſes, giuen by Maſter Dee, to Arthur Pet, *and Charles Iackman, to be obſerued in their Northeaſterne* diſcouerie, Anno 1580.

IF we reckon from Wardhouſe to Colgoieue Iſland 400 miles for almoſt 20 degrees difference onely of longitude very neere Eaſt & Weſt, and about the latitude of 70 degrees and two third parts: From Colgoieue to Vaigats 200 miles for 10 degrees difference, only in longitude, at 70 degrees of latitude alſo: Frō Vaigats to the Promontorie Tabin 60 degrees difference of longitude (the whole courſe, or ſhorteſt diſtance being Eaſt and Weſt) in the latitude likewiſe of 70 degrees, maketh 1200 miles: then is ſumma totalis frō Wardhouſe to Tabin 600 leagues, or 1800 Engliſh miles. Therefore allowing in a diſcouery voyage for one day with another but 50 Engliſh miles, it is euident that from Wardhouſe to Tabin, the courſe may be ſailed eaſily in ſixe and thirty dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finiſhed in much ſhorter time, both by helpe of wind proſperous, and light continuall for the time requiſit therunto.

When you are paſt Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142 degrees, as your chart ſheweth, or two, three, foure, or fiue degrees further Eaſterly, it is probable you ſhall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eaſtward, in which courſe you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuer Oechardes, or ſome other, which yet I coniecture to paſſe by the renowmed citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50 or 52 degrees, and within 300 or 400 miles of Cambalu it ſelfe, being in the latitude about 45 degrees Southerly of the ſaid riuers mouth, or els that you ſhall trend about the very Northerne and moſt Eaſterly point of all Aſia, paſſing by the prouince Ania, and then in the latitude of 46 degrees, keeping ſtill the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with ſafety) you may enter into Quinſay hauen being the chiefe city in the Northeren China, as I terme it for diſtinction ſake, from the other better knowen.

M. Dee gaue them a chart of his owne making, which heere he refers them vnto.

And in or about either or both of theſe two warme places, you may to great good purpoſe be occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in thoſe quarters, as ſometime by ſea, ſometime in notable freſh riuers, ſometime in diſcreet view and noting downe the ſituation of the cities within land, &c. and euer aſſaying to come by ſome charts or mappes of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by ſome of their bookes likewiſe for language, &c. You may alſo haue opportunity to ſaile ouer to Iapan Iſland, where you ſhall finde Chriſtian men, Ieſuits, of many countreys of Chriſtendome ſome, and perhaps ſome Engliſhmen, at whoſe hands you may haue great inſtruction and aduiſe for your aſſayres in hand.

Notes in writing, besides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen *by M. Richard Hakluyt, of Eiton in the countie of Hereford, Esquire,* Anno 1580: To M. Arthur Pet, and to M. Charles Iackman, sent by the merchants of the Moscouie companie for the discouerie of the North-east straight, not altogether vnfit for some other enterprises of discouerie, heerafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

WHeras the Portingalles haue in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to diuers great purposes: so you are to see what Islandes, and what portes you had need to haue by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I wish you to enter into consideration of the matter, & to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may deuise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Sauages or ciuill Princes may in any sort annoy vs in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scithian sea, where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serue) we might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

And to which Island (if need were, & if we should thinke so good) we might allure the Northeast nauie, the nauie of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to vs there planted, & stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the nauie of Cambalu, or other those parties might conueniently saile vnto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fall out well. For so, besides lesse danger, and more safetie, our ships might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the portes of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, hauing shippes there, imploy them in passing betwene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of hauens and harbarowes.

AND if no such Islands may be found in the Scithian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yeere, if you be let by contrarie windes, and to the end that if we may in short time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing, there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farre in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedyer discharge of your mariners: if you can not go forward and backe in one selfe same summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Articke in the more temperate zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the soile planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall speciallie note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the end we may turne our new found land fishing or Island fishing or our whalefishing that way, for the ayd and comfort of our new trades to the Northeast to the coasts of Asia.

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

AND if the ayre may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offals of our people, as the Portingalles do in Brasill, & so they may in our fishing in our passage, and diuers wayes yeeld commoditie to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld maſts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the naule, as plentifully as Eſtland doth.

The Iſlands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

TO note the Iſlands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine, or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what ſoile, woody or not woody, with ſprings and riuers or not, and what wilde beaſts they haue in the ſame.

And whether there ſeeme to be in the ſame apt matter to build withall, as ſtone free or rough, and ſtone to make lime withall, and wood or coale to burne the ſame withall.

To note the goodneſſe or the badneſſe of the hauens and harborowes in the Iſlands.

If a ſtraight be found what is to be done, and what *great importance it may be of.*

AND if there be a ſtraight in the paſſage into the Scithian ſeas, the ſame is ſpecially and with great regard to be noted, eſpecially if the ſame ſtraight be narrow and to be kept. I ſay it is to be noted as a thing that doth much import: for what prince ſoeuer ſhall be Lord of the ſame, & ſhall poſſeſſe the ſame, as the king of Denmarke doth poſſeſſe the ſtraight of Denmarke, he onely ſhall haue the trade out of theſe regions into the Northeaſt parts of the world for himſelfe, and for his priuate profit, or for his ſubiects only, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the ſame, like as the king of Denmarke doth enioy of his ſtraightes, by ſuffering the merchantes of other Princes to paſſe that way. If any ſuch ſtraight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the ſtraights, and all other ſuch circumſtances are to be ſet downe for many purpoſes: and all the mariners in the voyage are to be ſworne to keepe cloſe all ſuch things, that other Princes preuent vs not of the ſame, after our returne vpon the diſcloſing of the mariners, if any ſuch thing ſhould hap.

Which way the Sauage may be made able to purchaſe our *cloth and other their wants.*

IF you finde any Iſland or maine land populous, and that the ſame people hath neede of cloth, then are you to deuiſe what commodities they haue to purchaſe the ſame withall.

If they be poore, then are you to conſider of the ſoile, and how by any poſſibilitie the ſame may be made to inrich them, that hereafter they may haue ſomething to purchaſe the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuer, and ſhall finde any great woods, you are to note what kinde of timber they be of: that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, maſts, dealeboord, clapboord, or for building of ſhips or houſes, for ſo if the people haue no vſe of them they may be brought perhaps to vſe.

Not to venture the loſſe of any one man.

YOu muſt haue great care to preſerue your people, ſince your number is ſo ſmall, and not to venture any one man in any wiſe.

To bring home beſides merchandize certaine trifles.

BRing home with you (if you may) from Cambalu, or other ciuil place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Alſo the fruites of the countries, if they will not of themſelues dure, drie them, and ſo preſerue them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the ſtones of ſuch ſtone fruits as you ſhall finde there.

Alſo the ſeeds of all ſtrange herbs and flowres, for ſuch ſeeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and ſo farre off, will delight the fancie of many, for the ſtrangeneſſe & for that the ſame may grow and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinſay, to bring thence the mappe of that country, for ſo ſhall you haue the perfect deſcription which is to great purpoſe.

To bring thence ſome old printed booke, to ſee whether they haue had print there, before it was deuiſed in Europe, as ſome write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Nauie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordinance, armor, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the walles and bulwarks of their cities, their ordinance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armor they haue.

What swoords.

What pikes, halberts, and billes.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout, to note the force of the countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

TO take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a merchant may make a gesse, as well of their commoditie, as also of their wants.

To note their shoppes and warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruit, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plentie or scarcitie of silk they haue.

Things to be carried with you, whereof more or lesse is to be *carried for a shew of our commodities to be made.*

KArsies of all orient coulers, specially of stamell, brodecloth of orient coulers also.

Frizadoes, motlyes, Bridow frizes, Spanish blankets, bayes of all coulers, specially with stamell, woorsteds, carels, sayes, woadmols, flanels, rash, &c.

Felts of diuers coulers.

Taffeta hats.

Deepe cappes for mariners coulered in stamell, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common poore people by knitting.

Quilted cappes of Leuant taffeta of diuers coulers, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient coulers.

Knit stocks of Jerzie yerne of orient coulers, whereof if ample vent might follow the poore multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karsie of diuers coulers for men and for women.

Garters of silke of seuerall kindes, and of coulers diuers.

Girdles of Buffe, and all other leather, with gilt and vngilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all sorts, knit, and of leather.

Gloues perfumed.

Paints of all sorts of silke, yheed, and leather, of all maner of coulers.

Shooes of Spanish leather, of diuers coulers, of diuers lengths, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leather.

Veluet shooes and pontophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a show then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leather.

Night cappes knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter, for a show of a vent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and fayre.

Small

Small dials a few for proofe, although there they will not hold the order they do heere.
Spectacles of the common ſort.
Others of Criſtall trimmed with ſiluer, and otherwiſe.
Powre glaſſes.
Combes of Iuorie.
Combes of Boxe.
Combes of Horne.
Linnen of diuers ſorts.
Handkerchiffes with ſilke of ſeuerall coulers wrought.
Glazen eyes to ride with againſt duſt.
Kniues in ſheathes, both ſingle and double, of good edge.
Needles great and ſmall of euery kinde.
Buttons greater and ſmaller, with moulds of leather and not of wood, and ſuch as be durable of double ſilke, and that of ſundrie coulers.
Boxes with weights of golde, and of euery kinde of the coine of golde, good and badde, to ſhew that the people heere vſe weight & meaſure, which is a certeine ſhew of wiſedome, and of a certaine gouernement ſeiled heere.
All the ſeuerall ſiluer coines of our Engliſh monyes, to be carried with you to be ſhewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that ſhall in ſilence ſpeake to wiſe men more, then you imagine.
Locks and keyes, hinges, boltes, haſpes, &c. great and ſmall of excellent workemanſhip, whereof if vent may be, heereafter we ſhall ſet our ſubiectes in worke, which you muſt haue in great regard. For in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more worth to our people beſides the gaine of the merchant, then Chriſtchurch, Bridewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hoſpitals of England.

For banketing on ſhipboord perſons of credit.

FIrſt the ſweeteſt perfumes to ſet vnder hatches to make the place ſweet againſt their comming aboord, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinſey, or in any ſuch great citie and not among Sauages.
Marmelade.
Sucket.
Figges barrelled.
Reiſens of the ſunne.
Comfets of diuers kindes, made of purpoſe by him that is moſt excellent, that ſhall not diſſolue.
Prunes damaſke.
Dryed peares.
Walnuts.
Almonds.
Smalnuts.
Oliues to make them taſte their wine.
The apple Iohn that dureth two yeeres to make ſhew of our fruits.
Pullocke.
Sacke.
Vials of good ſweet waters, and caſting bottles of glaſſes to beſprinkle the gells withall, after their comming aboord.
Suger, to vſe with their wine, if they will.
The ſweet oyle of Santie, and excellent French vineger, and a fiue kinde of Biſket ſiped in the ſame doe make a banketting diſh, and a little Suger caſt in it cooleth and comforteth, and refreſheth the ſpirits of man.

Cynamom water
Imperiall water
} is to be had with you to make a ſhew of by taſte, and alſo to comfort your ſicke in the voyage.

With theſe and ſuch like, you may banket where you arriue the greater and beſt perſons.
Or with the gift of theſe Marmelades in ſmall boxes, or ſmall viols of ſweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England ſet out in fayre coulers, one of the biggeſt ſort I meane, to make ſhew of your countrey from whence you come.

And alſo the large mappe of London, to make ſhew of your citie. And let the riuer be drawne full of ſhippes of all ſorts, to make the more ſhew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of mappes with you, to marke all theſe regions, it were not amiſſe, and if need were, to preſent the ſame to the great Cam, for it would be to a Prince of maruellous account.

The booke of the attire of all nations.

Such a booke carried with you and beſtowed in gift, would be much eſteemed, as I perſuade my ſelfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Herball, and ſuch bookes as make ſhew of herbes, plantes, trees, fiſhes, fowles and beaſtes of theſe regions, it may much delight the great Cam, and the nobilitie, and alſo they merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in theſe parties ſo much differing from the things of thoſe regions, ſince they may not be here to ſee them, by meane of the diſtance, yet to ſee thoſe things in a ſhadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

TAke with you the booke of Rates, to the end you may picke all thoſe commodities there ſpecified, that you ſhall chance to finde in Cambalu, in Quinſey, or in any part of the Eaſt, where you ſhall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it lyes in ſmall roome.

Glew.

To carrie Glew, for that we haue plentie, and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To ſeeke vent becauſe we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To trie what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kindes, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

To trie what vent you may haue of Saffron, becauſe this Realme yeelds the beſt of the world, and for the tillage and other labours, may ſet the poore greatlie in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauitæ.

By new deuiſes woonderfull quantities may be made heere, and therefore to ſeeke the vent.

Blacke Conie skinnes.

To trie the vent at Cambalu, for that it lyes towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may ſpare it.

Threed

Threed of all colours.

The vent thereof may ſet our people in worke.

Copper Spurres, and Hawkes bels.

To ſee the vent, for it may ſet our people in worke.

A note and a Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to ſale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thither veluet, taffeta, ſpice, or any ſuch commoditie that you your ſelfe deſire to lade your ſelfe home with, you muſt not ſell yours deare, leaſt hereafter you purchaſe theirs not ſo cheape as you would.

Seedes for ſale.

Carie with you for that purpoſe, all ſortes of garden ſeedes, as well of ſweete ſtrawing herbes and of flowers, as alſo of pot herbes, and all ſortes for rootes, &c.

Lead of the firſt melting.

Lead of the ſecond melting of the ſlags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kindes.

Engliſh iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To trie the ſale of the ſame.

Brimſtone.

To trie the vent of the ſame, becauſe we abound with it made in the Realme.

Anthimonie a minerall.

To ſee whether they haue any ample vſe there for it, for that we may lade whole naules of it, and haue no vſe of it, vnleſſe it be for ſome ſmall portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alcumiſts vſe: of this you may haue two ſortes at the Appoticaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint and matches, and Tinder, the matches to be made of Iuneper, to auoid the offence of Brimſtone.

To trie and make the better ſale of Brimſtone by ſhewing the vſe.
Candles of Ware to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vſe of them.

A pot of caſt iron.

To trie the ſale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of edge tooles.

To be ſold there or to the leſſe ciuill people by the way where you ſhall touch.

What

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent dying they vse in these regions, and therfore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their die houses and the materials and simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credite in time to come: So false and sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

The discouerie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Iackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigats, with two Barkes: the one called the George, the other the William, in the yeere 1580.

Written by Hugh Smith.

May. Vpon Munday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the wind being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the poole, and therfore were constrained to put in againe vntill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee waied our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West southwest. The same day we passed Oxfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West northwest sunne, and so to Winterton where we did anker all night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

June. The next day being the first of June, we set saile at 3. a clock in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the Southwest, and at Southsouthwest.

The 2. day of June by my dead reckoning, I was 40. leagues from Winterton due North.

The 3. day the wind was at the West southwest, and at 12. a clocke by my reckoning I was 70. leagues North from Winterton. The same day I did obserue the sunne, where I found the pole to be eleuated aboue the Horizon, 56. deg. 30. minutes. This day in the afternoone at 6. of the clocke the wind came to the South and by West with a very good gale.

The 4. day about 6. of the clocke in the morning, the winde came to the Southeast with raine and foule weather, and after to the East southeast, the same night it brake vp very faire weather.

The 5. day in the morning at 4. or 5. of the clocke, the wind came into the West northwest, and to the Northwest: the same day I did find the pole to bee eleuated 58. deg. 23. minutes. This day about 3. in the afternoone, the wind with a faire and gentle gale came to the South, and so did continue till the next day in the morning.

The 6. day about 5. in the morning, the wind came to the Southeast, and to the East southeast, with a very cruell storme all the same day. And about 3. in the afternoone we lost the companie of the William, in the night the weather came very faire.

The 7. day was faire, the wind being at South by East. This day I did find the pole to be elevated, 60. deg. 58. minutes: this day and all night it was very calme.

The 8. day at 10. of the clocke, the wind came to the Southwest for the space of 2. howers, & then grew calme for 3. howers. Then the winde came to the North, and to North northeast, and so did continue vntill the next day.

The 9. day the wind being at the North northeast, we did lie East and by North.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, we put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Bottel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Keue. Here I did find the pole to be eleuated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foote not aboue.

Keue an Island of Norway.

The 11. day in the morning the wind came to the South & to the Southeast: the same day at 6. in the afternoone we set saile, & bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with rain & fog.

The

The 12. day about 8. in the morning, the wind came to the Southweſt, and to the Weſt ſouthweſt, and ſo did continue the ſame night.

The 13. day I did find the pole to be eleuated, 64. degrees, 3. minutes. The ſame day the winde was at Weſt ſouthweſt.

The 14. day the wind came to the Southweſt about 12. of the clocke with raine and fogge.

The 15. day the wind Southweſt, and this day I found the pole eleuated, 66. deg. 50. minutes, in the after noone we had very much raine, and fowle weather.

The 16. day we did fall with Faire Neſſe.

The 17. day the wind came to the South, and to the South Southeaſt with raine and fogge. We ranne along the coaſt North northeaſt, and by North.

This day in the afternoone the wind came North with very much wind, and we did lie a head for the ſpace of 8. howers.

The 18. day about 5. in the morning, the wind came to the Weſt and by North, and to the Weſt and then we ſet ſaile, and ſet our courſe Northeaſt. This day we did find the pole eleuated, 69. deg. 36. minutes.

The 19. day the wind at Weſt, and Weſt and by North, faire weather with ſome ſhowers, wee hald along the coaſt Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt, and Eaſt northeaſt.

The 20. day we had very faire weather, the wind at South, and South by Eaſt, ſo that we hald along the coaſt Eaſt & by North, the weather was very cloſe, ſo that we could not obſerue ẏ ſunne.

The 21. day was very calme till about 11. of the clocke, at which time the wind came Weſt and Weſt ſouthweſt, with ſome raine, the ſame night was faire.

The 22. day the wind being at Weſt, we did hall the coaſt Eaſt northeaſt, and Eaſt. The ſame day at 6. in the morning, we did double the north Cape. About 3. in the afternoone we paſt Skites beare neſſe, and hald along the coaſt Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and all the ſame night wee halled Southeaſt, and Southeaſt by Eaſt. The north Cape doubled.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouſe, the wind at the Northweſt. The cauſe of our comming in, was to ſeeke the William, whoſe companie we loſt the 6. day of this moneth, and to ſend letters into England. About one of the clocke in the afternoone the William alſo came into Wardhouſe to vs in good ſafetie, and all her company in good health. Wardhouſe.

The 24. the wind came to the Eaſt northeaſt. This day the William was hald a ground, becauſe ſhe was ſome what leake, and to mend her ſteerage. This night about 12. of the clocke, ſhee did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at Eaſt northeaſt.

The 26. day the Tobie of Harwich departed from Wardhouſe for London, Thomas Greene being maſter, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South ſoutheaſt, and the 28. alſo.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Weſt northweſt for the ſpace of one hower, and preſently to the Eaſt againe, and ſo was variable all the ſame night.

The 30. about ſixe in the morning, the wind came to Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and continued ſo all the ſame day.

The firſt of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at North northweſt: and about 7. of the clocke we ſet ſaile from Wardhouſe Eaſt and by South. July.

The ſecond day about 5. in the morning, the wind was Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and we did lie to the ſhorewards. And about 10. in the morning, the wind came to South ſoutheaſt, and we laid it to the Eaſtward: ſometime we lay Eaſt by South, ſometime Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and ſometimes Eaſt by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Kegor, becauſe we thought her to bee out of trie, and ſailed very ill, where we might mend her ſteerige: whereupon maſter Pet not willing to goe into harborough, ſaid to maſter Iackman, that if he thought himſelfe not able to keepe the ſea, he ſhould doe as he thought beſt, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbies land, for that it was a parcell of our direction, and would meet him at Veroue Oſtroue, or Vaigats, and ſo we ſet our courſe Eaſt northeaſt, the wind being at Southeaſt. Willoughbies land.

The 3. day the wind at Southeaſt we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minutes. The ſame night at 12. of the clocke we ſounded, but had no ground, in 120. fadomes, being fiftie leagues from the one ſide by our reckoning Eaſt northeaſt from Kegor. 50. leagues from Kegor.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated, 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at Northeaſt with a gentle gale, wee hald along Southeaſt by Eaſt.

The

The 5. day the wind at Northweſt, we hald Eaſt and Eaſt by South: this day we ſaw land, but we could not make it, the wind being Northerly, ſo that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North northweſt, we hald Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with ſaile and oares laid it to the Northeaſt part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did ſee the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night wee did thinke it to be ice of the baie of S. Nicholas, but it was not as we found afterwards.

A ſight of perfect land.

The 7. day we met with more ice, at the Eaſt part of the other ice: we hald a long a weather the ice to finde ſome ende thereof by Eaſt northeaſt. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, ſo that wee could not come neerer to it.

The ſame morning at ſixe of the clocke, we put into the ice to find ſome way through it, we continued in it all the ſame day and all the night, following the winde by the North Northweſt. Wee were conſtrained to goe many pointes of our compaſſe, but wee went moſt an Eaſterlie courſe.

The eight day the wind at North northweſt, wee continued our courſe, and at fiue in the morning we ſounded, and had 90. fadoms red oaſe. This day at 4. in the afternoone wee ſounded againe, & had 84. fadomes oſe, as before. At ſixe in the afternoone wee cleared our ſelues of the ice, and hald along Southeaſt by South: we ſounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fadoms ſandie oaſe.

The 9. day at two in the morning, we ſounded againe, and had 45. fadomes, then there appeared a ſhadow of land to vs Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſo we ranne with it the ſpace of two howers, and then perceiuing that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeaſt.

This day at 2. in the afternoone we ſounded and had 50. fadomes blacke oaſe. Our latitude was 70. degrees 3. minutes. At ten a clocke at night we ſounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oaſe.

The tenth day the wind being at North northweſt, we hafted Eaſt and by North, which courſe we ſet, becauſe at ten of the clocke afore noone we did ſee land, and then wee ſounded hauing 35. fadomes blacke oaſe. All this day there was a great fogge, ſo that wee durſt not beare with the land to make it, and ſo we kept an outwardly courſe. This day at 6. in the afternoone wee eſpied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we ſounded and had 120. fadoms blacke oaſe: and then we ſent our boat a land to ſound and proone the land. The ſame night we came with our

An Iſland.

ſhip within an Iſland, where we rode all the ſame night. The ſame night wee went into a baie to ride neere the land for wood and water.

The maine land.

The 11. day the wind came to the Eaſt ſoutheaſt: this day about a league from vs to the Eaſtwards, we ſaw a very faire ſound or riuer that paſt very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. branches with an Iſland in the midſt.

The 12. of July the wind was Eaſt Southeaſt. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare downe to the water ſide, and tooke the water of his owne accord, we chaſed him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he got to land and eſcaped from vs,

Beare baie.

where we named the baie Bearebaie. This day at 7. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile, for wee had good hope that the wind would come Weſterly and with ſaile and oares we gate the ſea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fogge, and as it cleared vp wee met with great ſtore of ice, which at the firſt ſhewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the more becauſe of the fogge which continued in this ice vntill the 14. day, 12 of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were imbaied with ice, that we were conſtrained to come out as we went in. which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodneſſe of God, otherwiſe it had been impoſſible: and at 12. of the clocke we were cleare of it, the wind being at South and South by Weſt. The ſame day we found the pole to be elevated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coaſt Northweſt, thinking it to be an Iſland, but finding no end in rowing ſo long, wee ſuppoſed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone wee laid it to the Southward to double the ice, which we could not doe vpon that boord, ſo that wee caſt about againe and lay Weſt along vnder the ice. About 7. in the afternoone we got about the greateſt part thereof. About 11. a clocke at night we brought the ice Southeaſt of vs, and thus we were rid of this trouble at this time.

The ſuppoſed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South ſouthweſt: we caſt about and lay to the Eaſtwards, the wind did Weſter, ſo that we lay South ſouthweſt with a ſtowne ſheete,

and ſo we ran all the ſame day. About 8. in the after noone we ſounded, and had 23. fadoms ſmall grey ſand. This night at twelue of the clocke we ſounded againe, and had 29. fadomes ſand, as afore.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we hald along Eaſt Southeaſt, where we found 18. fadoms red ſand, then we hald along Northeaſt. In theſe ſoundings wee had many ouerfals. This day at 10. of the clocke wee met with more ice, which was very great, ſo that wee could not tell which way to get cleare of it. Then the wind came to the South Southeaſt, ſo that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our ſelues of it, but that way we had more ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Eaſt. Then wee lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oaſe. This day we found the pole to be eleuated, 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. of the clocke, we had 41. fadoms red ſand. Many ouerfals.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by Weſt, at the depth aforeſaid, red ſand, being but ſhallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the wind with a ſhower and thunder came to the Southweſt, and then wee ranne Eaſt northeaſt. At 12. at night it came to the South and by Eaſt, and all this was in the baie of Pechora. The baie of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the head land of the baie, where we found two Iſlands. There are alſo ouerfals of water or tides. We went betweene the maine and the Iſland, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated, 69. deg. 13 minutes. This day we had ſight of Vaigats: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend Southeaſt, we hald Eaſt ſoutheaſt, and had 10. fadoms oaſe all the ſame day vntill 4. in the afternoone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the ſame night.

The 19. day at two in the morning, we ſet ſaile, and ranne South and South ſouthweſt all the ſame day, at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigats: this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found ſhallow water, ſometime foure fadoms, ſometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one fadome and a halfe, there wee ankered and ſent our boat away to ſound, and all to leeward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foote, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigats and the other ſide: finding no more water, there was no other way but to goe backe as we came in, hauing the winde Northweſt, ſo at twelue at night we ſet ſaile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the wind by the Northweſt, we hald along the coaſt North and North northweſt, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southweſt, wee bare along the coaſt of Vaigats, as wee found it to lie North and by Weſt, and North northweſt, and North. The wind blew very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Iſland where we found great ſtore of wood and water, there were 3. or 4. goodly ſounds. Under two points there was a croſſe ſet vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Upon the ſaid croſſe maſter Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lorde, and likewiſe vpon a ſtone at the foote of the croſſe, and ſo did I alſo, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had bene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North northweſt, wee ſet ſaile and turned out of the baie. The ſame night the winde came to the Weſt, ſo that we lay North along the land. An Iſland hauing ſtore of wood & water

The 23. day at fiue in the morning, the wind came to the Southweſt, a ſea boord wee ſawe a great number of faire Iſlands, to the number of ſixe: a ſea boord of theſe Iſlands, there are many great ouerfals, as great ſtreames or tides: wee hald Northeaſt and Eaſt northeaſt as the lande did trend. At eight afternoone the winde came to the Southeaſt with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great ſtore of ice a ſea boord: ſo we lay to the Southweſt to attaine to one of the Iſlands to harbour vs if the weather did ſo extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete ſo to doe, and not to towe her in ſuch weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the ſudden, and came vp to the Weſt Northweſt, and Northweſt by Weſt, and then we tooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe ſo much wind, as we were not able to ſteere afore it, with coſſe and bonets of each, we hald South with the land, for ſo the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we ſailed vnder a great land of ice, we ſailed betweene the land and it, being not able to croſſe it. About twelue at night wee found the ice to ſtretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eaſtward, ſo wee laid it to the ſhore, and there we found it cleare hard aboord the ſhore, and we found alſo a very faire Iſland which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms. 6. faire Iſlands

This

An Iland to the East of Vaigats, 4. or 5. leagues.

This Iland is to the Eastward of Vaigats, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doeth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountains nor rockes: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadomes, about a league from the shore, all this morning we hailed East southeast. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69 degrees, 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke wee were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when we sawe her, there was a great land of ice betweene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came neere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foretopmaste in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foresaile and maine topsaile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answer her againe with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then wee moored our ship to a piece of ice to tary for the William.

The William and the George meete againe.

The 25. day about fiue in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang cleane besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise porte her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and whē we had brought her forward all that we could, we brought a cable vnder her sterne, and with our capstaine did winde vp her sterne, and so we made it as well as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende we brought her to steere againe. We acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gaue his maiestie thanks for it. All the night after we tooke our rest being made fast vpon a piece of ice: the wind was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that wee could not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our wils, if it had pleased the Lorde God otherwise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwardes, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further wee went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee could goe no further. So about foure in the afternoone we were constrained to moore vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadomes oase, and this oase is all the chanell ouer. All the same day after foure of the clocke, and all the night we taried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despaire. This day master Iugman did see land East Northeast from vs, as hee did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges hath many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at Northwest. This day at nine in the morning wee set sayle to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone wee moored to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fadomes oase. At 3. in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At 9. in the afternoone we mored againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West Northwest, and at Northwest, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the Southwest, and South southwest: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet, and master Iackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice,

Their returne.

they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaigats, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another, to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the toppe. Thus we warped vntill 9. in the afternoone, and then wee moored both our ships to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

The current runneth with the wind.

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the Southwest, wee set saile at fiue in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, wee made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the wind doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice stroke of our greepe afore at two afore noone, yet for all this wee turned to doe our best. The William being incombred with ice, and perceiuing that she did little good, tooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to follow vs. Wee were afraid that she had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afore noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our ship fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and moored to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The

The 30. day the winde at Southeaſt, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we ſet ſaile, and ſooner would haue done if ꝑ William had bene by vs, but we did tarrie for her to know whether all was well with her: But as ſoone as we made ſaile, ſhe did the like. All this day wee did our beſt to ſeeke our way as the yce would giue vs leaue, ſometime we lay South, ſometime Weſt, and ſometime Eaſt, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and went to ſupper. In the meane time the winde with a faire gentle gale, came vp to the Eaſt, and Eaſt and by South, but there came downe a ſhowre of raine with it, which continued the ſpace of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, ſo that we could doe no good all that night, but tooke our reſt vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at Southweſt, wee ſet ſaile to turne to windeward at three a clocke in the morning. In this turning wee did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, ſo is the currant. Wee did our beſt vntill tenne of the clocke, and then perceiuing that wee did no good, and being incloſed with yce, wee made our ſhippes faſt to a piece of yce; All this day the William lay ſtill, and did as much good as we, that did labour all the forenoone. Thus wee tooke our reſt all the ſame day.

In the afternoone wee ſet ſaile the winde being at South and by Eaſt, wee lay to the Weſtwards, as Southweſt, and Southweſt, and by South, and ſometime to the Weſtward as wee might. Thus we continued vntill nine at night, and then we coulde goe no further for yce; ſo wee with the William were conſtrained to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce all the ſame night. This day wee founde the pole elcuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here wee had 17. fathoms oze.

The firſt day of Auguſt was very calme in the morning, the winde being at Weſt Northweſt. About twelue the winde came to the Weſt, and continued ſo all the ſame night with great fogge. Auguſt.

The 2. day the winde was at Southweſt all day, with raine and fogge. All this day we were incloſed with yce, ſo that wee were forced to lie ſtill. Here wee had 21. fathoms oze. At ſixe in the afternoone the winde was at Weſt with very much foule weather, and ſo continued all the ſame night.

The thirde day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt by North, and Weſt Northweſt, this day we lay ſtil incloſed with yce, the weather being darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leaſure, we continued with patience, And ſounding we found 21. fathoms.

The 4. day wee laye ſtill incloſed with yce, the winde being at Weſt Northweſt: this yce did euery day increaſe vpon vs, yet putting our truſt in God, wee hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning, it rained with very much winde, being at South Southeaſt: about 3. in the afternoone wee ſet ſaile, and preſently it became calme for the ſpace of one houre, then the winde came to the North Northeaſt, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, & Weſt, as we might finde our way for the ſpace of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, ſo that we could goe no further: here we moared our ſhip to tarrie for a further opening. Here wee found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

The 6. day hauing no opening of the yce, wee lay ſtill the winde being at Weſt and Weſt by South: here we had 63. fathoms oze: all the ſame night the winde was at the Weſt Northweſt.

The 7. day the winde was at Weſt, and Weſt and by North all day. And all this day we lay ſtill being incloſed with yce, that we could not ſtirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came vpon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggie. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South Southweſt: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze, all the night was foggie.

The 9. day the winde was at Northweſt, and by Weſt, all the afternoone we lay ſtill becauſe of the yce, which did ſtill incloſe vs. This day wee founde the pole eleuated 70. degrees 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very faire night, but it freeſed: in the morning we had much a doe to goe through the ſame: and wee were in doubt that if it ſhould haue freeſed ſo much the night following, we ſhould hardly haue paſſed out of it. This night there was one ſtarre that appeared to vs. 70. degr. 4. min. The appearing of the ſtarres, ſigne of winter.

The 10. day the winde was at Eaſt Northeaſt with a very ſmall gale. Wee with ſaile and oares made way through the yce: about fiue in the morning wee ſet ſaile: ſometime wee laye Southweſt, and ſometime South, and ſometime Weſt, as wee might beſt finde the way.

About 3. in the afternoone the gale began to freſh: about 6. in the afternoone the winde was at Northeaſt with fogge. Here we had 88. fathoms: we bare ſaile all the ſame night, and it ſnowed very much.

The 11. day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force wee made our way through it, which wee thought a thing impoſſible, but extremitie doeth cauſe men to doe much, and in the weakeneſſe of man Gods ſtrength moſt appeareth. This day wee had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone the winde came to the Southweſt, wee were forced to make our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, for wee were incloſed with it, and tarried the Lordes leaſure. This night wee had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the winde was at the Southeaſt not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the Weſt Southweſt: all the day was very darke with ſnowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we ſet ſaile the winde being at the North northeaſt: all this night we bare away Southweſt, and Southſouthweſt, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce ſomewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, whereupon we ſtood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeaſt, and Northeaſt and by Eaſt: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blowe againſt a piece of yce, we brake the ſtocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had againſt the yce, that it was marueilous that the ſhippe was able to abide them: the ſide of our boate was broken with our ſhippe which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ſhippe, and it perſhed the head of our rudder. This day was a very harde day with vs: at night wee founde much broken yce, and all this night it blewe very much winde, ſo that wee laye in drift with the yce, and our drift was South, for the winde was at North al this night, and we had great ſtore of ſnowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our ſhippe faſt to a piece of yce, and let her driue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our ſteerage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had threeſcore and two fathoms. Thus we lay a drift all the ſame night.

The 15. day wee ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeaſt. At 9. afternoone wee entred into a cleare ſea without yce, whereof wee were moſt glad, and not without great cauſe, and gaue God the praiſe. Wee had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in Southweſt all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we hailed Weſt, till we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt, for ſo the lande doeth trende; At 12. of the clocke wee had ſight of the lande, which wee might haue had ſooner, but it was darke and foggie all the ſame day: for when wee had ſight of the lande, wee were not paſſing three leagues from it. This day wee had the pole eleuated 69. degrees 49. minutes. All day wee ranne along the coaſt in 10. and 9. fathoms, pepered ſande. It is a very goodly coaſt and a bolde, and faire ſoundings off it, without ſands or rocks.

69. deg. 49. min.

They are thwart againſt Vaigats.

The 16. day the winde was at Eaſt: this day wee were troubled againe with yce, but wee made great ſhift with it: for we gotte betweene the ſhoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke wee were thwart of the Southeaſt part of Vaigats, all along which part there was great ſtore of yce, ſo that wee ſtoode in doubt of paſſage, yet by much adoe wee got betwixt the ſhoare and it: about 6. in the afternoone was founde a great white beare vpon a piece of yce: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all night wee hailed North and North by Weſt, and ſometime North and by Eaſt, for ſo doeth the land trend.

Sands.

The 17. day in the morning wee hailed Weſt, for ſo doeth the lande lye. The winde was at Southeaſt, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the ſhoare wee fel a ground,

The Iſlands.

but God bee praiſed without hurt, for wee came preſently off againe: The William came to an ancre to ſtay for vs, and ſent ſome of their men to helpe vs, but before they came wee were vnder ſaile, and as wee came to the William wee did ſhowe our boates, and made ſaile, wee went within ſome of the Iſlands, and hailed Weſt Southweſt.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, wee ſet our courſe Southweſt and by South: ſo we ranne Southweſt vntill twelue at night, that the winde came to the North Northeaſt, and then we hailed Weſt.

The 18. day at 6. in the morning wee had 16. fathoms redde ſand: at 9. in the morning 13. fathoms. At 10. 14. fathoms, and we hailed Weſt Northweſt. At 12. a clocke the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt by South, we hailed Weſt and by North all the ſame day, and night. At 6. in the afternoone we had 17. fathoms red ſand.

The

The 19. day the winde was at Eaſt Northeaſt: at 6. in the morning wee had 19. fathoms red ſand: at 12. of the clocke the winde blew North and North by Eaſt, we had 17. fathoms water, at 3. in the afternoone 15.

The 20. day the winde was at Northeaſt, and North Northeaſt: at 7. in the morning wee had 30. fathoms blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke wee were vpon the ſuddaine in ſhoale water, among great ſands, and could finde no way out. By ſounding and ſeeking about, wee came a ground, and ſo did the William, but we had no hurt, for the winde was off the ſhoare, and the ſame night it was calme: all night we did our beſt, but we could not haue her a flote. Theſe ſhoales do lye off Colgoyeue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doeth not high aboue 2. or 3. foote water, it floweth Northeaſt, and Southweſt. *Shoales off Colgoyeue.*

The 21. day the winde was at Southweſt, and being very faire weather wee did lighten our ſhippes as much as was poſſible for vs to doe, by reaſon of the place. The ſame high water by the helpe of God we got both a flote, and the winde being at the Southweſt did helpe vs, for it cauſed it to flowe the more water.

This day wee found the pole to be eleuated 68. degrees 40. min. In the afternoone wee both ſet ſaile to ſeeke way to get out of theſe ſands, our boate a head ſounding, hauing 6. 7. and 8. fathoms all within the ſand which was without vs. We bare to the Southwarde, and the William bare more to the Eaſtwards, and night being at hande the winde came to the Southeaſt, whereupon we layde it to the Southwards, lying Southweſt, and South & by Weſt, and ranne to 19. and 12. and 14. fathoms, & preſently we had but 6. fathoms, which was off the ſands head, which wee were a ground vpon the day before. Then we caſt about to the Eaſtwards for deepe water, which we preſently had, as 10. 15. and 20. and ſo to 23. fathoms.

The 22. day at 8. in the morning, wee caſt about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we ſaw the William vnder our lee as farre as wee could ſee her, and with a great fogge we loſt the ſight of her, and ſince wee haue not ſeene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fathoms blacke oze, which wee had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone wee had twentie and three fathoms, and then wee ranne Weſt Northweſt, and Weſt by North all the ſame night following. *They loſt the William here, where ſhe periſhed.*

The 23. day we had at 6. in the morning 27. fathoms, at 8. a clocke 28. fathoms: at 9. the winde being at Eaſt Southeaſt, wee halled Weſt Northweſt: this day wee had ſight of the lande of Hugri ſide. At twelue of the clocke we had 32. fathoms ſande. This day wee ranne Weſt and by North, and came to fiue fathoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then wee layde it to the Northwards, ſo that wee lay North Northeaſt off. The winde after came to the North, and North by Eaſt, and we lay Eaſt, and Eaſt by North. then we layd it to the Weſtward againe: and thus we lay till we came to 40. fathoms, and then we went Northweſt till we came to 14. fathoms, and ſo to 10. fathoms. Then wee caſt about to the Eaſtwards and lay Eaſt, and Eaſt by North all the ſame night. *The land of Hugri.* *The bay of Morzouets.*

The 24. day at 8. in the morning we had 32. fathoms. We ranne Northweſt til we came to 11. fathoms, then we lay to the Northwards til 12. at night, and then wee came to 40. fathoms, then the winde at Northeaſt we lay to the Weſtwards, and halled Northweſt along.

The 25. at 4. in the morning wee had 37. fathoms, wee ranne Northweſt, the winde at North Northeaſt very much.

The 26. day we ran with the ſame winde, and found the pole to be eleuated 70. deg. 40. min.

The 27. at 7. in the morning we ſaw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we halled Northweſt, and North by Weſt to double the North Cape.

The 28. day at 3. in the morning we ran Northweſt, and ſo all day. At night the winde came to the Southweſt, and we ran Northweſt all that night.

The 29. day we put into a ſound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: wee came to an ancre at 5. in the afternoone, at 25. fathoms very faire ſand. This ſound is very large and good, and the ſame night we got water aboord. *The towne of Hungon.*

The 30. day in the morning the winde at Northeaſt, and but litle, wee ſet ſaile, and with our boate on head we got the ſea about 12. of the clocke: the winde with a faire gale came to the Eaſt Southeaſt, and all this day and night we ran Weſt Northweſt.

The 31. day at 12. of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the winde being at Eaſt Southeaſt, we halled Weſt all the ſame day, and at night we ran Weſt Southweſt. *They double the North Cape in their returne.*

The 1. day of September the winde was at Northeaſt with very much fogge: all this day wee ranne Weſt Southweſt: at 2. in the afternoone the winde came North.

The ſecond day at 3. in the morning we doubled Fowlneſſe, & the winde was this day variable

at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6. a clocke the winde came to the Southwest, and wee went Northwest. At 9. in the night there came downe so much winde by the West Southwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we hald it to Northwardes for the space of 2. houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the breake of day wee saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the Countrey Fowlnesse. It is within ful of small Iſlands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue faire sand at 20. fathoms.

Fowlnesse.

The 3. day in the morning we bare with the sounde aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water, 4. 5. and 3. fathoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8. or 9. foote.

The 4. day was reasonable weather, the winde at South southwest.

The 5. 6. and 7. dayes very foule weather, with great and vehement blasts of raine, and happy was the shippe that was then in harbour.

The 8. day the winde was at West by North, and reasonable weather.

The 9. day at 12. of the clocke we set saile, and at 3. in the afternoone we cleared our selues of the land, and then we hald West Southwest, with a good stiffe gale all day and night. We found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes.

The 11. day the winde was at Northeast all the forenoone, the afternoone was calme, and all the night, and we found the pole eleuated 68. deg. 16. min.

Lowfoote.

The 12. day at 3. in the afternoone, wee put into a sounde by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doeth high 7. or 8. foote water.

The 13. day much winde at West: wee had a ledge of rockes in the winde of vs, but the roade was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westerly windes. Wee had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was stormie with raine.

The 14. day the winde was South, and Southwest reasonable weather.

The 15. day was windie and raynie at West Southwest.

The 16. day very foule weather, with raine and fogge.

The 17. day at 3. of the clocke we were cleare of the lande, and wee hailed Southwest all the same night.

The 18. day we kept the same course. And found the pole eleuated, 66. degr. 30. min.

The 19. day the pole was eleuated to vs 64. degr. 50. min. We haild this day South by East, and so likewise all night.

The 20. day at 4. in the morning the winde was at East, at 6. after we had sight of lande: this day the pole was eleuated to vs 63. degr. 30. min. the night was calme, and the winde variable vpon all points of the Compasse.

The 21. day the winde was at the Southeast all the forenoone: all the afternoone at the southsouthwest, and all the same night variable with raine.

The 22. day the winde was at the South, all the after noone was calme, and so was all the night.

The sound of Romesall.

The 23. day at 4. of the clocke in ꝑ afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound called Romesall, where it floweth South Southeast, and doeth high 8. foote water: this place is full of lowe Iſlands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birche, oke, and hasell: all this night the winde was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 24. day was like vnto it.

The 25. 26. and 27. we had very much winde with great and stormie blasts.

The 28. day in the morning the winde being at East Northeast we set saile at 8. of the clocke, and hailed out of the bay West Southwest, and Southwest, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the winde came to the Southeast, and to the South with raine, and fogge, and very much winde: at 6. of the clocke wee came into a very good rode, where wee did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29. day wee put into a good sounde, the winde by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much winde by the South, and all night, with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30. day all day the winde was at West Southwest. And in this sound the pole is eleuated 63. degr. 10. min.

October.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, & vehement blasts.

The 7. day wee set saile: for from the first of this moneth vntill this 7. day, wee had very foule weather

weather, but ſpecially the fourth day when the winde was ſo great, that our cables brake with the very ſtorme, and I do not thinke that it is poſſible that any more winde then that was ſhould blow: for after the breaking of our cable, we did driue a league before our ancres would take any holde: but God be thanked the ſtorme began to ſlacke, otherwiſe we had bene in ill caſe.

The 7. day at night we came to an ancre vntil the next day, which was the 8. day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon wee ſet ſaile and returned into the ſound againe: and at our firſt comming to an ancre, preſently there blewe ſo much winde, that although our beſt ancre was out, yet the extremitie of the ſtorme droue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruiſe our ſhip in ſuch ſort, that we were cõſtrained to lighten her to ſaue her, & by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ſhip and ſtopped our leakes, and moared her in good ſafetie abiding for a winde. We rid from this day by reaſon of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntil the 24. day, which day in the morning the winde came to the Northeaſt, and at 8. of the clocke wee ſet ſaile. This ſound is called Moore ſound, where it higheth about 5. foote water, and floweth South ſoutheaſt. The next day being the 25. day wee put into a ſounde which is called Vlter ſound, where was a ſhippe of the king of Denmarke put into another ſound there by, being two leagues to the ſouthwards of vs, that came out of Iſeland: the winde was contrary for vs at ſouth-South-weſt. Moore ſound.

The 12. day of November we ſet ſaile the winde being at the Eaſt Southeaſt, and paſt through the ſound where the kings ſhip did lie: which ſound is called Sloureſound. But as wee did open the ſound, we found the winde at the Southweſt, ſo that we could doe no good, ſo that we moared our ſhip betweene 2. Iſlands vntil the 18. day, and then the weather being faire and calme, wee ſet ſaile, & went to ſea hoping to finde a faire wind, but in the ſea we found the wind at the ſouthweſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, ſo that we were conſtrained to returne into the ſame ſound.

The next day being the 19. the kings ſhip came out alſo, becauſe ſhe ſaw vs put to ſea, and came as farre out as we, and moared where we did moare afore: And at out returne backe againe, wee moared our ſhip in an vtter ſound called Scorpe ſound, becauſe the kings ſhip was without victuals, and we did not greatly deſire her companie, although they deſired ours. In this ſound the pole is eleuated 62. degr. 47. min.

Thus we lay ſtill for a winde vntill the 1. of December, which day we ſet ſaile at 6. a clocke in the morning, and at 4. in the afternoone we layde it to the inwards.

The 3. day at three in the morning, there aroſe ſo much winde, that we could beare but our forecoorſe. The 4. day was calme weather, ſo was the 5. but wee were leake, and it was as much as we were able to doe, to free our ſhip, the leake was ſo great, and yet we pumped euery halfe glaſſe.

The 5. day we brought a Bonnet vnder her forefoote balked with Occam, which did ſtop much of our leake.

The 6. day the winde was at Southeaſt, the 7. day at Southſoutheaſt.

The 8. day was calme with litle winde Northerly.

The 9. day we had ſight of the coaſt of Scotland which was Bowfamneſſe.

The 10. day we were open off the Frith.

The 11. day at 4. in the morning we were thwart of Barwike: at 6. wee were thwart of Bamburghe: the ſame day at 10. at night we were ſhot as farre as Hollyfoote. Then the winde came to the South and Southeaſt, ſo that we laye ſtill vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were conſtrained to put with Tinmouth. The ſame day at night we halled a ground to ſtoppe a leake, which we found to be in the ſkarfe afore. The winde continued by the Southeaſt & ſouthſoutheaſt vntill the 20. day, and then we ſet ſaile about 12. at night, bearing along the coaſt.

The 22. day by reaſon of a Southeaſt winde, we thought we ſhould haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the Weſt, ſo that we haled Southeaſt: and at 3. in the afternoone we halled a ſea boord the ſands, and had ſhoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4. fathoms off them. The next day we hald as we might to ſeaſe Orfordneſſe.

The 24. day we came thwart of the Naſe, about 8. in the morning.

The 25. day being the Natiuitie of Chriſt, we came to an ancre betweene Old hauen, and Tilberie hope. The ſame day we turned as high as Poꝛſhet.

The 26. day wee turned as high as Ratliffe, and praiſed God for our ſafe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The 2. iournal of M. Arthur Pet and M. Charles Iackman in *their diſcouerie Northeaſtward in the yeere 1580. VVritten* by Nicholas Chanceller, which was in the aforeſaid diſcouerie: with two barkes, the one called the William, the other the George.

The iournal beginneth from Wardhouſe.

FRiday the 1. of July about 5. in the afternoone, the winde came to the Noꝛth Noꝛthweſt. About 7. a clocke in the afternoone we ſet ſaile from Wardhouſe: our courſe was Eaſt and by South, And as we were waping our ancres pꝛeparing to depart, I Nicholas Chanceller was ſent by M. Pet abooꝛd the William to M. Charles Iackman, to deliuer him a note in writing as followeth.

Vorouſko Oſtroue an high Iſland.

M. Iackman, M. Pet determineth to direct his courſe Eaſt and by South, if the winde will ſerue thereto: and if wee ſhould chaunce to looſe companie, you ſhall heare of vs at Vorouſko Oſtroue not farre off Vaygats: it is an high piked Iſland. If there be any Ruſſes there you ſhall receiue a letter of them: if there bee none, then you ſhall finde a letter vpon the higheſt part of the Southeaſt ſide thereof vnder a warle oꝛ heape of ſtones. The Lꝛde bleſſe vs in theſe our affaires. At the roade of Wardhouſe the laſt of June 1580. The Iſland of Vorouſko ſtandeth Noꝛth Noꝛtheaſt of the Southweſt part of Vaigats, and is foure oꝛ fiue leagues diſtant from Vaigats.

The 2. day about 5. in the moꝛning the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt, & we bare to the ſhoꝛewards, and about ten a clocke the winde came to Southſoutheaſt, & wee bare to the Eaſtwards, ſometime we lay Eaſt and by ſouth, ſometime Eaſt and Eaſt & by Noꝛth. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, ſhe was willing to go with Kegor. The cauſe was (as we did thinke) that ſhe was out of her trimme, and ſailed very ill, & theꝛefoꝛe would mend her ſtirrage.

So called becauſe in his iournal which was found in his ſhip after his death, was found mention that he had ſeene ſuch a coaſt.

Whereupon M. Pet, not willing himſelfe to go into Kegor, ſaid to M. Iackman that he would goe Eaſt & by noꝛth to diſcouer Willoughbies land, foꝛ that it was a parcel of our direction, & ſo would meete with him at Vorouſko oꝛ Vaigats. And ſo we departed & ſet our courſe Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt, the winde being at ſoutheaſt. The 3. day we had the wind at Southeaſt. This day we found the pole eleuated 70. degrees, 46. min. The winde changed to ſouth & by Eaſt. At 12. a clocke at night we ſounded and had no ground at 120. fathoms, we being 50. leagues frō Kekor by our reckoning.

The 4. day all the moꝛning was very calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees, 31. min. At nine in the euening the winde came to the Noꝛtheaſt with a gentle gale: wee haled along Southeaſt and by Eaſt.

The Noꝛth land diſcouered.

The 5. day the wind Noꝛthnoꝛtheaſt, we haled Eaſt, and Eaſt and by ſouth. This day we did ſee land, but we could not make it perfit, the winde being ſo Noꝛtherly that we could not come neere to it. The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone the winde Noꝛth Noꝛthweſt, we haled Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a faire gentle gale. This day we met with yce. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme, and we with ſaile and oares laped it to the Noꝛtheaſt, hoping that way to cleare our ſelues of the yce, and about 12. at night we gate cleare of it. We ſuppoſed it had bene yce of S. Nicholas bay, but it was not as we afterward found it.

Part of the Noꝛth land againe diſcouered.

The 7. day we met with moꝛe yce being the Eaſter part of the other yce: wee haled along the weather part thereof to finde ende of it Eaſt noꝛtheaſt. This day we ſaw land Noꝛth from vs, being very deſirous to haue had moꝛe knowledge thereof: but extreemitie of yce kept vs backe there frō contrary to our deſire. We were inforced by the ſaid yce, which we found to lye a long the ſaid land to go though it with much trauaile, wherein we continued all the day and night following.

The 8. day the wind being at Noꝛthweſt, we were troubled all the day with the aforeſaid yce. At 5. in the moꝛning we ſounded, & had 90. fathoms red oze: at 4. in ꝑ afternoone we ſoũded againe and had as beforе. At 6. in the afternoone we gate cleare off the yce, with going South ſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt, whereof we were very glad. Wee had ſailed in the ſaid yce 40. oꝛ 50. leagues as we eſteeme it: foꝛ we had a fine winde, and bare all our ſailes. Wee haled along Southeaſt and ſounded at 10. at night, and had 45. fathoms ſandie oze.

The 9. at 2. in the moꝛning we ſounded and had 45. fathoms. There appeared to vs a ſhadowe of land Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt, and ſo we ranne with it foꝛ the ſpace of 2. houres, and then perceiuing that it was but a fogge we haled along Southeaſt. At 2. in the afternoone we ſounded and had 50. fathoms blacke oze. The ſame day our latitude was 70. degrees 3. min. At nine a clocke at night we ſounded againe, and had 50. fathoms blacke oze.

The 10. the wind at Noꝛth noꝛthweſt, we haled Eaſt & by Noꝛth. We did ſet this courſe foꝛ that

at

ten of the clocke at afternoone, we had ſight of land, which we thought to haue bene Morzouets: but afterward we found it to be Colgoycue by the ſoundings: and then we ſounded, and had 53. fathoms blacke oaze. Preſently there fell a great fogge, wherefore we durſt not beare with the land, to make it: and ſo we kept an outwardly courſe, which drawe vs to Noua Zembla. At ſixe in the afternoone, we had ſight of the land againe, and bare with it: afterward the wind dulled, and was very calme: we ſounded and had 120. fathoms blacke oaze: we ſent alſo our boate on land, to ſound and proue the land, and we came with our ſhippe within an Iſland, where wee roade all the ſame night.

Colgopene Iſland.

Noua Zembla.

Our men arriue at Noua Zembla.

The 11. day in the morning, we went into a Baye to ride, to prouide vs wood and water.

The 12. day, the wind at Southeaſt, about 11. of the clocke, there came downe a great white Beare, to the water ſide, and tooke the water of his owne accord. We chaſed him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he gate to land, and ſcaped from vs. At 7. in the afternoone, we being furniſhed with wood and water, did ſet ſaile, for that we hoped the wind would come Weſterly, and with ſailes and oares we gate to the ſea: al the night it was calme with fogge. This lande aforeſaid is Noua Zembla.

A great white Beare.

Wood and water taken vpon Noua Zembla.

The 13. in the morning, the wind was very variable with fogge, and as it cleered vp, we met with great ſtore of yce, which ſhewed to vs at the firſt like land. It did put vs to great trouble, and much the more for the fogge: we continued in it all the day, and all the night following.

Yce.

The 14. day in the morning, we were incloſed with the aforeſaid yce, ſo that wee were conſtrained to goe out the ſame way that we came in: which fortuned to vs by the prouidence of God, otherwiſe it had bene vnpoſſible. For when we were almoſt incloſed with mightie great landes of yce, and could not perceaue any way out, being partly in deſpaire of getting out, but there to periſh: it pleaſed God to turne the wind, which made way through the yce, and caried vs cleere of it: by 12. of the clocke at noone, the wind came to the South, and South and by Weſt. This day we founde the pole eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes. We laide it along the coaſte Northweſt. By the lying of it wee found it to be Noua Zembla. About 2. of the clocke in the afternoone, wee laid it to the Southward, to double the yce, but we could not vpon that bord: ſo we caſt about againe, and laye Weſt along vnder the yce. About ſeuen in the afternoone, wee gate about the greateſt part of the ſaid yce, and at 11. at night, we brought the yce Southeaſt of vs, and ſo were we cleere of the trouble of it.

The 15. day, about three in the morning, the wind South Southweſt, we caſt about, and lay to the Eaſtwards: as we lay to Southeaſt, the wind did weſter, ſo that we lay South Southeaſt, with a flawnd ſheate, and ſo we ranne all the day. About eight in the euening, we ſounded, and had 23. fathoms ſmall ſand. At one at night we ſounded againe, and had 29. fathoms ſande, as before.

Saturday the 16. at three in the morning, we haled along Eaſt Southeaſt, where we founde 18. fathoms red ſand: then we haled along Northeaſt. In theſe ſoundings wee had many ouerfals, & at 10. of the clocke before noone, yce which was very great, ſo that we could not tel which way to cleere our ſelues thereof. The wind came to the South Southeaſt, ſo that we laye to the Northwards: we thought that way to cleere our ſelues of it, but we met with more yce. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came Eaſt, then we lay to the Southwards: we ſounded and had 30. fathoms blacke oaze. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees, 40. minuts. At 12. at night, we ſounded, and had 42. fathoms red ſand.

Sunday the 17. at three in the morning, we had 12. fathoms, and at 9. in the morning, we had 8. and 7. fathoms. All this day we ranne South and South, and by Weſt. At this depth aforeſaid, we had red ſand. All this way we had but ſholed water. At 8. in the afternoone, the winde with a ſhower and thunder, came to the Southweſt, and then we ranne Eaſt Southeaſt. All this was in the Baye of Pechora.

The Baye of Pechora.

Munday the 18. at 7. in the morning, we had ſight of the head land of the Northeaſt ſide of Pechora, where we found 2. Iſlands, the Weſter ſide of them lieth North Northweſt, and South Southeaſt. There is a long point or lande on the Eaſter ſide, whereupon ſtandeth an heape of croſſes: it lieth off the Weſt ſide Southweſt, and Northeaſt, and of the Eaſter ſide it falleth ſouth Southeaſt, and is a great Baye, wherein we ſawe no land, ſauing Vaigats, which lay Northeaſt from vs. The Nother point of the ſaid headland, and the Souther point of the Iſland, lie due Eaſt and Weſt, and is not paſt a mile diſtant from the other. And there are two fathoms and an halfe water betweene them. And when we had gotten paſt the ſaid Iſlands, within Vaigats it was calme: whereupon we ankered in 8. or 9. fathoms water. The Maſters mind was much to goe with Vaigats, for that we ſawe no land to the Southwards, and had bene much troubled with yce,

Vaigats Iſland.

Note.

on Noua Zembla ſide.

They arriue at Vaigats. The 19. day, at two in the morning, we ſet ſaile, and ranne South, and South ſouthweſt all the ſame day, in 8. 7. 6. fathoms. This was the South part of Vaigats. This part of the land lyeth South and North. At 4. in the afternoone, we found ſholde water, ſometime 4. fathoms, ſometime 3. and 2. and one and a halfe, and then ankered, and ſent our boate away to ſound, and all to leewards, we had but 4. and 3. foote: there was not water ynough for our boate, betweene Vaigats, and the other ſide: and finding no more water, there was no other way for vs, but to goe backe againe as we came in. And hauing the wind at northweſt, at 12. of the clocke at night, wee ſet ſaile, and turned out. The Southſide of Vaigats hath two Iſlands, which are very ſholde. The Southſide of Vaigats is a very faire and a greene land.

The ſouthſide of Vaigats a faire land.

The 20. day, we plied to the Northwards, and got deeper water, at 6. and 7. fathoms.

The 21. day, the wind northweſt, we turned about the coaſt north, and north northweſt, and had 8. 9. and 10. fathoms.

Friday the 22. at a South ſunne, we ankered in a Baye of the Weſt ſide of Vaigats, betweene two Iſlands, and there furniſhed our ſelues with wood and water, ſuppoſing it had bene Vorouſko Oſtroue, and here ſent for our conſorte, according to appointment, where wee found a goodly harbour, with Ruſſes croſſes at eche ſide, and many Iſlands ſcant to be numbred, with faire baies, "to the northwards: and at a northweſt ſunne we waied, and turned out, and by a north northeaſt ſunne we doubled the Weſtermoſt land, and found the land to trend much to the Eaſtward, where we found many faire Iſlands, and many ouer falls in the offing (or putting off.) Note, that wee went within none of the Iſlands.

* Note.

Saturday the 23. we had the wind at ſouthweſt, with thicke weather, which afterward cleered vp to the ſoutheaſt very much winde and thicke: wherupon we caſt about to the Weſtwards, meaning to leaſe the land, but we could not, for that it was much wind, and a growen Sea. So we were put off againe, till we were among the yce, which forced vs to caſt about againe, and afterward we had the wind larged to the Weſt ſouthweſt, and we had faire weather, and ſmall water: then we ſcoured our boate, which we towed 5. daies before. Then it increaſed preſently a great and extreame gale of wind to the northweſt: ſo we tooke in our maine ſaile, and went with our foreſaile, and about a north northweſt ſunne, I ſuppoſe we were thwart the ſoutheaſt ende of Vaigats, hauing a great land of yce to the ſea boord of vs, which alſo afterward did growe on head of vs, and ſo troubled vs, that it cauſed vs to plye to the ſhoare, where we thought we ſawe an Iſland, which chanced to be a faire Iſland, lying halfe a mile from the ſhoare, and a mile in length, and halfe a mile ouer. To the northweſt of it lieth a point a mile off, and betweene them a Baye, and to the ſoutheaſt, three leagues of riſeth as it were a faire Cape like to beach: the maine, is euen and trendeth Southeaſt and Northweſt. There goeth a good tide betweene the Iſland and the maine.

A faire Cape. A good tide.

Sunday the 24. we had the eleuation of the pole at 69. degrees, 4. minuts. At a Weſt and by South ſunne, we paſſed by a great arme, or a baye, which had two head lands: and being ouer againſt it, foure leagues from the ſhoare, wee ſounded, and had 10. fathoms, and oazie ſande: at a northweſt and by north ſunne, we had ſight of the William. All this day we bare along the ſhoare, being continually among the yce: and at a north and by Weſt ſunne, we bare north and by Eaſt, to the ſeaboord, ſeeking to be cleere of the yce. After that, we had ſight of the William, we bare off to the ſea wards, meaning to cleere our ſelues of the yce: and for that the yce grewe thicker, wee tooke in our ſailes, at a northeaſt ſunne.

A great Baye with two head lands.

Munday the 25. we ankered with our grapnell vpon a peece of yce, to tary for the William, to ſpeake with her, fearing that we ſhould be incloſed, and not able to come together, to ſpeake one with another. We are as we eſteeme, from the ſoutheaſt part of the aforeſaide Cape, which we eſteeme like beach, to the ſoutheaſt part of the riuer or Baye, which wee paſſed the 24. daye, 25. leagues, and from the maine 6. or 7. leagues, where we continued all the day and night, to mend the Williams falſe ſterne poſte, which was broken with the yce, the foure and twentieth day.

Tueſday the 26. we continued at the aforeſaid yce, till a Southweſt and by South ſunne, and went north and by Eaſt, to ſeeke to cleere vs of the yce, being enuironed therewith, the wind being Weſt northweſt, and ſailed 4. miles, and then had no way: ſo we came to anker at a peece of yce, at a Weſt and by ſouth ſunne.

Wenſday the 27. we put off from the yce, where wee roade at a Southeaſt and by Eaſt ſound, and ſayled three or foure howres to the Southwards towards the lande, and then roade at an Iſland againe, till we had dined, and after we haled along the yce, to the landward, till a Northweſt

Sunne,

ſunne, and then the fogge came vpon vs, whereby we could goe no further that night: ſo we ankered there all that night. It did ſnowe all that night, and blewe much wind at West Northwest. Fogge. Snowe.

This euening, Maſter Iackman, and George Sparrowe, came aboord the George, to conferre together with vs, where they determined concerning our matters in hande, for the proceeding or returne of this our voyage: where Maſter Pet, and Maſter Iackman both, were very willing in this their determination, to doe for the beſt aduantage, and profite of the company. This to conclude was the generall voice of Maſter Pet, Maſter Iackman, Hugh Smith, George Sparrowe, and me Nicholas Chanceler. Firſt we laid before our eies, the cauſe of our let preſent, which was the innumerable quantitie of yce, with the hugenes thereof: and not onely that, but alſo the vnlike diſſoluing of the ſaid yce, the ſummer being ſo farre ſpent, & further the ſnowe falling with the froſt gathered vpon the ſame, is an augmenter vnto the yce, and no diminiſher vnto the ſame. And further we finde that no currant runneth here, to be a diſperſer of the ſaid yce, and no ſea goeth here to diſſolue it to water. We haue had in the meane time very faire windes, ſufficient to haue paſſed the furthermoſt land, extending North, according to the eſtimate of thoſe that gaue vs inſtructions of this ſaid voyage. This alſo we finde by proofe of trauell, that the farther we runne of to the ſea, to get the maine Ocean, the thicker we finde the yce, and ſmall hope of a cleere ſea. All theſe things duely conſidered, our determination is, to ſeeke by all meanes to get to the ſhoare, hoping there to get ſome cleere, to get to Vaigats, and there to conferre further, as time and place ſhall giue occaſion. The George the chiefe ſhip. They reſolue to returne.

Thurſday the 28. at noone, all we aforeſaid, meeting together aboord the George, agreed and made full determination of the premiſſes aforeſaid: and at 3. in the afternoone, we warped from one peece of yce to another, to get from them, if it were poſſible: wee continued in warping from yce to yce, till nine at night, then we moued both our barkes to a great peece of yce, all that night.

Friday the 29. the winde at Southweſt, at fiue in the morning, wee ſet ſaile to plye into the ſhoare, if we might poſſible attaine thereto: we made many a turne, but to ſmall purpoſe. At two in the afternoone, by miſfortune, hitting a great peece of yce, we brake off our grepe before: yet neuertheleſſe we did our endeuour in turning. The William encombred with yce, and peſtered, doing little good, tooke in al her ſailes, and made faſt to a peece of yce: howbeit ſhe perceauing that we continued ſtill turning vp and downe, about 4. in the afternoone did ſet ſaile to followe vs. At 7. in the afternoone, we tooke in our ſailes, and made faſt to a peece of yce, to tarry for the William: ſhe perceauing that we ſtroke ſaile, did the like, and made faſt to a peece of yce, a league and better from vs.

Satturday the 30. the wind being at Southeaſt, and by South, at a Southeaſt ſunne, we ſet ſaile, and would ſooner haue done, but that we taried for the William, to haue knowen in what ſtate they were, becauſe they came not to vs ouer night: but they moued not, till they ſawe vs begin: thus we continued all the day, ſeeking our beſt way, as the yce would permit vs: ſometime we went South, ſometime Eaſt, ſometime Weſt, continuing thus till eight at night, the winde waxing calme, we moued to a peece of yce, and there ſtaied till the next day.

The 31. at three in the morning, we ſet ſaile, the winde being Southweſt, to turne to windewards, wherein we did little good: for the current was againſt vs: for as the winde is, ſo ſetteth the current: neuertheleſſe we did our beſt, vntill 10. of the clocke, and then perceauing that wee got nothing, and alſo being incloſed with yce, we made faſt to a peece of yce. All this day the William ſtoode ſtill, and did as much good as we that laboured all the forenoone. The wind comming to the South and by Eaſt, in the afternoone we ſet ſaile, and lay Southweſt, and Southweſt and by South, and ſometime to the Weſtwards, as we might, till nine at night, and then could paſſe no farther for the yce: ſo we and the William made faſt to a peece of yce. This day the eleuation of the pole was 69. degrees, 20. minuts. We had 87. fathoms water, and oaze. A Current.

Auguſt.

The firſt day, the winde being calme, about 12. the winde came to the Weſt, with a great fogge.

The 2. the wind at Southweſt, with raine and fogge all day, wee were incloſed ſo with yce, that we could not ſtirre. In the afternoone the wind came to the Weſt, with much foule weather, and continued all night.

The third day, the wind at Weſt, and Weſt and by North, and Weſt Northweſt, all the day darke with fogge: we continued all day and all night incloſed in the yce, thus abiding the Lords leiſure, beſeeching him to ſtrengthen vs with patience and faith in him. Here we had 21. fathoms.

The

The 4. day, we continued incloſed with yce, which increaſed more and more vpon vs.

The 5. day, all the morning raine, with much wind, at South and South ſoutheaſt, and ſouth eaſt. The ſaid wind a little ſeparating the yce, made vs ſome way: at a South weſt ſunne we ſet ſaile, and ſuddenly it became calme for the ſpace of an howre: then the winde came to the North north eaſt: we made way through the yce, as we could finde paſſage betweene them for the ſpace of three howres: then we met with an whole land of yce, that wee could paſſe no further for it: ſo we made our ſhips faſt to it, and roade by it all the night, which was very darke with fogge.

The 6. we lay ſtill all the day and night, incloſed with yce.

The 7. we continued ſtill ſo incloſed with yce, that we could not ſtirre, but defend the yce from the ſhips ſide, as it came grating vpon vs.

The 8. day, very faire and calme, but a fogge towards night: the winde came to the South ſoutheaſt a prettie gale, which did a little cauſe the yce to open: all the night was fogge. Here wee had 70. fathoms water.

The 9. the wind North weſt and by Weſt, and all the afternoone Weſt ſouth weſt: wee laye ſtill, for that we were ſtill incloſed with yce: the eleuation of the pole was 70. degrees, 4. minuts: we ſounded and had 68. fathoms oaze. It did freeſe ſo hard in the night, that in the morning wee had much adoe to paſſe through it. If we had continued there, and it had froſen the next night, wee ſhould hardly haue gotten out of it. *Froſt.*

The 10. day, about 5. in the morning, wee ſet ſaile, the winde at Eaſt northeaſt, a very ſmall gale, with our boate a head to wing vs, and breaking the yce with their oares, which had froſen the night before. Sometime we lay South weſt, ſometime Weſt, as we might beſt finde way. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to Northeaſt with fogge, yet we bare ſaile all the night. Here we ſounded, and had 88. fathoms. There fell much ſnowe in the night. *Snowe.*

The 11. day, we were much troubled with yce, ſo that wee were conſtrained to beare forceably through it, in ſuch ſort, that it may be thought impoſſible for ſuch ſmall barkes to paſſe it, but extremitie cauſeth men to doe much. About noone we ſounded, and had 95. fathoms. At three in the afternoone, the wind came to the South weſt, and we being incloſed with much yce, were conſtrained to take in all our ſailes, and to ride by a peece of yce. The 12. in the morning, the wind ſouth eaſt, in manner calme. At 2. in the afternoone, the wind at South ſouth weſt: all the day darke with fogge and ſnowe. At 6. in the afternoone, the winde being north northeaſt, we ſet ſaile, and went all night South weſt, and South ſouth weſt, as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: wee found the yce more fauourable to vs then we did before, hoping to get cleere of it. *Snowe.*

The 13. the wind at northeaſt, & northeaſt and by eaſt. At 7. in the morning we brake an anker ſtocke, being vpon the boowe of our ſhip, with a blow which we had againſt a peece of yce. All this day we were very much troubled with yce, & had ſo many great blowes againſt them, that it was maruell that the ſhip was able to abide them: alſo the ſhip giuing backe, bare the boate to a peece of yce, & brake her ſide, the boate being thwart her ſterne, & with the ſame blow periſhed the head of our rudder. This was a very hard day with vs. At night we came among much broken yce, and the wind did blowe very much at north, which cauſed the yce to driue: wee driue with it, for our drift was South. All the night it did ſnowe very much. The 14. day, in the morning, we made our ſhip faſt to a peece of yce, & did driue with it, the wind being northerly. In the meane time we mended our boate, and the head of our rudder: ſo we continued all the day and night in drift. *Much ſnowe.*

The 15. day, the wind at northeaſt, we ſet ſaile at 6. in the morning, bearing through the yce, & at 9. at night, we entred into a cleere ſea, at which ſight our hearts did greatly reioyce, as the bird which was eſcaped out of ỹ cage, wherein ſhe was kept long as priſoner. At this time we ſounded, & had 19. fathoms. We ran in ſouth weſt al ỹ morning, til we came to 14. fathoms: then we haled Weſt, til we came to 10. fathoms: then we went north weſt, for ſo the land trendeth. At noone we had ſight of the land, being within three leagues of it: we might haue ſeene it ſooner, if the fogge had not bene. This day we had ỹ pole eleuated 69. degrees, 49. minuts: we kept along the coaſt in 10. & 9. fathoms. The ſhore along is euen & faire ſounding of it without ſholds of ſands or rocks. *A cleere ſea.*

The 16. day, the wind Eaſt, we were troubled againe with yce, but we made great ſhift with it: for we gate betweene the ſhoare and it. At noone we were thwart the ſouth part of Vaigats, where we found great ſtore of yce all alongſt it, which made vs doubt of paſſage through it: yet with much trouble we gate betweene the ſhoare and it. All the afternoone was a fogge. At 6. of the clocke, we found a great white Beare vpon a peece of yce. All the night we haled North, and north and by Eaſt, and ſometimes Eaſt, for ſo doeth the land trende. The 17. day, the winde Southeaſt in the morning, wee haled along Weſt, for ſo the lande doeth runne, it being darke with fogge, and we running too neere the ſhoare, our ſhippe was on ground: but, God be praiſed, *A white beare.*

we

we gate us hurt: for it being flood, we came off againe preſently. The William being on head of vs, and ſeeing vs ſtrike our ſailes, did anker by Vorousko Oſtroue to ſtay for vs, and ſent ſome of her men to helpe vs, but we were vnder ſaile before they came neere vs: and when we came to the William, we tooke in our boate, and ſo did the William: then we made ſaile, and went betweene ſome of the Iſlands: we haled Weſt ſouthweſt, ſo we paſſed Vaigats, and the Maſters "came not together to conferre, as they had appointed the 28. day of July. About two in the after- "This was noone, we ſet our courſe ſouthweſt and by ſouth, and ſouthweſt, and ran ſo, till 12. at night, then Arthur Pets fault. the wind came to north northeaſt, and we haled Weſt.

The 18. day, at ſixe in the morning, we ſounded, and had 16. fathoms red ſande. At nine wee ſounded, and had 14. and 10. fathoms: we haled Weſt northweſt. At 12. the winde came to the Eaſt, and Eaſt and by ſouth: we haled Weſt and by North all the day and night following. At ſixe in the euening, we ſounded, and had 17. fathoms ſand.

The 19. day, the wind at Eaſt northeaſt, at ſixe in the morning, wee ſounded, and had 19. fathoms red ſand, the wind north and by Eaſt. At three in the afternoone we ſounded, and had 15. fathoms.

The 20. day, at 7. in the morning, we ſounded, and had three fathoms blacke oaze. About noone we were vpon the ſudden in ſholde water among ſandes, which lye thwart of Colgoyeue: and turning vp & downe, ſeeking to get cleere of them, continually ſounding, we came on ground, and the William alſo which was a league from vs. In the night, it being calme, we laid all our cables, ankers, ropes, and ſuch like, vpon the ſand in the water, and made a rafte, with ſuch prouiſion as we had, and laid thereon ſuch things as lay vppermoſt in our ſhippe that it would beare, but coulde not get her on flote that night.

The 21. day, at an high water, we gate off, and the William alſo, the wind being at ſouthweſt, cauſed the water to be the higher, which was a great helpe to vs. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68. degrees 40. minuts. In the afternoone the William and we did ſet ſaile, ſeeking to 61. deg. 40. mi. cleere our ſelues of the ſaid ſholdes, both our boates being on head of vs, ſounding to ſeeke for the deepeſt water: we gat into 6. 7. and 8. fathams, the ſands being without vs: we bare to the ſouthwards, and the William bare more to the Eaſtwards. The night being at hand, and the wind ſouth eaſt, we lay ſouthweſt, and ſouth and by Weſt, and came to 10. and 12. fathoms, and ſuddenly we came to ſixe fathoms, which was the head of the ſand, whereupon we were before on ground: then we did caſt about to the eaſtward, for deeper water, and gate in ſhort time 16. and 20. and 23. fathoms.

The 22. in the morning, we caſt about, and went ſouthweſt and by ſouth. This morning wee had ſight of the William, vnder our lee, as farre as we could ſee her, and in a great fogge wee loſt ſight of her, and ſince we haue not ſeene her. Thus we continued till three in the afternoone, then we bare Weſt northweſt, and Weſt and by north, all the night following. Here they loſt ſight of the William, where the was caſt away.

The 23. day, at ſixe in the morning, we had 27. fathoms: afterwards we had ſight of the coaſt of Vgori, and at 7. in the afternoone, the wind came to the Eaſt, and we laye Weſt and by north: Vngori. running this courſe, we came to fiue fathoms, thwart the Baye of Morzouetz, then we lay north The bay of Morzouetz. northeaſt off: then the wind came north, and we lay Eaſt, and Eaſt and by north, and ſometimes to the Weſtwards againe, vntill we came to 40. fathoms. Afterwards we lay Eaſt and Eaſt and by north, all the ſame night.

The 24. day, we continued our courſe northweſt, till we came to 11. fathoms, then wee laye to the northwards, vntill midnight, and then we came to 40. fathoms, then the wind came to the north eaſt, and we lay northweſt along.

The 25. day, the wind being north northeaſt a very ſtiffe gale, we continued our courſe northweſt. At 4. in the morning we ſounded, and had 36. fathoms.

The 26. day, the wind at northeaſt, we continued our courſe northweſt. This day we found the pole eleuated 70. degrees, 40. minuts. 70. deg. 40. mi.

The 27. day, at 7. in the morning, we had ſight of land, which we made to be Kegor, the winde being Eaſt, we haled north and by Weſt, and North northweſt, and North, to double the North Cape.

The 28. at three in the morning, we ſet our courſe northweſt, and ranne ſo all the day, and all the night following. The ſame night the wind came to the Southweſt.

The 29. at 5. in the afternoone, the wind being at Weſt, we did put into a certaine ſound. The towne by it is called Vngon, and ankered in 25. fathoms faire ſand. The ſame night we gate in A towne called Vngon. freſh water, which we had neede of.

The 30. day in the morning, the wind came to the Northeaſt little wind: we ſet ſaile, and with our

our boate on head, we gate to the ſea. In the afternoone the wind came to the Eaſt, and we ranne Weſt northweſt.

The North Cape doubled.

The 31. day, the wind at Eaſt ſoutheaſt, at noone, wee doubled the North Cape, and haled along Weſt all the day following, and at night we went Weſt ſouthweſt.

September.

The firſt day, the wind at Northeaſt, with thicke fogge, we continued our courſe Weſt ſouthweſt.

The ſecond day, at three in the morning, we doubled Fowlnes. All this day the wind being variable, we did little good. In the euening the wind came to Southweſt, and we bare Weſt northweſt, and northweſt. And betweene nine and ten of the clocke in the night, the winde came to the Weſt, a very ſtiffe gale, that we were faine to lay it on hull to the northwards, for the ſpace of two howres. After we laid her head to the ſouthwards, and at breake of day, wee had ſight of South Fowlnes.

The third day, in the morning, we bare with the foreſaid land, and harbored our ſelues among the lowe Iſlands in 4. or 5. fathoms water.

The fourth day, the wind at South ſouthweſt, reaſonable weather.

The 5. 6. and 7. daies very foule weather, with vehement blaſtes, and ſuch raine, that wee thought our ſelues bleſt to be in harbour.

The eight day reaſonable weather, the wind being Weſt and by North.

The ninth day, the wind at Eaſt, at twelue of the clocke, we ſet ſaile, and by three in the afternoone wee cleered our ſelues of the lande, and went Weſt Southweſt, and ſo continued all the night.

The tenth day, the wind at Eaſt northeaſt, a faire gale, we continued our courſe aforeſaid. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees, 20. minuts.

The 11. day, the wind northeaſt in the afternoone, and all the night calme. This day we found the pole eleuated 68. degrees, 16. minuts.

The 12. day, the winde South ſouthweſt, and in the afternoone ſouth, and to the Eaſtwards. At three in the afternoone, we did put into an harbour to the ſouthwards of Laweſtafte, where we roade, hauing a ledge of rockes to windward of vs, and continued there till the 17. day, hauing the weather for the moſt part very tempeſtuous, with great ſhowers, the winde continuing all the time betweene the South and the Weſt.

The 17. day at noone, the wind came to the Northeaſt, and at two in the afternoone, wee ſette ſaile, and bare along ſouthweſt, all the ſame night.

The 18. day, we went ſouth ſouthweſt, the wind being north northeaſt. This day the pole was eleuated 66. degrees, 30. minuts.

The 19. day, the wind at Eaſt northeaſt. This day the pole was eleuated 64. degrees, 50. minuts. At 6. in the afternoone the wind came to the Eaſt ſoutheaſt, we went South and by Eaſt, all the ſame night.

The 20. day, in the morning, the wind came to the Eaſt. We founde the pole eleuated 63. degrees, 30. minuts, all the night was calme.

The 21. day, all the forenoone, the wind at ſoutheaſt, and in the afternoone it came to the ſouth ſouthweſt, and all the night variable with wind.

The 22. in the morning, the wind at South, all the afternoone and night following, calme.

Ramſdall.

The 23. day, the wind ſouth, at foure in the afternoone, wee put into a ſound called Ramſdall, where we found many lowe Iſlands, and good ſounds, without the high land. That was the firſt place that we ſawe any wood growe on vpon this coaſt. We continued in the ſaid harbour, vntill the 28. day, the weather being very ſtormie and rainie.

Where wood was firſt on the coaſt.

The 28. in the morning, we ſet ſaile, the wind being Eaſt northeaſt, and haled along ſouthweſt. In the afternoone the wind came to the South, then we caſt about, and by ſixe of the clocke got to harbour, and roade vnder an Iſland all night.

The 29. day, we ſhifted from the aforeſaid Iſland, into a better place, betweene two Iſlands, where we roade more quietly.

Thus by reaſon of contrary windes, we were forced to ſtay longer vpon the coaſt of Norway, then we wiſhed: ſo that it was the 25. day of December, before we could get home into the mouth of the Thames.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended diſcouerie of the Northeaſt paſſage. Anno 1580.

LEteræ tuæ (vir humaniſſime) 19. Iunij demùm mihi redditæ fuerunt: vehemẽter dolui viſis illis tantam, non modo temporis, ſed multò magis tempeſtiuæ inſtructionis iacturam factam eſſe. Optaſſem, Arthurum Pet de quibuſdam non leuibus ante ſuum diſceſſum præmonitum fuiſſe. Expeditiſſima ſane per Orientem in Cathaium eſt nauigatio: & ſæpe miratus ſum, eam fœliciter inchoatam, deſertam fuiſſe, velis in Occidentẽ tranſlatis, poſtquam plus quàm dimidium itineris veſtri iam notum haberent. Nam poſt Inſulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuò ingens ſequitur ſinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quæ vniuerſam Regionẽ Sericam perluentia, vtque exiſtimo, in intima continentis vſq; magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam rationẽ exhibent quaſlibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, cæteríſq; circumfuſis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Cæterùm cùm non temere eam nauigationem intermiſſam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Ruſſorum & Moſcouiæ obſtaculum aliquod interiectum fuiſſe: quod ſi verò cum illius gratia vlterior illac nauigatio detur, ſuaderẽ profecto non primùm Tabin promontorium quærere, atque explorare, ſed ſinum hunc atque flumina, in ijſq; portum aliquem commodiſſimum, ſtationémq; Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribúſq; periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari poſſet. Eſſe autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrens promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantùm, verùm & alijs ſcriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licèt rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longè vltra Tabin ſitum eſſe, certis Magnetis obſeruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos eſſe ſcopulos, difficilémq; & periculoſam nauigationem exiſtimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium acceſſum fore opinor, ea qua nũc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet hæc nauigatio polo Magnetis, quàm altera, ad quem propiùs accedere non puto tutum eſſe. Quia verò Magnes alium quàm Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte reſpicit: quò propiùs ad eum acceditur, eò directorium illud Nauticũ magnetis virtute imbutum, magis à Septentrione deuiat, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientalior, vel occidentalior eſt illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumq; polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur. Mirabilis eſt hæc varietas, & quæ nauigantẽ plurimùm fallere poteſt, niſi hanc Magnetis inconſtantiam nôrit, & ad poli eleuationem per inſtrumenta ſubinde reſpiciat. In hac re ſi non ſit inſtructus D. Arthurus, aut ea ſit dexteritate, vt deprehenſo errore eum inuenire & caſtigare poſſit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & ſemiperacto negotio, à gelu præoccupetur: Aiunt enim ſinum illum fortiùs quotannis congelari. Quod ſi contingat, hoc quod conſultius mihi viſum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo ſinu, ijſq; fluminibus quæ dixi, portum quærat, & per Legatum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine ſereniſſimæ Reginæ notitiam, amicitiámque contrahat, quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratiſſimam fore propter remotiſſima cõmercia. Opinor ab oſtijs Bautiſi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, vſq; ad Cambalu Regiam ſummã Chami, non vltra 300. miliaria Germanica eſſe, & iter ſumendum per Ezinam vrbem regni Tangut, quæ 100. tantùm miliarijs Germanicis ab oſtijs diſtare videtur, & paret Magno Cham.

Poſtulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

Valde optarem cognoſcere, quàm altè communiter exurgat æſtus maris in eo Moſcouiæ portu, quem veſtri pro ſtatione habent, & in alijs verſùs orientem locis vſq; ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc diſtrictu ſemper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentẽ fluat, an verò pro ratione æſtuũ fluat, & refluat, in medio inquam canali, hoc eſt, an ibi ſex horis in occaſum, & iterum ſex in ortum fluat, an verò ſemper in eandem partem: aliæ enim ſpeculationes non parum vtiles hinc dependent. Idem optarem à D. Frobiſcero in occidentem obſeruari. Quod ad ſinum Meroſro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis deſumpta ſunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quæ à quodam ſacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritiſſimi Galli deſcriptione excerpta fuit, & illuſtriſſimo Principi Georgio ab Auſtria epiſcopo Leodiẽſi oblata: Non dubito, quin quantùm ad littorum ſitum attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quàm proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula præter ſcalam graduum latitudinis per medium ſui extenſam, aliam præterea particularem Nouæ Franciæ littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatæ latitudines, occaſione erroris Magnetis ibi commiſſæ, caſtigarẽtur. Iacobi Cnoyen, Buſcoducenſis itinerariũ per omnem Aſiam, Affricã, & Septentrionẽ, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiæ ab alio mutuò acceptum cõmunicauit, eo vſus ſum, & reddidi: poſt multos annos eũdem ab amico repetij, & reminiſci ille non potuit à quo accepiſſet. Guilielmi Tripolitani & Ioãnis de plano Carpini ſcripta non vidi, tantùm excerpta ex illis quędã in alijs ſcriptis libris inueni.

Abelfedæ Epitome gaudeo verti, vtinam citò habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putaui: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriusque nauigationis cursu obseruata nanciscì poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunq; inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si fortè ad pulcherrimum, vtilissimúmq; orbi Christiano hoc nauigationis institutum aliquid opis & consilij adferre possint. Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Cliuia, 28. Iulij, 1580.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quæ optaui, & num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum salsum inuenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus quantus sum, *Gerardus Mercator.*

¶ *The same in English.*

SIr, I receiued your letters the 19. of June: it grieued me much that vpon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not giue any conuenient instructions: I wish Arthur Pet had bene informed before his departure of some speciall pointes. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doubtlesse very easie and short, and I haue oftentimes maruelled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your voyage was discouered. For beyond the Island of Vaigats, and Noua Zembla, there followeth presently a great baie, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the middes hereof there fall great riuers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great vessels into the heart of the continent, may bee an easie meanes whereby to traffique for all maner of merchandize, and transport them out of Cathaio Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England: But considering with my selfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occasion, I thought that the Emperour of Russia and Moscouie had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so bee that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counsell them certainely not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this baie and riuers afore sayd, and in them to picke and choose out some conuenient porte and harborough for the English merchaunts, from whence afterward with more opportunitie and lesse perill the promontorie Tabin, and all the coast of Cathaio may be discouered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though somewhat rudely drawen): and that the pole of the Loadestone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certayne obseruations of the Loadestone: about which pole and Tabin, I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficile passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to approch. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the worlde, to the which from all partes it hath a respect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the compasse doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

The best course to be taken in discoueries.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnlesse hee know the inconstancie and variation of the compasse, and take the eleuation of the pole sometimes with his instruments. If master Arthur bee not well prouided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiuing the errour he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandering vp and downe he lose his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midst of the enterprise. For that gulfe, as they say, is frosen euery peere very hard, which if it be so, the best counsell I could giue for their best safetie, were to seeke some harborough in that baie, and those riuers whereof I haue spoken, and by some Ambassador to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Cham, in name of the Queenes maiestie, which I beleeue will be grateful to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouths of the mightie riuers Bautisus & Oechardus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince, the Cham, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. German miles frō the mouthes of ỳ said riuers, & is subiect to great Cham.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the porte of Moscouia where your men do harborough, and in other Easterly places vnto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow alwaies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it doe ebbe and flowe according

ding to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanell, that is to ſay, whether it flow there ſixe howers into the Weſt, and as may backe againe to the Eaſt, for hereupon depend other ſpeculations of importance: I would wiſh M. Frobiſher to obſerue the ſame Weſtwards. Concerning the gulfe of Meroſro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine ſea card drawen by a certaine prieſt out of the deſcription of a Frenchman, a Pilot very ſkilfull in thoſe partes, and preſented to the worthie prince George of Auſtria, biſhop of Liege: for the trending of the coaſt, and the eleuation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very neere the trueth: for the Charte has, beſide a ſcale of degrees of latitude paſſing through the middeſt of it, another particularly annexed to the coaſt of New France, wherewith the errour of the latitudes committed by reaſon of the variation of the compaſſe might be corrected. The hiſtorie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buſcoducenſis throughout all Aſia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time paſt by a friend of mine at Antwerpe. After I had vſed it, I reſtored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Guiliemus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini, I neuer ſaw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abelfada is tranſlated, I would we might haue it ſhortly.

Vpon the obſeruations of the tides depend great ſpeculations.

Thus much Sir I thought good to anſwere your letters: if there bee any thing els that you would require of me, I will moſt willingly communicate it with you, craning this likewiſe of your curteſie, that whatſoeuer obſeruations of both theſe voiages ſhall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they ſhall all remaine with mee according to your diſcretion and pleaſure, and whatſoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully ſignifie vnto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light vnto this moſt excellent enterpriſe of nauigation, and moſt profitable to our chriſtian common wealth. Fare you well moſt learned friend. At Duisburge in Cliuia, 28. of Julie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requeſted, and whether any where in his voiage, he found the ſea freſh, or not very ſalt: for I ſuppoſe the Sea betweene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be freſh.

Yours to my power to be commanded, *Gerardus Mercator.*

The firſt of Iune, 1582. London.

Inſtructions made by the companie of Engliſh merchants for diſcouerie of new trades, vnto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouſe, William Freeman, Iohn Hall, and Iames Woodcocke, &c. maſters of the 9. ſhips, and one barke that wee haue freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, and backe againe: which ſhips being now in the riuer of Thames, are preſently readie to depart vpon the ſayd voyage, with the next apt windes that may ſerue thereunto, and with this Fleete afterwards was ioyned M. Chriſtopher Carlile with the Tyger.

FOraſmuch as the number of ſhips which we purpoſe to ſend in this Fleete together for S. Nicholas in Ruſſia, is greater then at any time heretofore wee haue ſent thither, as alſo for that ſome ſpeaches are giuen out that you ſhall bee met withall by ſuch as with force and violence will aſſault you as enemies, to the ende that good order may be eſtabliſhed among you for keeping together in companie, and vniting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as alſo for your more ſafetie and ſtrength againſt the enemie, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and euery one particularly ſhall bee bound in the ſumme of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Becauſe the Salomon is the biggeſt ſhip, beſt appointed, and of greateſt force to defend or offend the enemie, we doe therefore appoint that ſhip Admirall, which ſhall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ſhip and well appointed, and for that the maſter of her is the ancienteſt maſter of the Fleete that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the ſame ſhip to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the fore top.

4 And for that the maſter of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the maſter of the Admirall and Viceadmirall ſhall conferre, conſult and agree vpon the courſes and directions that ſhall be vſed in this voiage, and it ſhall be lawfull

full vnto the master of the Admirall, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggat, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleete are to follow and obserue the same without straying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penaltie before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admirall and Viceadmirall, and those men to consult and agree vpon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the consents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obserue the premisses.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conueniently from time to time, you doe assemble and meete togither, to consider, consult, and determine vpon such articles as you shall thinke necessarie to be propounded touching your best safetie and defence against all forces that may bee offered you in this voiage, as well outwardes bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and baie of S. Nicholas, as also homewardes bound, and that which you shal agree vpon, or that which most of you shall consent vnto, cause it to be set downe in writing for record, which may serue for an acte amongst your selues to binde you all to obserue the same.

7 We haue appointed James Woodcocke in the smal barke to attend vpon you, and to receiue his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching the said barke, to what purposes she may best serue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place shall require.

8 Item, if you shal vnderstand as you are outwards bound, that the enemie is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduise hath bene giuen you for your stay at Berozoua Vstia, till you haue by espials viewed and vnderstood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the Sea either outwardes or homewardes, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall bee assaulted by force of any, as enemie whatsoeuer, you are to defend you selues with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference wee had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view & vnderstand what you can at that place, & to shew your selues, to see if there be any there that haue a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then and thereabout, then afterwards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the road at S. Nicholas, bee circumspect and careful to haue your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwayes, and vpon all suddens. The greatest danger vnto you in that place, will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerlie off the shore, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without daunger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may bee alwayes willing and readie to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selues such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and fourme as you shall thinke best and most conuenient. And while they shall bee in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those shippes that shall haue labour to doe, as well for carying the Barkes from ships to the shore, or from shore to the shippe with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene said vnto you touching the moring of your ships, &c. for vsing aduantage against the enemie, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serue God, abolish swearing and gaming, bee carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selues vpon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of companie together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, aide, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in fight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voiage and safe returne.

The

The opinion of maſter William Burrough ſent to a friend, requiring *his iudgement for the fitteſt time of the departure of our ſhips towards S. Nicholas in Ruſsia.*

WHereas you requeſt mee to perſwade the companie not to ſend their ſhippes from hence before the fine of May, I doe not thinke the ſame ſo good a courſe for them to obſerue: for you know that the ſooner wee ſend them hence, the ſooner we may looke for their returne. If we ſend them in the beginning of May, then may they be at S. Nicholas by the fine of the ſame moneth: and by that time the greateſt part of your lading of neceſſitie muſt be come down, eſpecially the flaxe: but if it ſhould fall out ſo lateward a breaking vp of the riuer of Dwina, that by the end of May the goods cannot bee brought to S. Nicholas, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ſhippes can come thither, the goods may bee brought downe to that place: and if through ice the ſhippes bee kept backe any time, the loſſe and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the ſhips, and yet will the Owners put that in aduentuoe, rather then tarie longer time before their going hence.

Now ſeeing by ſending our ſhips hence in the beginning of May, their arriuall at S. Nicholas may be at the ende of the ſame moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the laſt of June, and returne home hither by the 10. of Auguſt with commodities to ſerue the market then, it cannot be denied but we ſhould reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be obiected, that if all our ſhips bee ſent then to returne as aforeſaid, you ſhall not bee able to ſend vs in ſo much cordage, Waxe and Oyles, as otherwiſe you ſhould doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to bee ſent in them as you would doe.

For anſwere thereunto this is my meaning, though I wiſh the greateſt part of our ſhipping to goe as aforeſaid, yet would I haue one good ſhip or two at the moſt well furniſhed in all points that ſhould depart alwayes from hence, betweene the beginning and the 10. day of June: and the ſame to be conditioned withall to remaine at S. Nicholas from the firſt arriuall there vntill the middeſt of Auguſt, or to bee diſpatched thence ſooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the ſame: by this order theſe commodities following may enſue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to ſend vp the riuer before it waxe ſhallow, to be diſperſed in the countrey at your pleaſure.

2 The greateſt part of our goods may be returned hither timely to ſerue the firſt markets.

3 Our late ſhips remaining ſo long here, may ſerue to good purpoſe, for returning anſwere of ſuch letters as may be ſent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remayning ſo late with you ſhall ſatiſfie your deſire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring ſuch cordage, Waxe, Oile, and other commodities, as you can prouide before that time: and chiefly may ſerue vs in ſtead to bring home our goods that may be ſent vs from Perſia.

Now ſeeing it may be ſo many wayes commodious to the company to obſerue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wiſh that you put to your helping hand to further the ſame.

A copie of the Commiſſion giuen to Sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing *him her Maieſties Ambaſſadour with the great Duke of Ruſsia, Anno* 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Vniuerſis & ſingulis præſentes literas viſuris, & inſpecturis, ſalutem. Cùm Sereniſſimus Princeps, Ioannes Baſilius, Rex, & magnus Dux Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ, & Nouogrodiæ, Rex Caſſani, & Aſtracani, Dominus Pleſcoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Razanæ, Polotſcoæ, Ratſauiæ, Yeraſlauæ, Belozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condenſæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Seberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus chariſſimus, Nobilem virum, Feder Anderwich Spiſemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiſcum

Pheodore Anderwich Spiſemski Ambaſſadour to the Queene.

cum agenda,quæ honorem vtrinque nostrum quàm proximè attingunt,quæque rectè definiri concludíque nequeunt, nisi Ambassiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum sereniſſimum principem amandauerimus: Hinc est,quòd nos de fidelitate,industria,prouida circumspectione,& satis magno rerũ vsu,prædilecti nobis famuli nostri,Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domesticis nostris vnius, plurimùm confidentes,præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, nostrum verum,& indubitatum Ambassiatorem,Oratorem, & Commissarium specialem facimus,& constituimus per præsentes. Dantes,& concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori nostro tenore præsentium,authoritatem,& mandatũ,tam generale, quàm speciale, ita quòd specialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas specialitati, nomine nostro, & pro nobis, cum præfato sereniſſimo principe, eiúsque consiliarijs, & deputatis quibuscunq; de prefatis negotijs & eorum singulis,tractandi,conferendi,concludẽdi appunctuandíq; prout præfato Oratori nostro æquum,& ex honore nostro videbitur: Nec non de,& super huiusmodi tractatis,concluſis,appunctuatíſq;,cæteríſq; omnibus & singulis,premiſſa quouismodo concernentibus,literas,& instrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine nostro, & pro nobis tradendi,literáſq; & instrumenta consimilis vigoris & effectus,ex altera parte petendi, & confici, & sigillari debitè procurandi,& recipiendi,& generaliter omnia,& singula,præmiſſa qualitercunq; concernentia,faciendi,exercendi,& expediendi,in,& eodem modo,sicut nos ipſi faceremus,& facere posſemus, si eſſemus præsentes, etiamsi talia sint, quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & singula, quæ per prædictum Ambassiatorem,& oratorem nostrum appunctuata, promiſſa, conuenta, concordata, & concluſa fuerint in hac parte,nos rata & grata,& firma habituras & obseruaturas,& super inde literas nostras patentes confirmatorias,& approbatorias in forma valida,& autentica,prout opus fuerit,daturas.In cuius rei testimonium,his præsentibus manu nostra signatis,magnum sigillum nostrum regni nostri Angliæ apponi fecimus.Datæ e Regia nostra Grenwici,quinto die mensis Iunij,Anno Dom.1583.Regni verò nostri viceſſimo quinto.

¶ *The same in English.*

ELIZABETH by the grace of God,Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith,&c. to all and singular,to whom these presents shal come to be seene and red,greeting. Whereas the most excellent prince Iohn Basiliwich king,and great duke of all Russia, Volodomere,Moscouie,and Nouogrode,king of Casan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco,of Tuer,Vgor,and Permia,Valca, Bolhar and others,lord great duke of Nouogrode in the low countrey of Cherinega, Rasar, Polotsco, Rostaue, Yeraslaue, Belozer,Lifland,Oudor,Ohdor and Condene,and gouernour of all the land of Seberia,and of the North parts and others, our most deare brother and friend did of late send vnto vs one Feder Anderwich Spisemsky, a noble man of his to deale with vs in certaine speciall businesses,respecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the foresaid most excellent prince,cannot be sufficiently determined and concluded: For this cause wee hauing great confidence in the fidelitie,industrie, prouident circumspection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued seruaunt Ierome Bowes knight,a gentleman of qualitie of our household, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Ierome Bowes knight, our true and vndoubted Ambassadour, Orator and speciall commissioner, giuing and graunting to the same Ierome Bowes knight,our Orator,by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement,as well generall as speciall,so that the speciall shall not preiudice the generall,nor on the other side the generall the speciall,to intreat,conferre,conclude,and appoint in our name,and for vs with the foresayd most excellent prince and his counsellors and deputies whatsoeuer, concerning the foresayd businesses,and each of them, according as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresayd Orator, as also of and vpon such things intreated, concluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things,any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliuer in our name and for vs,sufficient and effectuall letters and instruments, and to require letters and instruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to bee made and sealed, and then to receiue them, and generally to doe, execute, and dispatch all and singular other things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selues would and might do if we were present, although they bee such things as may seeme of themselues to require a more speciall commandement:promising in good faith & in the word of a prince,that we will hold & obserue all, and singular the things which by our Ambassador aforesaid shalbe apointed,promised,agreed, accorded

and

and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and therupon as need ſhall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatorie and approbatorie, in forme effectuall and autenticall. In witneſſe wherof, we haue cauſed our great ſeale of our kingdome of England to be put to theſe preſents, and ſigned them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greene wich the fourth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord, 1583, and of our reigne the fiue and twentith.

A letter ſent from her highneſſe to the ſayd great Duke of *Ruſsia, by Sir Hierome Bowes aforeſayd, her* Maieſties Ambaſſadour.

Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Ruſsiæ, Volodomeræ, &c. Regi Caſſani, &c. Domino Pleſcoæ, &c. Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ, &c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia Seberiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico noſtro chariſſimo.

ELIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defenſatrix, &c. Sereniſſimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Baſilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Ruſſiæ, Volodomeræ, Moſcouiæ & Nouogrodiæ, Regi Caſſani & Aſtracani, Domino Pleſcoæ, & magno Duci Smolenſcoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valcæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodiæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Razanæ, Polotſcoæ, Ratſtouæ, Iroſlauæ, Belozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condencæ, & Gubernatori in tota prouincia Seberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico ſuo chariſſimo, Salutem.

Sereniſſime princeps, frater & amice chariſſime, ex ijs quæ nobiſcum egit, S. V. illuſtris legatus, intelleximus, quàm gratè vobis faceremus ſatis, ſi legatum aliquem cum mandatis inſtructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem inſtituto adeò nobis ex animo placuit, quod eſt honeſtè poſtulatum, vt non niſi preſtita re, poſſemus nobis quoquo modo ſatisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nos decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus noſtris Domeſticis, plurimùm nobis dilectus, quem inpræſentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid eſt, quod ad Serenitatũ mutuò noſtrarũ dignitatem ornandam pertinere poſſe arbitramur, commiſimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam ſit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autẽ V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs perſequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, ſi eſſemus præſentes. Præterea, cùm nobis multum charus ſit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem ſuperiori ‖ anno, ad S. V. miſimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatiſſimum, & ſingulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum eſſe, boni principes cenſent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauiſſemus, niſi amicitiæ noſtræ, & ſtudio gratificandi S. V. plurimùm tribuiſſemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non niſi optimè de bonis veſtris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. ſaluam conſeruet, & incollumem. Datæ è Regia noſtra Grenouici 19 die menſis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò noſtri viceſſimo quinto. ‖ 1582.

S. veſtræ bona ſoror.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the moſt excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Baſiliwich, by the ſame grace of God, King and great Duke of all Ruſſia, Volodomere, Moſcouie, and Nouogrod, King of Caſſan and Aſtracan, Lord of Pleſcoe, and great Duke of Smolenſcoe, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Valca, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey of Cherniga, Razan, Poloſco, Rotſtaue, Iroſlaue, Belozer, Lifland, Oudor, Ohdor, and Condene, and Gouernour of all the lande of Seberia, and of the Northy partes and others, her deereſt brother and friend, Salutations.

Moſt

Moſt excellent Prince, moſt deare brother and friend, by thoſe things which the worthy ambaſſador of your excellencie declared vnto vs, we haue vnderſtood how kindely it would be taken, if we ſhould ſend to your excellency an ambaſſador from vs, with commandement and inſtructions. In which matter your honourable requeſt hath ſo much pleaſed vs, that we could not any manner of way ſatisfie our ſelues, except we performed the ſame. And hauing purpoſed with our ſelfe ſo to doe, we thought of, and remembred Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houſeholde, a man very much beloued of vs, whome at this preſent we ſend vnto your Maieſtie, and to whoſe wiſedome and faithfulneſſe we haue committed all, whatſoeuer we take to appertaine to the aduancement of both our honours indifferently. In the diſcharge of which ſeruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence ſhall be vſed on his part, ſo that we intreat your Maieſtie to giue him credence in the proſecuting of thoſe thinges which he hath from vs in commandement, no leſſe then to our ſelfe if we were preſent. And whereas Robert Iacob, doctor of phiſicke, is a man very deare vnto vs, whome the laſt yeere we ſent vnto your excellency, we deſire that he may haue that fauor and eſtimation with you, which good princes thinke a moſt honeſt and vertuous man woorthie of: for had we not carryed great reſpect to our mutuall friendſhippe, and indeuor to gratifie your Maieſtie, we ſhould in no caſe haue parted with him. And ſeeing we continue ſtill the ſame good will towards your excellency, we do euen promiſe to our ſelfe your honorable kindneſſes towards him: and we pray the almighty God to preſerue your Maiеſty in good ſafetie and health. Giuen at our pallace of Greenewich, the 19 day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne, the fiue and twentith.

Doctor Iacob

Your Maieſties good ſiſter.

The maner of the preferring of ſutes in Ruſsia, by the *example of our Engliſh merchants bill, exhibited* to the Emperour.

IOhn Baſiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Ruſſia, the Engliſh merchants, William, ſonne of Thomas, with his company ſue vnto.

Lord, in the 7082 yeere of the worlds creation, thy Maieſties treaſurer, named Gregorie Meekeerich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vſe 12 poods of loafe ſugar, priſed at 8 robles the pood, which ſugar was ſent to the ‖ Sloboda. More, the ſaid Gregorie treaſurer, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie 200 reames of paper, priſed at 20 altines the reame, for all which the money hath not beene payd which amounteth to 216 robles.

‖ The Emperours houſe of recreation.

And in the 84 yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo, tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie copper plates, for the ſumme of 1032 robles and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Alſo in the ſaid 84 yeere thy Maieſties diakes called Iuan Blaſghoy, and Iuan Sobakin, tooke of vs for thy vſe, ſundry commodities, and haue not payd 630 robles, the reſt of the money due for the ſayd goods.

In the 85 yeere thy Maieſties treaſurer Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Maieſtie, cloth of ſundry ſorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538 robles.

In the 88 yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Iſtomay Yeuskoy, tooke of vs lead for thy Maieſty, to the value of 267 robles and a halfe not payd.

And in the ſame yere thy Maieſties diake Borees Gregoriwich, had for thy vſe 15 broad clothes of diuers ſorts, priſed at 210 robles, wherof 90 robles are vnpayd.

Alſo in the ſaid 88 yere thy diake Andrea Shalkan, tooke from vs 1000 robles for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Maieſties appointment.

And alſo in the 89 yeere (Lord) thy diake Andrea Shalkan, tooke from vs for thy Maieſtie 500 robles, we know not whether by thy Maieſties order or no, becauſe that thy authorized people doe peerely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cauſe.

All the money (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Maieſties treaſury for our commoditie or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273 robles 25 altines.

Right noble king and Lord, ſhew thy mercy, and cauſe the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as alſo that which hath beene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

The

The Ambaſſage of Sir Hierome Bowes to the Emperour *of Moſcouie* 1583.

BEfore I enter into the declaration of mine ambaſſage into Moſcouie, it ſhall not be amiſſe briefely to declare the occaſion therof. Therefore it is to be vnderſtood that Iohn Baſiliwich the Emperour of Ruſſia, in the yeere 1582, ſent ouer into England, as his ambaſſadour, one Pheodor Andrewich Spiſemskie, a verie diſcreet and aged councellor of his, accompanyed with a ſecretarie named Neodatza Gawralo, who were wafted hether with a warlike ſhippe called the Tyger, wherof one M. Chriſtopher Carlile, a gentleman indued with many good partes, was partly for that, and partly for the ſafe waſting of the reſt of the fleete againſt the Dane appointed captaine.

The aforeſaid ambaſſadour, with all his traine, to the number of aboue twentie perſons, hauing beene enterteined and vſed heere very honourablie both by her Maieſtie and her ſubiects, beſought her Highneſſe to ſend an ambaſſadour home with him vnto his Maiſter, with commiſſion to conclude ſuch matters of importance as he was ſent about into theſe parts. Wherupon I was choſen for that ſeruice: and after I had receiued order for my preparation, and had my commiſſion deliuered vnto me, with two letters from her Maieſtie to the Emperour, & the articles here agreed vpon with his ambaſſadour, as alſo mine inſtructions, with the doleances and petitions of our Engliſh merchants, I tooke my leaue in Court to proceed in my voyage. And hauing aſſembled my company together, which were in number, fortie perſons, whereof about ten were gentlemen, beſides one M. Cole a learned man of Oxford which was my preacher, I embarked my ſelfe the 22 of June 1583 at Harewich in a tall ſhippe of 200 tunnes, called the Centurion, and the Moſcouit ambaſſadour and the ſecretarie were placed in another ſhippe by themſelues, and ſome of the chiefe of their company: the reſt were beſtowed in other roomes conuenient. Thus our fleet being ten ſailes in the whole number, we committed our ſelues to God and the ſeas, and arriued in ſafety at S. Nicholas bay in the ſpace of a iuſt moneth, to witte the 23 of Julie next inſuing. *Iune 22.* *Julie 23.*

Vpon our arriuall the Moſcouit ambaſſadour was ioyfully receiued and lodged at the monaſterie of S. Nicholas. And I was very well entertayned at our Engliſh houſe in Roſe iſland, where I remayned fiue or ſixe dayes to repoſe my ſelfe and my weary company. From thence I paſſed vp the riuer of Dwina to Colmogro, drawne with men againſt the ſtreame in large boats of that countrey. At Colmogro I ſtayed the ſpace of fiue weeks, to witte all Auguſt, and part of September, in a certaine ſmall Iſland, which vpon mine aboad ſo long in it, is ſtill called Bowes iſland by our nation. *Auguſt.* *Septemb. 22.* From Colmogro I paſſed vp againſt the ſtreame very ſlowly towards Vologda, and arriued not there vntill the 22 of September. At this towne a gentleman ſent from the Emperour, receiued me, whoſe name was Protou Popou: he preſented me with two geldings, with ſaddle and furniture after their countrey faſhion. I was tolde that the horſes were of thoſe that were for the Emperours owne ſaddle.

I ſtayed at Vologda foure dayes, and then tooke iourney toward Yeraſlaue, where mette me from the Emperour, a Duke well accompanyed, which preſented me a coch and tenne geldings in change. I reſted at Yeraſlaue ſixe dayes, and then ſet forward towards Moſcua, where I arriued the firſt of October. There met me before I came at the towne by two miles, foure gentlemen of the Emperours, accompanyed, I geſſe, with about two hundred horſes. After diuers ſalutations, they tolde me they had to ſay to me from the Emperour: I anſwered that it was welcome, and requeſted them to deliuer what they had in charge. Thus after the rehearſing of a long ſtile, both they and my ſelfe being lighted from our horſes, they deliuered what they had to ſay, which were nothing but welcomes and meſſages of fauour: ſo we went agayne to horſbacke, and they brought me to my lodging in Moſco. I was not in my lodging one quarter of an houre, but there came a gentleman from the Emperour, and brought me a ſupper readie dreſt of the Emperours meat. And after rehearſing of the Emperours ſtile, and deliuerie of his meſſage, he ſate downe to ſupper, where he would haue driuen me to haue taſted of euery ſundrie meats and drinks of the Emperours goodneſſe (as hee termed it) or els he would ſay, that I did not accept it as I ſhould. *A Duke ſent to meet him to Peraſlaue. October 1.* *A ſupper ſent him from the Emperour.*

The Friday next after, being the fourth of October, there came to me from the Emperour a principall ſecretarie, who brought me a dinner from the Emperour, meaning himſelfe to dine with me. He came, giuing me a very ſhort warning, and ſo founde me licke in my bedde: howbeit there was no remedie, but the dinner muſt be ſet vpon a table at my beddes ſide, and ſo it was.

And

And yet were they not so satisfied therewith, but I must either take and cast my gowne about my shoulders, and sit vp, and taste of somewhat, or els the Emperour would imagine that I loued him not, and that I scorned his sending to me. Thus I was faine to satisfie in part these vnreasonable requests: and so we two departed in kindnesse.

The 14 of October there came to visite me another secretarie, whose name was Sauio Frolle, and to aske me if I had any secret matter to send to the Emperour, to whome I answered that I had none, and so after a little space he left me.

He was sent for to Court.

The next day the Emperour sent a gentleman to me, and would haue had me to haue come to Court the Sunday next following, but I was sicke and could not: but the Tuesday then next following, being the 16. of October, I sent to intreat that I might see his Maiestie on the Thursday next insuing: which was granted me: yet the very next day I had a countermand, and that the Thursday seuennight I should come to Court.

Thursday being come, which was the 24 of October, there came gentlemen to my lodging to accompany me to Court, where I dined in the presence of the Emperour, and all my men at another boord, in the presence of the Emperor also.

When I was set at the table, the Emperor commanded a company of gentlemen to sit downe by me, to accompany me as he sayd, and I had vpon the sudden no comely meanes to shunne it.

I was no sooner returned to my lodging, after my going from Court, but the Emperor sent after me a gentleman of his, and good store of drinke, to pottuat (as they terme it) me and my people: so was I forced to sit drinking with them, till some of vs had too much.

The next Tuesday following, being the 29 of the moneth, there came to me the wounted company that inuited me before, to summon me to Court.

Wednesday being the 33 day of October, the gentlemen came for me, and so I went againe to Court, and was mette (as the day before) with two sundrie companyes of gentlemen, the one of better degree then the other: and so was conueyed to the Emperors presence, who straightway after I had done my duety to him, bad me sit downe, without vsing any other speeches or entertainment vnto me: neither had I sitten two minuts of an houre, but the Emperor sent his chancellor to me, to will me to retyre my selfe to another chamber, whether I was guided by my wounted companions.

I had not beene long in that other chamber, but there came to me Mekita Romanowich, Bodan Belskoy, Andrew Shalcan the chancellor, all three chiefe councellors, and Sauio Frolle principall secretarie.

They demanded of me what it was that I had to say to the Emperour from the Queene my mistresse. I answered that I was rather sent to hearke then to speake: for it is not vnknowne to all your honours (quoth I) that the Emperour hath sent to the Queene my mistresse, intreating her to send a gentleman of hers vnto him, naming what kinde of person he desired to be sent towards him: and for such an one as he desired to be sent, her Maiestie hath allowed me, commanding me hither to knowe his Maiesties pleasure: as then I was ready to doe his Maiestie what seruice I might.

They tolde mee that the Queene had written to the Emperour, that shee had deliuered her minde in all pointes, that had beene spoken of, and that I shoulde resolue his Maiestie in euery thing.

I tolde them that I was made priuie to thus much, that the Emperour had sent to the Queene to haue a perpetuall league with her Maiestie, and that his ambassadour had deliuered the articles of his Maiesties desire to the Queene, and the Queene had caused her answere to euery article to be deliuered to the Emperours ambassadour, to be presented to his Maiestie, as I well knewe they were: I therefore looked that rather there should be somewhat sayd to me, touching the liking or misliking of those articles, then any thing (till then) to be looked for from me.

They yet replyed, that it was the course in all partes, that the ambassadours should deliuer the cause of their comming: I answered that I knew it well, but that case was altered in my comming, in as much as I was sent for, and (in all likelihood) to haue somewhat to be sayd to me: by this time they seemed to finde the argument reasonable, saying they would goe tell the Emperour what I had sayd.

Ere long they returned with this answere from the Emperour, that now the morning was well spent, so as I could not conueniently speake with the Emperour any more that day, but the next time that I came to Court, I shoulde, and that against then they would haue their answere ready to the articles, and so left me: and I returned to my lodging with such like farewell as I had welcome, sauing that I saw the Emperour no more that day.

The

The Tueſday next following, being the ſixt of Nouember, I was ſummoned by my woonted company, to be at the Court the next day: and the next day the gentlemen, according to theyr former woont, came for me to my lodging.

When I came to Court, and into the Emperours preſence, I had no ſooner ſaluted him, and that he ſaw me draw neere vnto him, as I did, miſliking my former intertainement, he ſent his chancellor (beſides that he bad me himſelfe in his language) to bidde me ſit downe, which to do I muſt go backe againe, and further from him: which miſliking much, as I did the day before, when I was at Court, I cauſed the interpretour to tell the Emperour that I had rather ſtand where I ſtood, then ſit where he willed me to ſit: but notwithſtanding my ſpeeches, he would needs haue me to ſit downe, and ſo I did.

I was almoſt no ſooner ſet, but the Emperour ſent his chancellor, as he did the other time before, to will me to retyre to another place, which place was the ſame chamber where I had beene the other time before, and was the councell chamber: where the ſame onely councellor came againe to me, and our queſtions tended all to the articles of the league, which they amongſt them did read ouer, without chalenging of any, ſauing that which touched the ſending to that prince that ſhould become the Emperours enemie, to deſiſt from his wrong doing: which they alleaged would aſke ſo long ſpace, as in the meane time the Emperour might ſuſtaine irrecouerable hinderance.

I tolde them that in that poynt the Queenes Maieſty had drawen her ſelfe as neere to ſatiſfie the Emperours deſire as ſhe might in reaſon, honor and conſcience: and did make her reckoning that the Emperour would take it in great good part, that ſhee had drawne her conſent ſo neere vnto all his requeſts. Whereunto they anſwered nothing: but fell off, and entred into the article of Engliſhe merchauntes ſole trade to the North partes of Ruſſia, and to the riuer of Dwina. The article concerning the Engliſh ſole trade to Dwina & the bay of S. Nichol.

They ſeemed to thinke it a very hard requeſt to haue this countrey ſhut vp from the haunt of all ſtrangers, and not to conſent to, that this one Dutch merchant, Iohn de Wale, might traffike as now he did. Iohn de Wale a Dutchman had great traffike to S. Nicholas.

Amongſt other replies, I did anſwere them, that the Queenes Maieſty did aſke nothing of the Emperour, but did onely put him in remembrance to maintaine his promiſe, and that ſith neither her Maieſty nor her ſubiects, had deſerued otherwiſe then well, at the Emperors hands, he would ratifie and ſtrengthen the olde and firſt priuilege, which vpon theyr well deſeruing it at his hands, he thought them woorthie of: and did graunt vnto them franck and freely long ſince.

Heerupon we had many ſpeeches, for in this, and the other I thinke we ſpent nigh three howres, and ſo left off without any concluſion vntill another day.

Vpon the ſixteenth of Nouember my woonted inuiters came to ſummon me to Court: I anſwered that I was very ready to obay the Emperour, but the next morrow was the day when the Queene my miſtreſſe came to the crowne, and we (as we had great cauſe) did thinke it a happy day, and kept it feſtiuall (as it were) and I had already inuited my countrey folks to come to make merry with me, and therefore would be glad that his Maieſty would ſpare me, and ſo he did, and reckoned it very reaſonable.

Thurſday the eight and twentieth day of Nouember, I went to Court, and ſaw the Emperours eyes, and went to Councell as I was woont, but grewe no neerer any reſolution then before.

The next Sunday after, I went to Court agayne, vpon ſummons, and went to the Councell chamber, as of cuſtome, where I was neere an houre before any Councellor came to me, & when they came, hauing beene in councell halfe of that houre, betwixt theyr parting from the Emperour, and comming to me: they tolde me that the Emperour, thinking it not reaſonable that all ſtrangers ſhould in all kindes of ſortes be kept from, and forbidden his Northeren Seas and hauens of that countrey, or that Iohn de Wale ſhoulde be driuen thence, had reſolued that the Engliſh merchantes ſhould haue theyr letter ratified for halfe cuſtome with all fauors that might be done vnto them, to holde theyr Hauen at S. Nicholas, and theyr houſes there, and els where and that Iohn de Wale ſhould enioy his Hauen or road thereby, and to trade vp the riuer of Dwina to Moſco, and the townes towardes Moſco, but not any further, nor to any other of his countreyes, as the Engliſh merchantes might freely doe to all partes: and ſayd further that hee would that his other Hauens, as Cola and others ſhoulde bee free for the French, and all other commers to touche, barter, buye, and ſell, but yet not at all to trade further into his countreyes. The French permitted to come to Cola.

I did tell them, that if the Emperours reſolution were ſuch as they ſayd, that I doubted he would

would looſe the Engliſh merchants, and tolde ſome reaſons why the Engliſh merchants could not then trade thither to theyr profit, and that they were not ſo bound to the nation, that they would come to them to theyr hinderance, and that if the Engliſh merchants did leaue them, I was of opinion that neither Dutch nor French would come to them. I tolde them that Iohn de Wale had not miſpent his time in Ruſſia, for I found he had gotten good friends among them: and then more, touching the Dutchmens diſorder vpon Dwina.

December. The Sunday following, being the eight of December, vpon ſummons the day before I went to Court, and ſo to councell, after hauing ſeene the Emperours eyes, as of cuſtome, where we talked but of ſuch matters as before, ſauing that they vged me to haue named what princes the Queene did reckon to be her enemyes: I anſwered that I had no commiſſion to make diſcourſe therof, nor the Queene had as yet any occaſion to proclame to whom ſhe was enemie.

This queſtion grewe vppon the article, that the Emperours Amballadour or meſſenger might paſſe thorowe Englande, whereunto the Queenes anſwere is, ſo as they goe towardes ſuche Princes, with whome her Maieſtie is in league, and that holde the ſame religion that ſhee doth.

The Friday then next following, being the thirteenth day of December, I was called againe to Court, and the Emperour ſpake with mee, but yet with fiue or ſeuen of his councell about him: and I was willed before my then going to Court (by a councellour that was ſent expreſſly to that end) that I ſhould leaue off my ſword, which I had alwayes worne till then. And further the morning when I went, thoſe gentlemen that came for me did will me from the Emperour, that I ſhould not haue about me neither dagger nor knife.

The Emperor findeth faults with our merchants wares. The Emperour did make cauill, that the Engliſh merchantes did bring him nothing that was good, and compared olde gaberdines of his owne of ſkarlet with ſuch ſkarlets as the merchants had then brought him, which ſkarlets were in the merchants opinions, the beſt piece of cloth that euer came in Ruſſia: and in truth it was the better cloth.

He found fault alſo with parſement laces that the merchants had alſo then brought him, comparing them with laces vpon his olde cloakes, ſuch as the faſhion was worne out in England twentie yeeres ſince. Nothing pleaſed that day.

The Wedneſday then next following, being the eighteenth day of December, I went againe to Court after ſuch ſummons as of cuſtome, when the Emperour talked with me, and his councell about him, but not ſo many as before, but vſed the like cauelling as the other time he did: ſeeming as though he would make no more reckoning to haue any amitie with the Queenes Maieſtie, vanting himſelfe quite beyond his compaſſe, challenging me, as he had done ere then, for my too much ſtoutneſſe, reckoning vp great numbers of amballadours that had come to him from many great princes, but that not any that bare himſelfe ſo ſtout as I did, or would challenge his place to be ſo great.

I deſired his Maieſtie to haue patience (for he had then none within my ſeeing) and not to iudge of me in his choller, and then he would finde that I had not at any time done ought that became me not: ſaying further that I had beſtowed my time very ill, hauing all my life time beene brought vp in Court and forren nations, if I had not learned with what duety to vſe a prince, were he neuer ſo great.

After theſe extreme iarres (wherin I vſed more patience then I had) we grew calmer, and parted ſuch friends (reconciled as it were) as preſently vpon my arriuall in my lodging, he ſent of his gentlemen to potſuate me, which was the greateſt token of his fauour that might be, and therewithall did threaten to ſend me of his owne meat as ſoone as his Lent was ended, which ſhould be at Chriſtmas.

Ianuarie. Vpon New yeeres day I went agayne to Court vpon ſummons, as of cuſtome, hauing onely the bare intertainement that I had beene wonted to, which was onely to ſee the Emperours eyes, and was willed to goe to the Councell chamber, whither the councell came vnto me, and readde vnto mee the articles which had beene in Englande deliuered to the amballadour: and when they had readde them, they aſked me if I had commiſſion to confirme them. I anſwered that I durſt aſſure them, that the Queenes Maieſtie woulde not goe from them, if her requeſtes tooke place.

They then aſked mee (as they had done before then) if I had no power by commiſſion to alter them: I anſwered that I had not: and tolde that the Queene my Miſtreſſe, had therein yeelded ſo farre to ſatiſfie the Emperours deſire, as with honour ſhee might, and ſo farre as ſhee did imagine, the Emperour woulde rather haue taken extreame kindelye, then once ſeemed to haue miſliked or diſallowed anie parte thereof. And I ſayde further that when

when the Queenes Maieſtie ſhoulde knowe that hee made ſuch cauilling, and tooke her kindeneſſe in no better part, I would not be bounde, that ſhee woulde performe all that ſhee had ſaide: for that ſince the time that ſhee made theſe kinde offers to the Emperour, the caſe was much altered.

They vrged mee much to haue tolde them wherein, (on my opinion) the caſe was ſo altered: whereunto I anſwered, that I purpoſed to doe ſo, but not till I founde mine owne time.

All the reſt of our time was walked in thoſe two points of Iohn de Wale, and the article of willing the enemies of the Emperour to deſiſt from offering of wrong: vpon which both points they ſtacke ſtill.

But I aſſured them, that the reaſonable requeſts of her Maieſtie muſt be anſwered in the one, elſe the amitie would goe but ſlowly forward, and as for the other, I aſſured them that her Maieſtie would be drawen no further.

The 5. of Ianuarie being wedneſday, in the afternoone, he ſent my wonted viſitors to me, who tolde me, that the Emperour, becauſe hee loued (quoth they) the Queene of England his ſiſter, would ſend the next day a very great noble perſonage to ſpeake with mee, and intreated mee that therefore I would eate betimes.

I anſwered, that who ſo came from the Emperour, ſhoulde bee welcome to mee: but as for my eating, I had ſo bad a diſgeſtion with long keeping my chamber, as I might ill breake my ordinary times of eating.

This great man came to me the next day, but it was three of the clocke ere hee came: his name is Bodan Belſcoy the Emperours chiefeſt fauourite, and Domine fac totum. His comming was to examine two matters: The one, touching Sacayr, who conducted mee from Colmogro to Vologda: The other, was againſt the Emperours officers, who were to deliuer mee my diet, and had vſed me extreeme naughtily. Bodan Belſcoy a great duke.

Hee firſt begainne with the matter of my diet, wherein my Stewarde was to playe a part, whom Bodan (hauing as it ſeemed before hande purpoſed to doe ſo) did vſe naughtily, and with naughtie termes, to bolſter out the Emperours officers, burthening him with the ſelling of ſuch victuals, as the Emperour had allowed me.

After that hee had called Sakayr before him, and that I had named my witneſſes againſt him of his owne companie, touching his villanous behauiour towardes mee, hee was diſmiſſed vntill an other time, that the witneſſes might bee recouered, which were at that time ſomewhat farre off: hee cauſed the Secretarie Sauio Frolle who came with him, to reade a ſcroule, which the Emperour had commaunded them to reade vnto mee: In which ſcroule were ſet downe to bee repeated, thoſe Articles touching the ſending to the Prince that ſhoulde bee enemie to the Emperour, to deſiſt from his doing of iniurie (which point hee ſtill miſliked) and that Article of the ſole trade of the Engliſh Marchants to the hauens, and riuer of Dwina, which neither hee brooked.

I anſwered, that what I had to ſay, I had alreadie ſaide, and had no more to ſay concerning thoſe pointes.

They preſſed me much that I would be content to receiue againe ſuch victuals for my diet, as the Emperour would ſende and allowe me, promiſing that all the wants ſhould be amended, and the faulters puniſhed.

To ſatiſfie them for that they were in my lodging, and for that the one of them was in chiefe fauour with the Emperour, and ſent of purpoſe to pleaſe mee (although his pride cauſed him to ſlippe beſides his Commiſſion:) And againe, for that I had deſire that hee ſhoulde returne to the Emperour, and report that I had vſed him honourablie (as I did) I denied not, but that I woulde receiue victualls againe the next morning, although I was reſolued otherwiſe.

This being tolde the Emperour, hee in great hatte ſent for his Chanceller, and rated him, and threatned him not to leaue one of his race aliue: And then hee ſent his chiefeſt Secretarie vnto mee to pacifie mee, and to intreate mee to take my Come (as they doe vſe to terme it,) with offers that I ſhould haue what I would: but I alleaged howe hardly I had bene vſed at thoſe Councellers handes, and therefore that the Emperour ſhould pardon mee. I hoped that hee would leaue the Market open for mee (which in deede was ſtopped) ſeeing that I came from his good friende and Siſter, and ſo hee ſhoulde finde that I had a Miſtreſſe that was well able to feede me. Andrew Shercan.

The Secretarie finding mee ſo vnreadie to ſatiſfie the Emperour, aroſe in great haute and fume, and would needes haue bene gone, thinking hee ſhould haue ſcarred mee therewith,

saying, that sith he found me so vntractable, hee would be gone. I answered, that if hee had nothing els to say vnto mee hee might goe when pleased him: And so for good maners sake I followed him to guide him towards his sledde. But his haste was but seeming: for although I made very slowe speede after him, hee gaue me leaue to ouertake him, and staied without intreating, first once and then againe, and would very gladly haue had a better message to haue carried to the Emperour: for well he knew that he should be ill welcome home.

At his departing I willed him to intreate the Emperour that the Market might be set open for me, and that I might not be starued: for that it was not impossible, but that I might yet doe his Maiestie some seruice if I shall liue. You goe not about (quoth hee) to doe him any seruice: No (quoth I) I haue no seruice yet readie for him, for I haue had no cause yet to doe him any, But I will not forsweare to doe him seruice. And thus he went his way in other sort then he looked for, and sorrowfull.

The next morning hee came againe, being sent from the Emperour, and brought with him a scroll of a newe allowance of victuals, more then I had before, by much, which I still in the respect before spoken of, refused to receiue. But yet for that I knewe it reasonable, and well becomming me to yeelde, (in as much as I might) to satisfie the Emperours request at a seconde sending, especially for that other men had done mee the wrong and not the Emperour, I was content to yeelde thus farre vnto his Maiestie, to agree (if needes he would feede mee) to take a reasonable allowance in money for my diet, but so much he prested mee to satisfie the Emperours kinde sending to me, that I agreed to receiue the scroule of diet, that the Emperour had sent me: And so went the Secretarie a merrie man away.

The scroule of the new diet, was this, Ianuarie 13.

One bushell of fine meale for 3. dayes.
One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
2. Liue geese for one day.
20. Hennes for the day.
7. Sheepe for a day.
1. Oxe for three dayes.
1. Side of porke for a day.
70. Eggs for a day.
10. Pound of butter.
70. Pennie white loaues.
12. Pennie loaues of bread.
1. Veather or bottle of Vinegar.
2. Veathers of salt Cabiges.
1. Pecke of Onions.
10. Pound of salt.
1. Altine of wape candles.
2. Altines of tallow candles.
1. Fourth part of a Vether of cherrie meade.
As much of Mallynouomeade.
Halfe a Veather of burnt wine.
1. Veather of sodden meade, called Obarni.
3. Veathers of sweete meade.
10. Veathers of white meade.
15. Veathers of ordinary meade.
5. Veathers of sweete beere.
15. Veathers of beere.
Halfe a pound of pepper.
3. Sollytnikes of saffron.
1. Sollytnike of Mace.
1. Sollytnike of Nutmegs.
2. Sollytnikes of Cloues.
3. Sollytniks of Cinnamom.

Prouender. One bushell of Dates.
One loade of hay.
1. Loade of strawe.

The

The Secretarie I thinke had no ſooner ended to tell the Emperour howe hee had ſpedde, but by and by the Gentlemen, which were wonted, came to ſummon mee to Court againſt the next day. Whither I went, and found the Emperour in his Maieſtie as of cuſtome, and after hauing ſitten in his preſence, (after the common maner) I was willed (as of wont) to goe to the Councell chamber, whither came to mee three of my olde companions, and not the Chanceller, and with them fiue others of the Counſell, with whome I had no acquaintance till then. And amongſt thoſe one duke, who tooke the formoſt place of them all, both of my olde companions, and of the newe ſupplie.

The Chanceller diſplaced for abuſing ſir Ierom Bowes.

This great duke (as they termed him) began to rehearſe ſome former matters touching the vnkindeneſſe twixt mee and the Chanceller, and tolde mee, that for that the ſaide Chanceller had not vſed himſelfe well towards me, the Emperours diſpleaſure was vpon him, and for his fault was put out of his place, and that the Emperours meaning was to doe me right, vpon euery man that had wronged mee: and then they called into preſence Sakair, to ſhewe him vnto me as a man condemned to priſon, and further to receiue ſuch puniſhment, as vpon examination of his faults, hee ſhould be found to haue deſerued.

Touching the Chanceller, I anſwered no more but that I founde that the Emperours purpoſe was to doe the Queene my Miſtreſſe right: for the others, Sakayr and one other Gentleman, who had alſo behaued himſelfe ill towards me, I intreated the great duke, and the reſt, that they would in my name be ſuters to his Maieſtie to pardon them at my humble ſuite, and ſaide, that if they had not had better backes then their owne, that were their ſetters on, they durſt neuer haue offered me a wrong.

This ſuite was much liked, and they all promiſed to ſay to the Emperour all that they had heard of me, and ſo they tooke their leaue of me, willing me to retire to my lodging.

The Tueſday next after, I was ſummoned againe to Court, againſt the next day, which was no ſooner done, but the chiefe Secretarie came to mee ſent from the Emperour onely to knowe of mee, whether my corne (as they terme it) were, and had bene deliuered mee according to the ſcroule, which the Emperour had ſent mee before then, and to knowe if I had any other griefes.

Vpon this ſuddaine arriuall, my Priſtaues, Maſters of houſholde, after our reckoning, for that in all this time they had not yet deliuered my corne, as they ſhould haue done, but had ſo much bungled with me, ſent to mee in great haſte, that I would be ſo good vnto them, as to ſay, that I had had euery thing according to the Emperours appointment: for if I ſhoulde haue tolde the trueth, they woulde all haue bene whipped. And therefore to ſaue that ſore, I made a cleanely anſwere, without telling any lie that ſatiſfied the Secretarie, whereof they were more then glad.

The next day being the 19. of Ianuarie, I went againe to Court, and the Emperour ſpake with mee with 3. of his Counſell by him, and two Interpretours, to whome after I had giuen thankes for the right hee had done me againſt thoſe who had ill vſed mee: He aſked me if I had any other griefes, ſaying, that if I had and would tell them, I ſhould haue remedie of them. I gaue his Maieſtie moſt humble thankes, and told him, that if I had any other griefes, I would tel them to his Maieſtie at ſome other time.

He then tolde mee, that hee had often by himſelfe, and more often by his Counſell, talked with mee touching the Articles of amitie, twixt the Queene my Miſtreſſe and him, and yet they were brought to no good ende. Aſking me if I had no other, nor further Commiſſion then I had already tolde of: whereunto I anſwered, that I had not. And then he tolde mee (as hee had often done ere then) in what ſort he would haue the Quenes Maieſtie ioyne in friendſhip with him, that was, to take his part againſt all his enemies. I anſwered, that in that matter I coulde ſay to his Maieſtie but as I had done.

He then aſked my opinion, whether the Queenes Maieſtie did make better reckoning of the king of Pole, or of him. I anſwered, that I was ſorie to heare him make that a queſtion; for as betwixt the Queenes Maieſtie and the king of Pole, there was no enmitie, ſo for ought I knewe there was no great friendſhip. But I was well aſſured, that when I came from her Maieſtie, ſhe helde his highneſſe very deere vnto her. If ſhe holde mee deare (quoth he) then ſhee will take my part againſt my enemies. So ſhe will (quoth I) as farre as ſhe hath promiſed in the Articles, which in my opinion will ſerue your turne, although it bee not ſet downe in ſuch wordes as you would haue it.

Well (quoth hee) I will ſende my Ambaſſadour againe to the Queene my ſiſter, about theſe matters, and others.

Sir (quoth I) her Maieſtie intreateth you but in ſmall matters, if it ſhal pleaſe your Maieſtie to ſatiſfie her in thoſe her ſmall requeſts, which ſhal coſt you nothing, and you may performe them at home in your owne Countrey at your eaſe, her Maieſtie (I beleeue) will be loath to denie you any reaſonable requeſt.

He anſwered, that touching thoſe matters of the Marchants, hee would talke once againe with his Counſell, and that at my next comming to Court, I ſhoulde haue anſwere in that matter, and ſo willed mee to depart, being glad as my ſelfe was, that wee parted ſo good friends.

My backe was no ſooner turned, but hee rated his Counſellers, and tolde them that I was courteous ynough if I were well bled.

The 26. of Ianuarie the Emperours chiefe Secretarie came to me two ſundrie times about M. Roper.

Friday the 7. of Februarie I was at Court, and ſawe the Emperour as of wont: and I talked with the Counſell two ſundrie times, but to litle purpoſe.

The next tueſday I was ſummoned to Court to bee there the next day, but the ſame day, I had a countermaunde to ſtay till Saturday: Then I went to Court and the Emperour talked with mee, and rehearſed the effect of his Ambaſſage, and ſaide that to the chiefe parts of his Articles, and requeſts, hee was not anſwered any whitte to his liking: but that it ſeemed by the Queenes anſweres, that ſhee woulde haue no friendſhippe with him, rather then otherwiſe. Whereunto I anſwered, that if hee woulde conſider well, howe farre her Maieſtie had drawen her ſelfe to friend him, hee ſhould finde great cauſe rather to accept her friendly offers kindely, then to conſtrue them after his owne faſhion. But he ranne ſtill to his olde point, that hee would haue her Maieſtie take his part directly againſt all his enemies.

I deſired his Maieſtie to haue a little patience (a hard requeſt) and that hee would giue mee leaue to ſpeake, (a hard thing alſo to come by:) for hee muſt ſay all himſelfe without to bee anſwered.

Sir (quoth I) then thus I peth the caſe, that vpon condition that the Queene will make warres vpon all your enemies, who all are yet her friendes, you will then bee content that the Engliſh Marchants ſhall enioy a priuiledge, that they haue alreadie more then deſerued at your handes. And beſides you will that the Queenes Maieſtie firſt graunt your great requeſts, and then you will graunt her little ones. But I doubt her Maieſtie will take it very vnkindely, that you take in no better part her kinde and friendly offers: for I anſwere, her meaning neuer was to make warre vpon theſe Princes, except vpon greater cauſe then ſhee yet knoweth.

Well, (quoth he) I will ſende my Ambaſſadour with you to the Queene my ſiſter, and will ſet downe my meaning more plainely then before, and hee ſhall doe there touching the Marchants matters as he ſhall finde cauſe.

Sir, (quoth I) I thinke your Ambaſſadour wil not goe with me, for the Queene my Miſtreſſe hath giuen mee leaue to goe ouer lande, and to that ende I am to craue your Maieſties fauour and furtherance.

This liked his Maieſtie as little, as the deniall of it pleaſed mee: For hee might not ſuffer, (nor would) that I ſhould goe ouer lande, and therefore concluded that I ſhould goe home, the ſame way that I came. And ſo after ſome other ſpeaches, hee bade mee goe home, and tolde mee that vpon the Munday next following hee woulde appoint his chiefe Councellers to declare vnto mee the reſt of his minde, and then I ſhoulde haue my diſpatche homewards.

Februarie. Munday, the ſixt of Februarie, I went againe to Court, and ſawe the Emperour as of wont, but talked no whit with him: I was willed to retire my ſelfe to the Councell chamber, whither came his Counſell, and (by his commaundement) read vnto mee a ſcroule of Articles, ſuch as he would haue to paſſe in the league of amitie. I tolde them in part my opinion of thoſe Articles, as I had done often before when I tolde them, as then alſo, that if the Emperour did not anſwere the Queenes ſmal demaunds and reaſonable requeſts, it was not like that ſhe would yeeld to thoſe of his, which no man would recken reaſonable.

I had tolde them before, that the Emperour might ſaue labour in keeping his Ambaſſadour at home, if he left the Queenes Maieſtie vnſatiſfied.

I was anſwered, that he would prooue once againe what the Queene would doe for him: But ſtill I felt both the Emperour and his Counſell to nibble at the baite, and found that they would bite at length.

They tolde mee that vpon Thurſday then next, I ſhould be called to Court againe to ſee the Emperour, and ſo to take my leaue, and thus we parted.

In the meane ſeaſon the Emperour and his Counſell, hauing well conſidered my conſtancie

in

inuyging the reasonable requests of our Marchants, as also bethinking themselues of the great benefite they might reape by the continuance of their trafique, grewe to such issue as I looked for, and the Marchants desired. So that after certaine dayes, I was againe called to Court into the Emperours presence, where after apparant shewe of his gratious countenance and fauour, I was requested to repaire againe to the Counsel chamber, where his greatest Counsailers signified vnto me, that the Emperour had at last yeelded to these articles following, viz.

1 First, that the goods which were taken from our Marchants by robberie vpon the Volga, should be recompensed.

2 Then that the summe of 500. markes, which was paid for 10. yeeres together into the Emperours receit, for the rent of a house that they had in Vologda, should be repayed.

3 Thirdly, that 1500. markes, which had bene exacted from them the two last yeeres before my comming into Russia, should also be repayed.

4 Next that an olde desperate debt of 1000. markes or there abouts, shoulde nowe bee satisfied.

5 Lastly, that their custome which before that time they had payde, amounting to 2000. pounds by the yeere, should now be abated, and no more required.

There remayned nothing in the foresaide Articles, but the confirmation of them by seale, and the deliuerie of them to mee, which was determined to bee done at my next repaire to the Court.

But in the meane time it fell out so vnfortunately that the Emperour fell sicke, and within a fewe dayes died: After whose death, the foresaide Counsellers, who not long before were as glad of my friendship, as I was also of theirs, grewe againe to be of their former authoritie, and then beganne to reuenge themselues vpon mee, at their pleasure. For Mekita and Shalkan, shut mee vp immediatly in mine owne house, (as it were a close prisoner,) so that for the space of eight or nine weekes, I was forced with all my companie to keepe within doores, not so much as to looke out at the windowes, that were vpon the streetes side, with continuall watche, and gard set to obserue all our doings. The death of the olde Emperour.

Besides this, they tooke from me the liberall allowance of diet, which the late Emperour had graunted me, yeelding such slender and ill fare, as enuious stomackes coulde afoorde, with many other indignities, which for modesties sake I here suppresse.

All this while I sued for my dispatche, which I should haue had before the Emperour died, but coulde by no meanes obtaine it, such was the pleasure of Mekita and Shalkan. But after long and tedious delaye, they sent mee woorde at last ouernight, to come to Court the next day to haue my dispatch. Whicher being come, whereas euer tofore I had bene mette within Counsell, with many of the greatest and graueſt Counsailers, I was nowe onely intertained by this Shalcan, and a brother of his, and one other meane Gentleman, whome I had neuer seene till then. Who deliuered to mee for resolution from the newe Emperour, that hee had no meaning to proceede further in those treaties, that his late father nowe deceased, had to fore dealt in. Theodore the newe Emperour.

Shortly after I was willed to come againe to Court to take my leaue of the Emperour, and so I did, and being come into his presence, he told me briefly, that he desired such league and friendshippe with the Queene my Mistresse, as his father heretofore had had, and for the summe of my dispatche, deliuered vnto mee a letter, which hee had written to her Maiestie, which I receiued.

Thus within a fortnight after this, I had post horses prouided mee, and hauing furnished them for the vse of my companie, I tooke horse, and departed from Mosco, on the 29. of May being then Saturday, about two of the clocke in the afternoone: I was accompanied out of the Citie of Mosco, with Mekita, and the foure Prestaues, and other Gentlemen and seruants, who hauing brought me some part of my way, about two verstes from the Citie, there tooke their leaue, and departed backe againe: Onely Mekita accompanied mee still, and went with mee to S. Nicholas. His departing from Mosco the 29. of May.

This Saturday at night I lodged at a place about 4. verstes from Bratezeue, which Bratezeue is from Mosco 30. verstes. Bratezeue.

On Sunday I ridde forewardes towardes Troits, which is also 30. verstes from Bratezeue: where I dined that day, and lodged that night at Doobna 300. verstes from Troits. Doobna.

On Munday I ridde to Peraslaue 20. verstes from Doobna, and there dined, and lodged that night at Rogozeue, 12. verstes from Peraslaue. Peraslaue.

Deobola. On tuesday I ridde to Deobala, and from thence to Rostoue, where I lodged, which is 48. verstes from Deobola.

Sheupza. Ieraslaue. On wednesday I ridde to Sheupza, where I dined and lodged that night at Ieraslaue in my olde lodging, which Ieraslaue is 25. verstes from Sheupza.

On thursday in the afternoone, I went to the Volga, to haue passed it ouer by ferrie, but the winde was high, and all things not readie, and I returned againe to Ieraslaue for that night.

Dauileske. On friday I past the riuer, and lodged that night at Dauileske, being 43. verstes from Vochsur, where I dined that day.

Teletske. On saturday I ridde from Dauileske to Teletske, where I rested that night.

Camelskie. Vologda. On Sunday I ridde from Teletske to Obnorske, which was 20. verstes. Therehence the next day to Camelski, which was 20. verstes more, and so vpon tuesday I came to Vologda 30. verstes from Camelski. At Vologda I rested till Sunday morning, and then went downe the Riuer.

S. Nicholas. The thursday seuenth night after at night, I came to S. Nicholas, and there remayned till our English shipping were readie to way for our voyage homewards, which was the tenth day of August following, at which time Mekyta, which accompanied mee hither from Moscowe tooke his leaue of me, and I imbarked my selfe, and my whole companie in the bay or roade, and arriued in safetie at Graues end, the 12. day of September next ensuing.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson, *contayning a briefe discourse of that* which passed in the Northeast discouerie for the space of 33. yeeres.

MAster Sanderson, as you lately requested mee, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine olde letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue briefly and as truely as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough hewing may be planed at your leasure, or as pleaseth him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discouer by sea Northeast and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuiledge from King Edwarde the sixt, and other his Nobilitie by and at the coste and suite of M. Sebastian Cabota, then gouernour for discoueries with sir Andrewe Iudde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garret, M. Anthonie Hussie, and a companie of Marchants, was in the last yeere of his Maiesties raigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman accompanied with sufficient nomber of Pilots, Maisters, Marchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Speranza, the Edward Bonaduenture, and the Confidentia. The Edward Bonaduenture, Richard Chanceller being Pilote, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discouered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmarke, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas nowe the chiefe port for Russia, there wintred in safetie. and had ayde of people at a village called Newnox.

Anno 1553. M. William Burrough was thenpong and with his brother in this first voyage.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets founde after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) was in September encountred with such extreeme colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the saide bay fell vpon a desert coste in Lappia, entring into a Riuer immediatly froseu vp, since discouered, named Arzina, Reca, distant East from a Russian Monasterie of Monkes called Pechingham, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the nomber of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made caues or stoues. These were founde with the shippes the next Sommer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English Marchants as hereafter appeareth.

Note.

Anno 1554. Anno 1554. the saide shippe Edward Bonaduenture (although robbed homewards by Flemings) returned with her companie to London, shewing and setting forth their entertainments and discouerie of the Countreis euen to the Citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuiledge written in Russe with the kings or great dukes seale, the other two ships looked for and vnknowen to them where they were.

Anno 1555. An. 1555. the said Companie of Marchants for discouerie vpō a new supply, sent thither againe with

with two ſhips, to wit, the Edwarde Bonaduenture, and another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Phillip, and Marie, whoſe Maieſties by their letters to the ſaid Moſcouite, recommended ſundry their ſubiects then paſſing, whereof certaine, to wit, Richard Chanceller, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Baye, and paſſing vp Dwina, to Vologhda, went firſt vp to Moſco, where vpon knowledge of the ſaid letters, they with their traine, had ſpeciall entertainment, with houſes and diet appointed, and ſhortly permitted to the Princes preſence, they were with Gentlemen brought through the Citie of Mosko, to the caſtle and pallace, repleniſhed with numbers of people, and ſome gunners. They entred ſundry roomes, furniſhed in ſhew with ancient graue perſonages, all in long garments of ſundry colours, gold, tyſſue, baldekin, and violet, as our veſtments and copes haue bene in England, ſutable with caps, iewels, and chaines. Theſe were found to be no Courtiers, but ancient Moſcouits, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the manner is, furniſhed thus from the Wardrobe and Treaſurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and ſo to reſtore it. The King and Queenes letters.

Then entring into the Preſence, being a large roome ſtrawed, with carpets, were men of more eſtate, and richer ſhewe, in number aboue an hundred ſet ſquare: who after the ſaide Engliſh men came in, doing reuerence, they all ſtood vp, the Prince onely ſitting, and yet riſing at any occaſion, when our King and Queenes names were read or ſpoken. Then after ſpeeches by interpretation, our men kiſſing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were ſtaied in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be ſeene maſſie ſiluer and gilt plate, ſome like & as big as kilderkins, and waſhbowles, and entring the dining place, being the greater roome, the Prince was ſet bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe ſtanding vpon a pinnacle by. Not farre diſtant, ſate his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none ſate ouer againſt him, or any, at other tables, their backes towards him: which tables all furniſhed with gheſts ſet, there was for the Engliſhmen, named by the Ruſſes, Ghoſti Carabelski, to wit, ſtrangers or merchants by ſhip, a table in the middeſt of the roome, where they were ſet direct againſt the Prince: and then began the ſeruice, brought in by a number of his yong Lordes and Gentlemen, in ſuch rich attire, as is aboue ſpecified: and ſtill from the Princes table (notwithſtanding their owne furniture) they had his whole meſſes ſet ouer all in maſſie fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their ſeuerall Chriſtian names, as they ſate, viz. Richarde, George, Henry, Arthur. Likewiſe bread and ſundry drinkes of purified meade, made of fine white and clarified honie. At their riſing, the Prince called them to his table, to receaue each one a cuppe from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Maſter George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, and pleaſantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who ſeeming to bleſſe it, ſaid in Ruſſe, this is Gods gift. As in deede at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellowe coloured, but in length fiue foote, and two ynches of a ſize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and diſhes of meate dreſſed, to our lodging. M. Killingworths beard of a meruelous length.

This yeere the two ſhippes, with the deade bodies of Sir Hugh Willoughby, and his people, were ſent vnto by Maſter Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosko, Agent almoſt two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recouered and ſaued.

Anno 1556. The companie ſent two ſhips for Ruſſia, with extraordinarie Maſters and ſailers, to bring home the two ſhips, which were froſen in Lappia, in the riuer of Arzina aforeſaid. The two ſhips ſent this yeere from England ſailing from Lapland to the Baye of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with paſſengers, to wit, a Ruſſe Ambaſſador, named Ioſeph Nepey, and ſome of his men ſhipped with Richard Chanceler, in the Edward. But ſo it fell out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their newe Maſters and marriners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought ſeas, after their two yeeres wintring in Lapland, became, as is ſuppoſed, vnſtanch, and ſunke, wherein were drowned alſo diuers Ruſſes merchants, and ſeruants of the Ambaſſador. A third ſhip the Edward aforeſaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was alſo loſt, and Maſter Chanceler, with diuers other, drowned. The ſaid Ruſſe Ambaſſador hardly eſcaping, with other his men, marriners, and ſome goods ſaued, were ſent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the Meſſenger being Maſter Doctor Lawrence Huſſie, and others:) And then, as in the Chronicles appeareth, honourably entertained and receaued at London. Anno 1556.

This yeere alſo the companie furniſhed and ſent out a pinneſſe, named the Serchthrifte, to diſcouer the harborowes in the North coaſt from Norway to Wardhouſe, and ſo to the Baye of S. Nicholas. There was in her Maſter and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their diſcouerie was beyond the Baye, toward the Samoeds, people dwelling

neere the riuer of Ob, and found a sound or sea with an Iland called Vaigats, first by them put into the Carde or Mappe. In that place they threwe sno we out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremitie, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintred at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. Anno 1557. The companie with foure good ships, sent backe the said Russe Ambassador, and in companie with him, sent as an Agent, for further discouerie, Master Anthony Ienkinson, who afterward anno 1558. with great fauour of the Prince of Moscouia, and his letters passed the riuer Volga, to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians, encountred, and in danger: but keeping companie with merchants of Bactria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, trauailing with camels, he with his companie, went to Boghar, and no further, whose entertainment of the king is to be had of Master Ienkinson, which returned anno 1559. to Moscouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England, which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse of shipwracke, or dead fraight, and burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narue in Liuonia, which confines with Lituania, and all the dominions of Russia, with the markets, faires, commodities, great townes, and riuers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reportes were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of olde time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Boghar voyage.

1560.

The first trade to the Narue 1560.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Ienkinson, went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the riuer of Volga, to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arriued in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Alcocke slaine in Persia. Bannister died in Media. Edwards died at Astracan

Also betweene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcocke, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne, if spoile neere Volga had not preuented by rouing theeues, had altogether saued and recouered the companies (called the olde companies) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, by vnitie small things growe great, and by contention great things become small. This may be vnderstoode best by the companie. The frowardnes of some fewe, and euill doing of some vniust factors, was cause of much of the euill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassador, anno 1567. And late of Sir Hierom Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoueries, freedomes, & priuiledges, wherewith I medle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers doe nowe adaies other waies) as worthie Gentlemen sent from Princes, to doe their Countrey good, I put them in your memorie, with my hartie farewel. From S. Margarets neere Dartforth in Kent.

Yours Henrie Lane.

The late ambassage of Master Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, *sent from her Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia,* Anno 1588.

IN the yeere 1588, was sent Ambassador from her Highnes, into the Countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, aswel to treat with the new Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like manner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decaied trade of our English men there. Who notwithstanding at his first arriuall at the Mosko, founde some partes of harde entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors, concerning the late nauall victorie, which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceaued against the priuiledged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the ende obtained of the Emperour many good and equall conditions, and was courteously and honorably dismissed by him. The principall pointes which he intreated of, and were granted vnto him by the said Emperour, were these:

1 A continuation of league and amitie, betweene hir Highnes, and the saide Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, in like manner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former priuiledges of the companie of our English Merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principall pointes, with diuers necessarie additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those Countries hereafter,

hereafter, viz. That the ſtate of the priuiledge granted before in the names of ſome priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the ſame granted by the name and ſtile of their incorporation, viz. To the fellowſhip of Engliſh Merchants, for the diſcouerie of newe trades.

3 That vpon euery ſurmiſe and light quarrell, the ſaid priuiledge be not reuoked, and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iuſtice ſhall be adminiſtred to the ſaid companie, and their Agent without delay, vpon ſuch as ſhall offer them any diſpite or iniurie, or ſhall exact or impoſe vppon them any paiment, taxation, or impoſition whatſoeuer, contrarie to the freedome of the ſaid grant.

5 That the goods and commodities of the ſaid companie, be not forcibly taken, as before time they haue bene, by the Emperours officers, or people of authoritie, either for the vſe of the ſaid Emperour, or of his officers. But in caſe they haue neede of the ſaid commodities, the ſame to be taken at reaſonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the ſaid companie be not charged hereafter with the anſwering of ſuch debts as are made by any Engliſh man, not being of the ſocietie.

7 That the Emperours authorized people, ſhall not hereafter repute any Engliſh man reſiant in that Countrey, to be any factor, ſeruant, or dealer in the ſaid companies affaires, but ſuch as the Agent ſhall enregiſter by name, within the offices where cuſtome is entred in all ſuch places of the land, where the ſaid companie haue reſidencies to traffike.

8 That the names of ſuch as ſhall ſo be enregiſtred, be no longer continued in recorde, nor themſelues reputed as factors or dealers, for the ſaid companie, then the Agent ſhal thinke good. But in caſe the ſaid Agent in his diſcretion ſhall thinke meete to ſtrike out of the regiſter any name of ſuch as haue bene emploied in the companies ſeruice, the ſaide perſon to be held as priuate, and whoſe acte in bargaining or otherwiſe, ſhall not charge the ſaide Companie.

9 That if any Engliſh man within the Countrey of Ruſſia, be ſuſpected for any notorious crime, as fellonie, treaſon, the ſame be not ſtraite waies ſet vppon the Pudkey, nor otherwiſe tormented, till ſuch time as he ſhall be conuicted by plaine and euident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be ſent ouer to the Queene of England.

10 That the ſaid priuiledge, with the additions, ſhall be publiſhed in all Townes and partes of the Emperours dominions, where the ſaid companie haue traffike.

11 That the ſaid companie ſhall be permitted to vſe a ſole trade through the Emperours Countries, by the riuer Volga, into Media, Perſia, Bogharia, and the other the Eaſt Countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the ſaide companie, the ſumme of 23553. Markes of debt, made by certaine of their factors for the ſaid companie, for paiment wherof, their whole ſtocke was in danger of arreſt, by publike authoritie: Further alſo 2140. Rubbles for cuſtome and houſrent, he obtained a rebatement of ſeuenteene thouſand, eleuen hundred, fifty & three Markes of the ſaid debt.

The ſaid Ambaſſador Maſter Giles Fletcher, as I vnderſtand, hath written a booke, intituled, Of the Ruſſe Common wealth, containing:

Firſt, a Coſmographicall deſcription of the Countrey, which hath theſe Chapters.

1 Of the length and breadth of the Countrey of Ruſſia, with the names of the ſhires.

2 Of the ſoile and climat.

3 Of the natiue commodities of the Countrey.

Secondly a deſcription of their pollicie, contained in theſe Chapters, viz.

1 Of the conſtitution or ſtate of the Ruſſe Common wealth.

2 Of their Parliaments, and manner of holding them.

3 Of the Ruſſe Nobilitie, and meanes, whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion, agreeable to that ſtate.

4 Of the manner of gouerning their Prouinces or Shires.

5 Of the Emperours priuie Counſell.

6 Of the Emperours cuſtomes, and their reuenues, with the practiſes for the increaſe of them.

7 Of the Ruſſe Communaltie, and their condition.

8 Of their publike iuſtice, and manner of proceeding therein.

9 Of the Emperours forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their ſalarie or pay.

10 Of their manner of muſtering, armour, and prouiſion for victuall.

11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall diſcipline.
12 Of their Colonies, and pollicie in maintaining their purchaſes by conqueſt.
13 Of their Borderers, with whome they haue moſt to doe in warre and peace.
14 Of their Church offices and degrees.
15 Of their Liturgie, or forme of Church ſeruice.
16 Of their manner of adminiſtring the Sacraments.
17 Of the doctrine of the Ruſſe Church.
18 Of the manner of ſolemnizing their marriages.
19 Of the other ceremonies of the Ruſſe Church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behauiour of the Ruſſe, containing theſe Chapters.

1 Of the Emperours houſhold Officers, and order of his houſe.
2 Of the priuate behauiour and manner of the Ruſſe people.

The booke it ſelfe he thought not good, for diuers conſiderations, to make publike at this time.

A teſtimonie of the Northeaſterne diſcouerie, made by the Engliſh, *and of the profite that may ariſe by purſuing the ſame: taken out* of the ſecond volume of nauigations, and voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Coſmographer, Maſter Iohn Baptiſta Ramuſius, Secretarie to the ſtate of Venice. Written in Italian, in the yeere, 1557.

Alla parte poi di ſotto la noſtra Tramontana, che chiaſcuno ſcrittore & Coſmographo di queſti & de paſſati tempi fin'hora vi ha meſſo & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verſo il Polo: ſopra queſto mappa-mondo all' incontro ſi uede che la terra và ſolamente vn poco ſopra la Norvega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Leuante nel paeſe della Moſcouia & Roſſia, & và diritto al Cataio. Et che cio ſia la verità, le nauigationi che hanno fatte gl' Ingleſi con le loro naui, volendo andare à ſcoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Seſto d'Inghilterra, queſti anni paſſati, ne poſſono far vera teſtimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moſcouia, doue trouarono allhora regnare Giouanni Vaſſiliuich Imperatore della Roſſia & gran Duca di Moſcouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandiſſime carezze, hanno trouato quel mare eſſere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual nauigatione (ancor che con l'eſito fin hora non ſia ſtata bene inteſa) ſe col ſpeſſo frequentarla & col lungo vſo & cognitione di que' mari ſi continuerà, è per fare grandiſſima mutatione & riuolgimento nelle coſe di queſta noſtra parte del mondo.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

MOreouer (hauing before ſpoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Mappe of Paulus Venetus) on that part ſubiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Coſmographer of theſe, and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen ſea, and that the lande ſtretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrariwiſe, in this Mappe is to be ſeene, that the land extendeth onely a little aboue Norway, and Suethland, and then turning it ſelfe, trendeth afterwards towards the Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, vnto the Countrey of Moſcouie, and Ruſſia, & ſtretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the nauigations which the Engliſhmen haue of late made intending to diſcouer Cathay, in the time of Edward the ſixt, King of England, are very ſufficient witneſſes. For in the middes of their voyage, lighting by chance vpon the coaſt of Moſcouie (where they found then raigning Iohn Vaſiliwich, Emperour of Ruſſia, and great Duke of Moſcouia, who after he had to his great delight, and admiration, ſeene the Engliſhmen, entertained them with exceeding great curteſies) founde this Sea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which nauigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet throughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the ſame, and by long vſe and knowledge of thoſe ſeas, it be continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change, and reuolution, in the ſtate of this our part of the world.

The

The teſtimonie of Gerardus Mercator, in his laſt large Mappe *of Europe, touching the notable diſcoueries of the Engliſh, made* of Moſcouie by the Northeaſt.

MAgnam occaſionem certámque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappię, Moſcouiæque iuxta cœli ſitum, mundique plagas digeſta habet. Exacta etiam vrbis Moſcuæ latitudo ab Anglis obſeruata, interiorum Regionum emendatiùs deſcribendarum infallibilem legem præſcripſit. Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putaui tabulam hanc caſtigatiorem non reddere.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

THe moſt famous nauigation of the Engliſhmen by the northeaſt ſea, hath offred vnto me a great occaſion, and certaine direction, for the reformation of the Mappe of Europe: which diſcouerie hath the northerne parts of Finmarke, Lapland, and Moſcouie, laide out according to the iuſt eleuation, and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obſeruation of the latitude of the citie of Moſco, made by the foreſaid Engliſhmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the ſituation of the inland Countries: which notable helpes being miniſtred vnto me, I thought it my dutie to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect, then hitherto it hath bene publiſhed.

Another teſtimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus, concerning *the ſame nauigation, and diſcouerie, in his preface prefixed before Oſorius de rebus geſtis Emanuelis Regis Portugalliæ*, written about the yeere, 1574.

AT ne omnis, vnis Hiſpanis, Oceani maris gloria totáque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moſcouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginti plus minùs illuſtrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moſcouitarum, Naruæque Liuoniæ excluſi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchię, Lappiæ, Scricfinniæ, Biarmiæque: illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltrà Septuageſſimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum ſibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ poſteà non ſine tamen cum ijſdem Britannis velitatione ſunt ſecuti. Eo vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineáſque veſtes propè detritas, omníſque generis minutiores merces, ad vſum, cultúmque corporis hominum vtriuſque ſexus, veluti lintea & byſſea cingula, periſcelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus ſexcenta. A Moſchis autem pelles omnis generis pretioſas adferunt, & Salmones ſalitos, fumóque duratos.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

BVt leaſt all, and the whole glorie of diſcouering the Ocean ſea, ſhould be aſcribed to the Spaniards, the Engliſh men about 20. yeeres paſt, by a newe nauigation into Moſcouie, diſcouered the northeaſt parts. For they by reaſon of the warres of Swethland, being hindred from the traffike of the Moſcouites, and of the Narue in Lyffland, opened a paſſage for themſelues by the Ocean ſea, beyond the northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their courſe on the one ſide the coaſts of Norway, Finmarke, Lapland, Scrikfine, and Biarmia. On the other ſide the coaſt of Groneland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterward entred into, but not without ſome conflict with the Engliſh. They carry thither olde plate, and courſe linnen cloth, and all kind of ſmall mercerie wares, ſeruing for the apparelling of men, and women, as linnen, and ſilke girdles, garters, purſes, knines, and many ſuch like things. And they bring away from the Moſcouites, all kind of pretious furres, and Salmons ſalted, and dried in the ſmoke.

The ende of the ſecond part.

THE THIRD AND LAST PART OF THE principall Nauigations and Diſcoueries of the Engliſh nation

made to the Weſt, Northweſt, and Southweſt parts of the world, with the Letters, Priuileges, Diſcourſes, Obſeruations, and other neceſſarie thinges concerning the ſame.

The voyage of Madoc the ſonne of Owen Guyneth Prince of Northwales, to the Weſt Indies, in the yeere 1170: taken out of the hiſtorie of *Wales, lately publiſhed by M. Dauid Powel Doctor of Diuinitie.*

After the death of Owen Gwyneth, his ſonnes fell at debate who ſhould inherit after him: for the eldeſt ſonne borne in matrimony, Edward or Iorwerth Drwydion, was counted vnmeet to gouerne, becauſe of the maime vpon his face: and Howell that tooke vpon him all the rule was a baſe ſonne, begotten vpon an Iriſh woman. Therefore Dauid gathered all the power he could, and came againſt Howell, and fighting with him ſlew him, & afterwards inioyed quietly the whole land of Northwales, vntill his brother Iorwerths ſonne came to age. Madoc another of Owen Gwyneth his ſonnes left the land in contention betwixt his brethren, & prepared certaine ſhips, with men and munition, and ſought aduentures by ſeas, ſailing Weſt, and leauing the coaſt of Ireland ſo farre North, that he came to a land vnknowen, where he ſaw many ſtrange things. Madoc the ſonne of Owen Gwineth.

This land muſt needs be ſome part of that countrey of which the Spanyards affirme themſelues to be the firſt finders ſince Hannoes time. For by reaſon, and order of Coſmographie, this land to the which Madoc came, muſt needs be ſome part of Noua Hiſpania, or Florida. Whereupon it is manifeſt that that country was long before by Britaines diſcouered, afore either Columbus or Americus Veſputius led any Spanyards thither. Of the voyage and returne of this Madoc there be many fables fained, as the common people do vſe in diſtance of place & length of time rather to augment then to diminiſh, but ſure it is that there he was. And after he had returned home, and declared the pleaſant and fruitfull countryes that he had ſeene without inhabitants, and vpon the contrary part, for what barren & wilde ground his brethren and nephues did murther one another, he prepared a number of ſhippes, & got with him ſuch men and women as were deſirous to liue in quietneſſe, and taking leaue of his friends, tooke his iourney thitherward againe. Therfore it is to be preſuppoſed, that he & his people inhabited part of thoſe countryes: for it appeareth by Francis Lopez de Gomara, that in Acuzamil and other places the people honored the croſſe. Whereby it may be gathered that Chriſtians had beene there before the comming of the Spanyards. But becauſe this people were not many, they followed the maners of the land they came vnto, and vſed the language they found there. Hunt. Lloyd. Gomara lib. 2. cap. 16.

This Madoc arriuing in that Weſterne countrey, vnto the which he came in the yeere 1170, left moſt of his people there, and returning backe for more of his owne nation, acquaintance and friends, to inhabit that fayre and large countrey, went thither againe with ten ſailes, as I finde noted by Gutyn Owen. I am of opinion that the land wherunto he came, was ſome part of Mexico. The cauſes which make me to thinke ſo be theſe. M. Powels addition.

1 The common report of the inhabitants of that country, which affirme that their rulers deſcended from a ſtrange nation that came thither from a farre countrey. Which thing is confeſſed by

Mutezuma king of that country, in an oration made for quieting of his people, at his submission to the king of Castile, Hernando Cortes being then present, which is laid downe in the Spanish chronicles of the conquest of the West Indies.

Dau. Ingram. Sir Humfrey Gilberts discouerie.

2 The British wordes, and names of places vsed in that countrey, euen to this day, doe argue the same, as when they talke together, they vse this word Gwrando, which is, Hearken or Listen. Also they haue a certaine bird with a white head, which they call Penguyn, that is, White head, but the Island of Corroeso, the riuer of Guyndor, and the white rocke of Penguyn, which be all British or Welsh words, do manifestly shew that it was that countrey which Madoc and his people inhabited.

Carmina Meredith filij Rhesi mentionem facientia de Madoco *filio Oweni Gwynedd, & de sua nauigatione in terras incognitas.*

Vixit hic Meredith circiter Annum Domini 1477.

These verses I receiued of my learned friend M. William Camden.

MAdoc wyf, mwyedic wedd,
Iawn genau, Owen Gwynedd:
Ni fynnum dir, fy enaid oedd
Na da mawr, ond y moroedd.

¶ *The same in English.*

MAdoc I am the sonne of Owen Gwynedd
With stature large, and comely grace adorned:
No lands at home nor store of wealth me please,
My minde was whole to search the Ocean seas.

The offer of the discouerie of the West Indies by Christopher *Columbus to King Henrie the seuenth in the yeere* 1488 *the* 13 *of* Februarie: with the Kings acceptation of the offer, and the cause whereupon he was depriued of the same, recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the historie of Don Fernand Columbus of the life and deeds of his Father Christopher Columbus.

CHristophoro Colon temendo, se parimente i Re di Castiglia non assentissero alla sua impresa, non gli bisognasse proporla di nuouo à qualche altro principe, & cosi in cio passasse lungo tempo: mandò in Inghilterra vn suo fratello, che haueua appresso di se, chiamato Bartholomeo Colon: il qual quantunque non hauesse lettere Latine, era però huomo prattico, & giudicioso nelle cose del mare, & sapea molto bene far carte da nauigare, & sphere, & altri instrumenti di quella professione, come dal suo fratello era instrutto. Partito adunque Bartholomeo Colon per Inghilterra, volle la sua sorte, che desse in man di corsali, i quali lo spogliarono insieme con gli altri della sua naue. Per la qual cosa, & per la sua pouertà & infirmità, che in cosi diuerse terre lo assalirono crudelmente, prolungo per gran tempo la sua ambasciata, fin che, aquistata vn poco di faculta con le carte, ch'ei fabricaua, cominciò a far pratiche co'il Re Enrico settimo, padre di Enrico ottauo, che al presente regna: a cui appresentò un mappamondo, nel quale erano scritti questi versi, che fra le sue scriture Io trouai, & da me saranno qui posti piu tosto per l'antichità, che per la loro eleganza.

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit,
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius, atque
Isidorus: non vna tamen sententia cuique.
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

Et piu di sotto diceua.

Pro

Pro authore ſiue pictore.

Ianua cui patriæ eſt nomen, cui Bartholomæus
Columbus de terra rubra, opus edidit iſtud,
Londonijs anno Domini 1480 atque inſuper anno,
Octauo decimaque die cùm tertia menſis
Februarij. Laudes Chriſto cantentur abundè.

Et, percioche auuertirà alcuno, che dice Columbus de terra rubra, dico, che medeſimamente lo vidi alcune ſottoſcrittroni dell' Ammiraglio, primo che acquiſtaſſe lo ſtato, ou'egli ſi ſotto ſcriueua, Columbus de terra rubra. Ma, tornando al Re d'Inghilterra, dico, che, da lui il mappamondo veduto, & cio che l'Ammiraglio gli offerina, con allegro volto accettò la ſua offerta, & mandolo a chiamare. Ma, percioche Dio l'haueua per Caſtiglia ſerbata, già l'Ammiraglio in quel tempo era andato, & tornato con la vittoria della ſua impreſa, ſecondo che per ordine ſi racconterà. Laſciarò hora di raccontar ciò, che Bartolomeo Colon haueua negociato in Inghilterra, & tornarò all Ammiraglio, &c.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

CHriſtopher Columbus fearing leaſt if the king of Caſtile in like maner (as the king of Portingall had done) ſhould not condeſcend vnto his enterpriſe, he ſhould be inforced to offer the ſame againe to ſome other prince, and ſo much time ſhould be ſpent therin, ſent into England a certaine brother of his which he had with him, whoſe name was Bartholomew Columbus, who, albeit he had not the Latine tongue, yet neuertheleſſe was a man of experience and ſkilfull in ſea cauſes, and could very well make ſea cards & globes, and other inſtruments belonging to that profeſſion, as he was inſtructed by his brother. Wherfore after that Bartholomew Columbus was departed for England, his lucke was to fall into the hands of pirats, which ſpoiled him with the reſt of them which were in the ſhip which he went in. Upon which occaſion, and by reaſon of his pouerty and ſickneſſe which cruelly aſſaulted him in a country ſo far diſtant from his friends, he deferred his ambaſſage for a long while, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten ſomewhat handſome about him with making of ſea cards. At length he began to deale with king Henry the ſeuenth the father of Henry the eight, which reigneth at this preſent: vnto whom he preſented a mappe of the world, wherein theſe verſes were written, which I found among his papers: and I will heere ſet them downe, rather for their antiquity then for their goodneſſe.

Thou which deſireſt eaſily the coſts of lands to know,
This comely mappe right learnedly the ſame to thee will ſhow:
Which Strabo, Plinie, Ptolomew and Iſodore maintaine:
Yet for all that they do not all in one accord remaine.
Heere alſo is ſet downe the late diſcouered burning Zone
By Portingalles, vnto the world which whilom was vnknowne,
Wherof the knowledge now at length through all the world is blowne.

And a little vnder he added.

For the author or the drawer.

He, whoſe deare natiue ſoyle height ſtately Genua,
Euen he whoſe name is Bartholomew Colon de Terra rubra,
The yeere of grace a thouſand and foure hundred and foureſcore
And eight, and on the thirteenth day of Februarij more,
In London publiſhed this worke. To Chriſt all laud therefore.

And beauſe ſome peraduenture may obſerue, that he calleth himſelfe Columbus de Terra rubra, I ſay, that in like maner I haue ſeene ſome ſubſcriptions of my father Chriſtopher Columbus, before he had the degree of Admirall, wherin he ſigned his name thus, Columbus de Terra rubra. But to returne to the king of England, I ſay, that after he had ſeene the map, & that which my father Chriſtopher Columbus offered vnto him, he accepted the offer with ioyfull countenance, and ſent to call him into England. But becauſe God had reſerued the ſaid offer for Caſtile, Columbus was gone in the meane ſpace, and alſo returned with the perfourmance of his enterpriſe, as heerafter in order ſhalbe rehearſed. Now will I leaue off from making any farther mention of that which Bartholomew Colon had negotiated in England, and I will returne vnto the Admirall, &c.

King Henrie the ſeuenth his acceptation of Columbus offer.

Another testimony taken out of the 60 chapter of the foresayd *historie of Ferdinando Columbus, concerning the offer that* Bartholomew Columbus made to king Henrie the seuenth on the behalfe of his brother Christopher.

Ornato adunque l'Ammiraglio dallo scoprimento di Cuba & di Giamaica, trouo nella Spagnuola Bartolomeo Colon suo fratello, quello, che era già andato a trattare accordo col Re d'Inghilterra sopra lo scoprimento delle Indie, come di sopra habiam detto. Questo poi, ritornandosene verso Castiglia con capitoli conceduti, hauena inteso a Parigi dal re Carlo di Francia, l'Ammiraglio suo fratello hauer gia scoperte l'Indie: perche gli souenne per poter far il Viaggio di cento scudi. Et, Auenga che per cotal nuoua egli si fosse molto affrettato, per arriuar l'Ammiraglio in Spagna, quando non dineno giunse a Siuiglia, egli era gia tornato alle Indie co' 17 nauigli. Perche, per esseguir quanto ei gli hauea lasciato, di subito al principio dell'anno del 1494 sen'andò a' Re Catholici, menando seco Don diego Colon, mio fratello, & me ancora, accioche seruissimo di paggi al serenissimo prencipe Don Giouanni, il qual viua in gloria, si come hauea commandato la Catholica Reina donna Isabella, che alhora era in Vagliadolid. Tosto adunque che noi gumgemmo, i Re chiamarono don Bartholomeo & Mandaronlo alla Spagnuola con tre naui, &c.

¶ *The same in English.*

Christopher Columbus the Admirall being returned from the discouery of Cuba and Iamayca, found in Hispaniola his brother Bartholomew Columbus, who before had beene sent to intreat of an agreement with the king of England for the discouerie of the Indies, as we haue said before. This Bartholomew therefore returning vnto Castile, with the capitulations granted by the king of England to his brother, vnderstoode at Paris by Charles the king of France, that the Admirall his brother, had already performed that discouery: and gaue him 100 crownes towards his voyage. And albeit he made great haste vpon this good newes to meet with the Admirall in Spaine, yet at his comming to Siuil his brother was already returned to the Indies, with 17 saile of shippes. Wherefore to fulfill that which he had left him in charge, in the beginning of the yeere 1494 he repayred to the Catholike princes, taking with him Diego Colon my brother and me also, which were to be preferred as pages to the most excellent prince Don Iohn, who now is with God, according to the commandement of the Catholike Queene lady Isabell, which was then in Validolid. As soone therefore as we came to the Court, the princes called for Don Bartholomew, and sent him to Hispaniola with three shippes, &c.

The letters patents of king Henry the seuenth granted vnto *Iohn Cabot and his three sonnes, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sancius,* for the discouerie of new and vnknowne lands.

HEnricus Dei gratia rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ peruenerint, salutem.

Notum sit & manifestum, quòd dedimus & concessimus, ac per præsentes damus & concedimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, dilectis nobis Ioanni Caboto ciui Venetiarum, Lodouico, Sebastiano, & Sancio, filijs dicti Ioannis, & eorum ac cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, plenam ac liberam authoritatem, facultatem & potestatem nauigandi ad omnes partes, regiones, & sinus maris orientalis, occidentalis, & septentrionalis, sub banneris, vexillis, & insignijs nostris, cum quinque nauibus siue nauigijs, cuiuscunq; portituræ & qualitatis existant, & cum tot & tantis nautis & hominibus, quot & quantos in dictis nauibus secum ducere voluerint, suis & eorum proprijs sumptibus & expensis, ad inueniendum, discooperiendum, & inuestigandum quascũque insulas, patrias, regiones siue prouincias gentilium & infidelium quorumcunque, in quacunque parte mundi positas, quæ Christianis omnibus ante hæc tempora fuerint incognitæ. Concessimus etiam eisdem & eorum cuilibet, eorumq; & cuiuslibet eorum hæredibus & deputatis, ac licentiam dedimus ad affigendum prędictas banneras nostras & insignia in quacunque villa, oppido, castro, insula seu terra firma à se nouiter inuentis. Et quòd prænominatus Ioannes, & filij eiusdem, seu hæredes & eorum deputati, quascunque huiusmodi villas, castra, oppida,

pida, & inſulas à ſe inuentas, quæ ſubiugari, occupari, poſſideri poſſint, ſubiugare, occupare, poſſidere valeant tanquam vaſalli noſtri,& gubernatores,locatenentes,& deputati eorundem, dominium,titulum & iuriſdictionem earundem villarum, caſtrorum,opidorum,inſularum, ac terræ firmæ ſic inuentorum nobis acquirendo. Ita tamen, vt ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis,commodis,lucris, & obuentionibus ex huiuſmodi nauigatione prouenientibus, præfatus Iohannes, & filij ac hæredes, & eorum deputati, teneantur & ſint obligati nobis pro omni viagio ſuo, toties quoties ad portum noſtrum Briſtolliæ applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur & ſint aſtricti) deductis omnibus ſumptibus & impenſis neceſſarijs per eoſdem factis,quintam partem capitalis lucri facti,ſiue in mercibus,ſiue in pecunijs perſoluere: Dantes nos & concedentes eiſdem ſuiſq; hæredibus & deputatis,vt ab omni ſolutione cuſtumarum omnium & ſingulorum bonorum & mercium, quas ſecum reportarint ab illis locis ſic nouiter inuentis, liberi ſint & immunes. Et inſuper dedimus & conceſſimus eiſdem ac ſuis hæredibus & deputatis,quòd terræ omnes firmæ,inſulæ,villæ,oppida,caſtra,& loca quæcunq; a ſe inuenta, quotquot ab eis inueniri contigerit, non poſſint ab alijs quibuſuis noſtris ſubditis frequentari ſeu viſitari, abſque licentia prædictorum Ioannis & eius filiorum ſuorumque deputatorum, ſub pœna amiſſionis tam nauium quàm bonorum omnium quorumcunque ad ea loca ſic inuenta nauigare præſumentium. Volentes & ſtrictiſſimè mandantes omnibus & ſingulis noſtris ſubditis, tam in terra quàm in mari conſtitutis, vt præfato Ioanni,& eius filijs ac deputatis,bonam aſſiſtentiam faciant,& tam in armandis nauibus ſeu nauigijs,quàm in prouiſione quietatus & victualium pro ſua pecunia emendorum, atque aliarum omnium rerum ſibi prouidendarum pro dicta nauigatione ſumenda ſuos omnes fauores & auxilia impertiant. In cuius rei teſtimonium has literas noſtras fieri fecimus patentes. Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmo- Ann. 1495.
naſterium quinto die Martij anno regni noſtri vndecimo.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

HEnry by the grace of God, King of England & France,and lord of Ireland, to all to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting.

Be it knowne that we haue giuen and granted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and grant for vs and our heyres,to our welbeloued John Cabot citizen of Uenice,to Lewis,Sebaſtian & Santius ſonnes of the ſaid John,and to the heyres of them,and euery of them,and their deputies,full & free authority,leaue,and power to ſaile to all parts, countries, and ſeas of the Eaſt,of the Weſt,and of the North,vnder our banners and enſignes,with fiue ſhips of what burthen or quantity ſoeuer they be, and as many mariners or men as they will haue with them in the ſayd ſhips, vpon their owne proper coſts and charges,to ſeeke out,diſcouer,and finde whatſoeuer iſles,countries,regions or prouinces of the heathen and infidels whatſoeuer they be, and in what part of the world ſoeuer they be, which before this time haue beene vnknowen to all Chriſtians: we haue granted to them,and alſo to euery of them,the heyres of them,and euery of them,and their deputies,and haue giuen them licence to ſet vp our banners and enſignes in euery village,towne,caſtle,iſle,or maine land of them newly found. And that the aforeſaid John and his ſonnes,or their heyres and aſſignes may ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe all ſuch townes, cities, caſtles and iſles of them found, which they can ſubdue, occupy and poſſeſſe, as our vaſſals, and lieutenants, getting vnto vs the rule, title, and iuriſdiction of the ſame villages,townes,caſtles,and firme land ſo found.

Yet ſo that the aforeſaid John, and his ſonnes and heyres,and their deputies, be holden & bounden of all the fruits, profits, gaines, and commodities growing of ſuch nauigation, for euery their voyage, as often as they ſhall arriue at our port of Briſtoll (at the which port they ſhall be bound and holden only to arriue) all maner of neceſſary coſts and charges by them made, being deducted, to pay vnto vs in wares or money the fift part of the capitall gaine ſo gotten. We giuing & granting vnto them and to their heyres and deputies, that they ſhall be free from all paying of cuſtomes of all and ſingular ſuch merchandize as they ſhall bring with them from thoſe places ſo newlie found.

And moreouer, wee haue giuen and graunted to them, their heyres and deputies, that all the firme landes, iſles, villages, townes, caſtles and places whatſoeuer they be that they ſhall chance to finde, may not of any other of our ſubiectes bee frequented or viſited without the licence of the foreſayd John and his ſonnes, and their deputies, vnder payne of forfeiture as well of their ſhips, as of all and ſingular goods of all them that ſhall preſume to ſayle to thoſe places ſo found. Willing, and moſt ſtraightly commanding all and ſingular our ſubiects as well on land as on ſea, appointed officers, to giue good aſſiſtance to the aforeſaid John, and his ſonnes and deputies,

and that as well in arming and furnishing theyr shippes or vessels, as in prouision of quietnesse, and in buying of victualles for theyr money, and all other things by them to be prouided necessarie for the said nauigation, they do giue them all theyr helpe and fauour. In witnesse wherof we haue caused to be made these our letters patents. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the fift day of March, in the eleuenth yeere of our reigne.

Billa signata Anno 13 Henrici 7.

A record of the rolls touching the voyage of John Cabot & Sebastian his sonne.

REx tertio die Februarij, anno 13, licentiam dedit Ioani Caboto, quod ipse capere possit sex naues Anglicanas, in aliquo portu, siue portibus regni Angliæ, ita quod sint de portagio 200 doliorum, vel subtus, cum apparatu requisito,& quod recipere possit in dictas naues omnes tales magistros, marinarios, & subditos regis, qui cum eo exire voluerint, &c.

¶ *The same in English.*

THe king vpon the third day of Febuary, in the 13 yeere of his reigne, gaue licence to John Cabot to take sixe English shippes in any hauen or hauens of the realme of England, being of the burden of 200 tunnes, or vnder, with all necessary furniture, and to take also into the sayde shippes, all such maisters, mariners, and subiects of the king as willingly will go with him, &c.

An extract taken out of the mappe of Sebastian Cabot, cut by *Clement Adams, concerning his discouerie of the VVest Indias,* which is to be seene in her Maiesties priuie gallerie at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants houses.

ANno Domini 1494, Ioannes Cabotus venetus,& Sebastianus illius filius eam terram fecerunt peruiam, quam nullus priùs adire ausus fuisset, die 24 Iunij, circiter horam quintam bene manè. Hanc autem appellauit Terram Primùm visam, credo quod ex mari in eam partem primùm oculos iniecerat. Nam quæ ex aduerso sita est insula, eam appellauit insulam D. Ioannis, hac opinor ratione, quòd aperta fuit eo die qui est sacer D. Ioanni Baptistæ: Huius incolæ pelles animalium, exuuiasq; feratum pro indumentis habent, easq; tanti faciunt, quanti nos vestes precioſissimas. Cùm bellum gerunt, vtuntur arcu sagittis, hastis, spiculis, clauis ligneis & fundis. Tellus sterilis est, neq; vllos fructus affert, ex quo fit, vt leonibus albo colore, & ceruis inusitatæ apud nos magnitudinis referta sit: piscibus abundat, ijsq; sanè magnis, quales sunt lupi, & quos salmones vulgus appellat, soleæ autem reperiuntur tam longæ, vt vlnæ mensuram excedant. Imprimis autem magna est copia eorum piscium, quos vulgari sermone vocant Bacallaos. Gignuntur in ea insula accipitres ita nigri, vt coruorum similitudinem mirum in modum exprimant, perdices autem & aquilæ sunt nigri coloris.

¶ *The same in English.*

IN the yeere of our Lord 1494, John Cabot a Uenetian, & his sonne Sebastian (with an English fleet set out frõ Bristoll) discouered that land which no man before that time had attempted, on the 24 of June, about fiue of the clocke early in the morning. This land he called Prima vista, that is to say, First seene, because as I suppose it was that part whereof they had the first sight from sea. That Island which lyeth out before the land, he called the Island of S. John, vpon this occasion, as I thinke, because it was discouered vpon the day of John the Baptist. The inhabitants of this Island vse to weare beasts skinnes, and haue them in as great estimation, as we haue our finest garments. In theyr wars they vse bowes, arrowes, pikes, darts, woodden clubs, & slings. The soile is barren in some places, & yeeldeth little fruit, but it is full of white lions, & stags farre greater then ours. It yeeldeth plentie of fish, and those very great, as seales, and those which commonly we call salmons: there are soles also aboue a yard in length: but especially there is great abundance of that kinde of fish which the Saluages call Baccalaos. In the same Island also there breed hawkes, but they are so blacke, that they are very like to rauens, as also theyr partridges, & eagles, which are in like sort blacke.

A discourse of Sebastian Cabot touching his discouerie of part of the VVest India out of England in the time of king Henry the seuenth, vsed to Galeacius Butrigarius the Popes Legate in Spaine, and reported by the sayd Legate in this sort.

This discourse is taken out of the second volume of voiages of Baptista Ramusius.

DOe you not vnderstand said hee (speaking to certaine Gentlemen of Venice) how to passe to India toward the Northwest winde, as did of late a citizen of Venice, so valiant a man, and so well practised in all things pertaining to Nauigations, and the science of Cosmographie, that at this present hee hath not his like in Spaine, insomuch that for his vertues he is preferred aboue all other Pilots that saile to the West Indies, who may not passe thither without his licence, and is therefore called Piloto Maggiore (that is) the grand Pilot. And when we said that wee knew him not, he proceeded, saying, that being certaine yeeres in the citie of Siuil, and desirous to haue some knowledge of the Nauigations of the Spaniards, it was told him that there was in the citie a valiant man, a Venetian borne, named Sebastian Cabot, who had the charge of those things, being an expert man in that science, and one that could make Cardes for the Sea with his owne hand, and that by this report, seeking his acquaintance, he found him a very gentle person, who intertained him friendly, and shewed him many things, and among other a large mappe of the world, with certaine particuler nauigations, as well of the Portingals, as of the Spaniards, and that he spake further vnto him in this effect.

When my father departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandises, he tooke me with him to the citie of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing neuertheless some knowledge of letters of humanitie, and of the Sphere. And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that Don Christofer Colonus Genuese, had discouered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of king Henry the 7. who then raigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to bee a thing more diuine then humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer knowen before, by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest winde, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commaunded two Caruels to bee furnished with all things appertaining to the voiage, which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496 in the beginning of Sommer. I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to find any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Neuertheless, sailing along by the coast to see if I could find any gulfe that turned, I found the land still continent to the 56. deg. vnder our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to find the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land toward the Equinoctiall (euer with intent to find the said passage to India) and came to that part of this firme land which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage. Whereupon, I went into Spaine to the catholike king, and Queene Elizabeth, which being aduertised what I had done, intertained me, and at their charges furnished certaine ships, wherewith they caused me to saile to discouer the coasts of Brasile, where I found an exceeding great and large riuer named at this present, Rio de la plata, that is, the riuer of siluer, into the which I sailed and followed it into the firme land, more then sixe score leagues, finding it euery where very faire, and inhabited with infinite people, which with admiration came running daily to our ships. Into this riuer run so many other riuers, that it is in maner incredible. After this I made many other voiages, which I now pretermit, and waxing old, I giue my selfe to rest from such trauels, because there are now many yong and lustie Pilots and mariners of good experience, by whose forwardnesse I do reioyce in the fruit of my labours, and rest with the charge of this office, as you see.

The second voiage of Cabot to the land of Brasil, and Rio de plata.

The foresayd Baptista Ramusius in his Preface to the third volume of the Nauigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Cabot.

IN the latter part of this volume are put certaine relations of Iohn de Verarzana, a Florentine, and of a great captaine a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Iacques Cartier a Briton, who sailed vnto the land set in 50. degrees of latitude to the North, which is called New France, which lands hitherto are not throughly knowen, whither they doe ioyne with the firme land of Florida and Noua Hispania, or whether they be separated and deuided all by the Sea as Islands: and whether that by that way one may goe by sea vnto the countrey of Cathaia. As many yeeres past it was written vnto me by Sebastian Caboto our countrey man a Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the arte of Nauigation, and the knowledge of Cosmographie, who sailed along and beyond this land of New France, at the charges of king Henry the 7. king of England: and he aduertised me, that hauing sailed a long time West and by North, beyond those Islands vnto the latitude of 67. degrees and an halfe, vnder the North pole, and at the 11. day of June finding still the open sea without any maner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to haue passed on still the way to Cathaia, which is in the East, and would haue done it, if the mutinie of the shipmaster and mariners had not hindered him and made him to returne homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doeth yet still reserue this great enterprise for some great prince to discouer this voiage of Cathaia by this way, which for the bringing of the Spiceries from India into Europe, were the most easie and shortest of all other wayes hitherto found out. And surely this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other that can be imagined, to make his name great, and fame immortall, to all ages to come, farre more then can be done by any of all these great troubles and warres which daily are vsed in Europe among the miserable christian people.

Another testimonie of the voiage of Sebastian Cabot to the West and Northwest, taken out of the 6. chapter of the third Decade of Peter Martyr of Angleria.

SCrutatus est oras glaciales, Sebastianus quidam Cabotus genere Venetus, sed à parentibus in Britanniam insulam tendentibus (vti moris est Venetorum, qui commercij causa terrarum omnium sunt hospites) transportatus penè infans. Duo is sibi nauigia, propria pecunia in Britannia ipsa instruxit, & primò tendens cum hominibus tercentum ad Septentrionem donec etiam Iulio mense vastas repererit glaciales moles pelago natantes, & lucem ferè perpetuam, tellure tamen libera gelu liquefacto: quare coactus fuit, vti ait, vela vertere & occidentem sequi: tetenditq; tantum ad meridiem littore sese incuruante, vt Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus æquarit: ad occidentémq; profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam, à læua, longitudine graduum penè parem, habuerit. Is ea littora percurrēs, quæ Baccalaos appellauit, eosdem se reperisse aquarū, sed lenes delapsus ad Occidentem ait, quos Castellani, meridionales suas regiones adnauigantes, inueniunt. Ergò non modò verisimilius, sed necessario concludendum est, vastos inter vtrámq; ignotam hactenus tellurem iacere hiatus, qui viam præbeant aquis ab oriente cadentibus in Occidentem. Quas arbitror impulsu cælorum circulariter agi in gyrum circa terræ globum, non autem Demogorgone anhelante vomi, absorberiq; vt nonnulli senserunt, quod influxu, & refluxu forsan assentire daretur. Baccalaos, Cabotus ipse terras illas appellauit, eò quod in earū pelago tantam reperierit magnorum quorundam piscium, tynnos æmulantium, sic vocatorum ab indigenis, multitudinem, vt etiam illi interdum nauigia detardarent. Earum Regionum homines pellibus tantum coopertos reperiebat rationis haudquaquam expertes. Vrsorum inesse regionibus copiam ingentem refert, qui & ipsi piscibus vescantur. Inter densa namq; piscium illorum agmina sese immergunt vrsi, & singulos singuli complexos, vnguibúsque inter squammas immissis in terram raptant, & comedunt. Propterea minimè noxios hominibus visos esse ait. Orichalcū in plerísque locis se vidisse apud incolas prædicat. Familiarem habeo domi Cabotum ipsum, & contubernalem interdum. Vocatus namque ex Britannia à Rege nostro Catholico, post Henrici Maioris Britanniæ Regis mortem, concurialis noster est, expectátq; indies, vt nauigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturæ latens, iam tandem detegatur.

The

¶ The ſame in Engliſh.

THeſe Northſeas haue bene ſearched by one Sebaſtian Cabot, a Uenetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infant, his parents caried with them into England, hauing occaſion to reſort thither for trade of merchandiſe, as is the maner of the Uenetians to leaue no part of the world vnſearched to obtaine riches. He therefore furniſhed two ſhips in England at his owne charges, and firſt with 300. men, directed his courſe ſo farre towards the North pole, that euen in the moneth of Julie he found monſtrous heapes of ice ſwimming on the ſea, and in maner continuall day light, yet ſaw he the land in that tract free from ice, which had bene molten by the heat of the Sunne. Thus ſeeing ſuch heapes of ice before him, he was enforced to turne his ſailes and follow the Weſt, ſo coaſting ſtill by the ſhore, that hee was thereby brought ſo farre into the South, by reaſon of the land bending ſo much Southwards, that it was there almoſt equall in Latitude, with the ſea Fretum Herculeum, hauing the North pole elcuate in maner in the ſame degree. He ſailed likewiſe in this tract ſo farre towards the Weſt, ꝑ he had the Iſland of Cuba on his left hand, in maner in the ſame degree of longitude. As he trauelled by the coaſts of this great land, (which he named Baccalaos) he ſaith that hee found the like courſe of the waters toward the Weſt, but the ſame to runne more ſoftly and gently then the ſwift waters which the Spaniards found in their Nauigations Southward. Wherefore it is not onely more like to be true, but ought alſo of neceſſitie to be concluded that betweene both the lands hitherto vnknowen, there ſhould be certaine great open places whereby the waters ſhould thus continually paſſe from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt: which waters I ſuppoſe to be driuen about the globe of the earth by the inceſſant mouing and impulſion of the heauens, and not to bee ſwallowed vp and caſt vp againe by the breathing of Demogorgon, as ſome haue imagined, becauſe they ſee the ſeas by increaſe and decreaſe to ebbe and flowe. Sebaſtian Cabot himſelfe named thoſe lands Baccalaos, becauſe that in the Seas thereabout hee found ſo great multitudes of certaine bigge fiſhes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitaunts call Baccalaos) that they ſometime ſtaped his ſhips. He found alſo the people of thoſe regions couered with beaſtes ſkinnes, yet not without the vſe of reaſon. Hee alſo ſaieth there is great plentie of Beares in thoſe regions which vſe to eate fiſhe: for plunging themſelues into the water, where they perceiue a multitude of theſe fiſhes to lie, they faſten their clawes in their ſcales, and ſo draw them to land and eate them, ſo (as he ſaieth) the Beares being thus ſatiſfied with fiſh, are not noiſome to men. Hee declareth further, that in many places of theſe regions, he ſawe great plentie of Laton among the inhabitants. Cabot is my very friend, whom I vſe familiarlie, and delight to haue him ſometimes keepe me companie in mine owne houſe. For being called out of England by the commaundement of the Catholike king of Caſtile, after the death of king Henry the ſeuenth of that name, king of England, he was made one of our counſell and Aſſiſtants, as touching the affaires of the new Indies, looking for ſhips daily to bee furniſhed for him to diſcouer this hid ſecret of Nature.

The teſtimonie of Frauncis Lopez de Gomara a Spaniard, in the fourth chapter of the ſecond booke of his generall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies concerning the firſt diſcouerie of a great part of the Weſt Indies, to wit, from 58. to 38. degrees of latitude, by Sebaſtian Cabota out of England.

HE which brought moſt certaine newes of the countrey and people of Baccalaos, ſaith Gomara, was Sebaſtian Cabote a Uenetian, which rigged vp two ſhips at the coſt of king Henry the 7. of England, hauing great deſire to traffique for the ſpices as the Portingals did. Hee caried with him 300. men, and tooke the way towards Iſland from beyond the Cape of Labrador, vntill hee found himſelfe in 58. degrees and better. Hee made relation that in the moneth of July it was ſo cold, and the ice ſo great, that he durſt not paſſe any further: that the dayes were very long, in a maner without any night, and for that ſhort night that they had, it was very cleare. Cabos feeling the cold, turned towards the Weſt, refreſhing himſelfe at Baccalaos: and afterwards hee ſailed along the coaſt vnto 38. degrees, and from thence hee ſhaped his courſe to returne into England.

A note

A note of Sebastian Cabots first discouerie of part of the Indies taken out of the latter part of Robert Fabians Chronicle not hitherto printed, which is in the custodie of M. Iohn Stowe a diligent preseruer of Antiquities.

IN the 13. yeere of king Henry the 7. (by meanes of one Iohn Cabot a Venetian which made himselfe very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and Islands of the same, as by a Sea carde and other demonstrations reasonable he shewed) the king caused to man and victuall a ship at Bristow, to search for an Island, which he said he knew well was rich, and replenished with great commodities: Which ship thus manned and victualled at the kings cost, diuers merchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chiefe patron the sayd Venetian. And in the companie of the said ship, sailed also out of Bristow three or foure smal ships fraught with sleight and grosse merchandizes, as course cloth, caps, laces, points, and other trifles. And so departed from Bristow in the beginning of May, of whom in this Maiors time returned no tidings.

Of three sauages which Cabot brought home and presented vnto the king in the fourteenth yeere of his raigne, mentioned by the foresayd Robert Fabian.

THis yeere also were brought vnto the king three men taken in the New found Island that before I spake of, in William Purchas time being Maior: These were clothed in beasts skins, and did eate rawe flesh, and spake such speach, that no man could vnderstand them, and in their demeanor like to brute beasts, whom the king kept a time after. Of the which vpon two yeeres after, I sawe two apparelled after the maner of Englishmen in Westminster pallace, which that time I could not discerne from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were, but as for speach, I heard none of them vtter one word.

The voiage of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, about the eight yeere of king Henry the eight, which was the yeere, 1516. to Brasil, S. Domingo, and S. Iohn de porto ricco.

THat learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine epistle of his to the late duke of Northumberland, before a worke which hee translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553. called A treatise of the new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discouerie vndertaken out of England by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the eight yeere of king Henry the 8. of famous memorie, imputing the ouerthrow thereof vnto the cowardise and want of stomacke of the sayd Sir Thomas Pert, in maner followyng. If manly courage, saieth he, (like vnto that which hath bene seene and prooued in your grace as well in forraine realmes, as also in this our country) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soueraigne lord of noble memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine ships vnder the gouernance of Sebastian Cabot yet liuing, and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voiage tooke none effect, if, I say such manly courage, whereof we haue spoken, had not at that time bene wanting, it might happily haue come to passe, that that rich treasurie called Perularia, (which is now in Spaine in the citie of Siuil, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the Newfound land of Peru) might long since haue bene in the Tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme. Hereunto that also is to be referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayd king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527. by doctor Leigh his ambassador sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes be these. Now rest to bee discouered the North partes, the which it seemeth vnto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that alreadie you haue taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easilie and with so litle cost, labour & danger, be folowed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace haue made thereof a proofe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be none impediment: for there may be now prouided remedies for

This Sir Thomas Pert was Viceadmiral of England & dwelt in an house called Poplar at Blackwall.

Note.

things

things then lacked, and the inconueniences and lets remooued, that thē were cauſe your graces deſire tooke no full effect: which is, the courſes to be chaunged, and to follow the aforeſaid new courſes. And concerning the mariners, ſhips, and prouiſion, an order may be deuiſed and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto: by reaſon whereof, and by Gods grace no doubt your purpoſe ſhall take effect. And whereas in the aforeſaid wordes M. Robert Thorne ſaith, that he would haue the old courſes to be chaunged, and the new courſes (to the North) to be followed: It may plainly bee gathered that the former voyage whereof twiſe or thriſe he maketh mention, wherein it is like that ſir Thomas Pert and Sebaſtian Cabot were ſet forth by the king, was made toward Braſil and the South parts. Moreouer it ſeemeth that Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, a Spaniſh famous writer, alludeth vnto the ſaid voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and naturall hiſtorie of the Weſt Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foreſaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are theſe as I find them tranſlated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptiſta Ramuſius. *Nel 1517. Vn Corſaro Ingleſe, ſotto colore di venire à diſcoprire ſe ne venne con vna gran naue alla volta del Braſil nella coſtiera di terra ferma, & indi attrauerſo à queſta iſola Spagnuola, & giunſe preſſo la bocca del porto di queſta città di S. Domenico, & mandò in terra il ſuo batello pieno di gente, & chieſe licentia di potere qui entrare, dicendo che venia con mercantie a negotiare. Ma in quello inſtante il caſtellano Franceſco di Tapia fece tirare alla naue vn tiro d'arteglieria da queſto caſtello: perche ella ſe veniua diritta al porto. Quando gli Ingleſi viddero queſto, ſi ritirarono fuori, & quelli del battello toſto ſi raccolſero in naue. Et nel vero il Caſtellan fece errore: perche ſe ben foſſe naue entrata nel porto, non ſarebbono le genti potuto ſmontare à terra ſenza volontà & della città & del caſtello. La naua adunque veggendo come vi era riceuuta, tirò la volta dell' iſola di San Giouanni, & entrata nel porto di San Germano parlarono gli Ingleſi con quelli della terra, & dimandarono vettouaglie & fornimenti per la naue, & ſi lamentarono di quelli di queſta città, dicendo che eſſi non veniuano per fare diſpiacere, ma per contrattare, & negotiare con ſuoi danari & mercantie. Hora quiui hebbero alcune vettouaglie, & in compenſa eſſi diedero & pagarono in certi ſtagni lauorati & altre coſe. Et poi ſi partirono alla volta d'Europa, doue ſi crede, che non giungeſſero, perche non ſe ne ſeppe piu nuoua mai.* This extract importeth thus much in Engliſh, to wit: That in the yeere 1517. an Engliſh Rouer vnder the colour of trauelling to diſcouer, came with a great ſhip vnto the partes of Braſill on the coaſt of the Firme land, and from thence he croſſed ouer vnto this Iſland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued neere vnto the mouth of the hauen of this citie of S. Domingo, and ſent his ſhipboate full of men on ſhore, and demaunded leaue to enter into this hauen, ſaying, that he came with merchandiſe to traffique. But at that very inſtant the gouernour of the caſtle Francis de Tapia cauſed a tire of ordinance to be ſhot from the caſtle at the ſhip, for ſhee bare in directly with the hauen. When the Engliſhmen ſawe this, they withdrew themſelues out, and thoſe that were in the ſhipboate, got themſelues with ſpeede on ſhipboord. And in trueth the Warden of the caſtle committed an ouerſight: for if the ſhip had entred into the hauen, the men thereof could not haue come on land without leaue both of the citie and of the caſtle. Therefore the people of the ſhip ſeeing how they were there receiued, ſayled toward the Iſland of S. Iohn, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the Engliſhmen parled with thoſe of the towne, requiring victuals and things needfull to furniſh their ſhip, and complained of the inhabitaunts of the citie of Saint Domingo, ſaying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandiſe. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompenſe they gaue and paid them with certain veſſell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arriued not: for we neuer heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonſaluo de Ouiedo, who though it pleaſe him to call the captaine of this great Engliſh ſhip a Rouer, yet it appeareth by the Engliſhmens owne words, that they came to diſcouer, and by their traffique for pewter veſſell and other wares at the towne of S. Germains in the Iſland of S. Iohn de porto ricco, it cannot bee denied but that they were furniſhed with wares for honeſt traffique and exchange. But whoſoeuer is conuerſant in reading the Portingal and Spaniſh writers of the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, ſhall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rouers and theeues, which viſite any heathen coaſt that they haue ones ſailed by or looked on. Howbeit their paſſionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to be preiudiciall to other mens chargeable and painful enterprizes and honourable trauels in diſcouerie.

The voiage of the two ſhips, whereof the one was called the Dominus vobiſcum, ſet out the 20. day of May, in the 29. yeere of king Henry the eight, and in the yeere of our Lord God, 1527. for the diſcouerie of the North partes.

Rich. Hakluit.

MAſter Robert Thorne of Briſtoll, a notable member and ornament of his countrey, as well for his learning, as great charitie to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8. and in a large diſcourſe to doctor Leigh, his Ambaſſador to Charles the emperor, (which both are to be ſene almoſt in the beginning of the ſecond part of this my worke) exhorted the foreſaid king with very waighty and ſubſtantiall reaſons, to ſet forth a diſcouerie euen to the North pole. And that it may bee knowen that this his motion tooke preſent effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the teſtimonies of two of our Chronicles, M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this ſort. This ſame moneth (ſay they) king Henry the 8. ſent two faire ſhips well manned and victualled, hauing in them diuers cunning men to ſeeke ſtrange regions, and ſo they ſet forth out of the Thames, the 20. day of May in the 19. yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1527.

And whereas maſter Hall, and maſter Grafton ſay, that in thoſe ſhips there were diuers cunning men, I haue made great inquirie of ſuch as by their yeeres and delight in nauigation, might giue me any light to know who thoſe cunning men ſhould be which were the directers in the aforeſaid voyage. And it hath bene told mee by Sir Martin Frobiſher, and maſter Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of S. Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much aduaunce the action, and went therein himſelfe in perſon, but what his name was, I can not learne of any. And further they told mee that one of the ſhips was called the Dominus vobiſcum, which is a name likely to bee giuen by a religious man of thoſe daies: and that ſailing very farre Northweſtward, one of the ſhips was caſt away as it entred into a dangerous gulphe, about the great opening, betweene the North partes of Newfound land, and the countrey lately called by her maieſtie Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ſhip ſhaping her courſe towards Cape Britton, and the coaſt of Norumbega, and oftentimes putting their men on land to ſearch the ſtate of thoſe vnknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yeere aforeſaid. And thus much (by reaſon of the great negligence of the writers of thoſe times, who ſhould haue vſed more care in preſeruing the memories of the worthie acts of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or find out of this voiage.

The voyage of maſter Hore and diuers other Gentlemen, to Newfound land, and Cape Breton, in the yeere 1536. and in the 28. yeere of king Henry the eight.

ONe maſter Hore of London, a man of goodly ſtature and of great courage, and giuen to the ſtudie of Coſmographie, in the 28. yeere of king Henry the 8. and in the yeere of our Lord 1536. encouraged diuers gentlemen and others, being aſſiſted by the kings fauour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of diſcouerie vpon the Northweſt partes of America: wherein his perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, that within ſhort ſpace many gentlemen of the innes of court, and of Chauncerie, and diuers other of good worſhip deſirous to ſee the ſtrange things of the world, very willingly entered into the action with him, ſome of whoſe names were as followeth: M. Wickes a gentleman of the Weſt countrey of fiue hundred markes by the yeere liuing. Maſter Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the ſonne of ſir William Buts knight of Norfolke, which is yet aliue, and from whoſe mouth I wrote moſt of this relation. Maſter Hardie, maſter Biron, maſter Carter, maſter Wright, maſter Raſtall Serieant Raſtals brother, maſter Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the admirall called the Trinitie, a ſhip of ſeuen ſcore tunnes, wherein M. Hore himſelfe was imbarked. In the other ſhippe whoſe name was the Minion, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one maſter Armigil Wade, father to the worſhipfull maſter William Wade now clerke of the priuie counſell, Maſter Oliuer Dawbeney merchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the kings chappell, with diuers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ſhippes aforeſayd, to wit, the Trinitie and the Minion, were about ſix ſcore perſons, whereof 30. were gentlemen, which all were muſtered in warlike maner at Graueſend, and after the receiuing of the ſacrament, they embarked themſelues in the end of Aprill, 1536.

From

From the time of their setting out from Graueſende, they were very long at ſea, to witte, aboue two moneths, and neuer touched any lande vntill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Breton, shaping their course thence Northeastwards, vntill they came to the Iſland of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and founde it full of great foules white and gray, as bigge as geese, and they sawe infinite nombers of their egges. They drawe a great nomber of the foules into their boates vpon their sailes, and tooke vp many of their egges, the foule they flead and their skinnes were like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them, and found them to be very good and nourishing meate. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no badde foode.

Cape Briton.

The Iſland of Penguin, standeth about the latitude of 50. degrees.

M. Oliuer Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the Minion, tolde M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following: to wit, That after their arrinall in Newfound land, and hauing bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not hauing yet seene any of the naturall people of the Countrey, the same Dawbeny walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Sauages of those partes, rowing downe the bay towarde them, to gase vpon the shippe and our people, and taking viewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were vnder hatches, and willed them to come vp if they would see the naturall people of the Countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: Whereuponthey came vp and tooke viewe of the Sauages rowing toward them and their shippe, and vpon the viewe they manned out a shipboote to meete them and to take them. But they spying our shipboate making towards them, returned with maine force & fled into an Iſland that laye vp in the bay or riuer there, and our men pursued them into the Iſland, and the Sauages fledde and escaped: but our men founde a fire, and the side of a beare on a wodden spit left at the same by the Sauages that were fledde.

M. Dawbenis report to M. Richard Hakluyt of the Temple.

They beheld the Sauages of Newfound land.

There in the same place they founde a boote of leather garnished on the vtter side of the calfe with certaine braue trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also founde a certaine great warme mitten: And these carried with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Sauages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grewe into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourely to her yong great plentie of diuers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieue themselues of rawe herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while hee stouped to take vp a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his body whome hee had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily deuoured them.

Extreeme famine.

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knewe not what was become of them; And it fortuned that one of the company driuen with hunger to seeke abroade for reliefe, found out in the fields the sauour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that hee would suffer him and his fellowes to starue, enioying plentie as he thought: And this matter growing to cruel speaches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes, If thou wouldest needes knowe, the broyled meate that I had, was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither deuoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with the Sauages: And hereupon he stood vp and made a notable Oration, containing, How much these dealings offended the Almightie, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called vpon him, & told them that the power of the Almightie was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to haue holpen them in that distresse, that yet it had bene better to haue perished in body, and to haue liued euerlastingly, then to haue relieued for a poore time their mortal bodies, and to bee condemned euerlastingly both body and soule to the vnquenchable fire of hel. And thus hauing ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke vpon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieue the same. And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arriued a French shippe in that port, well furnished with victaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became maisters of the same, and changing ships and victayling them, they set saile to come into England.

Our men eate one another for famine.

The Captaines Oration.

The English surprise a French ship, wherein they returned home.

In their iourney they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mightie Iſlands of yce in

Hawkes and other foules.

Foules supposed to be stockes.

the sommer season, on which were hawkes and other foules to rest themselues being wearie of flying ouer farre from the maine. They saw also certaine great white foules with redde billes and redde legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be stockes. They arriued at S. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed vnto a certaine Castle belonging to Sir Iohn Luttrel, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall, and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly intertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, and so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother, knewe him not to be their sonne, vntill they found a certaine secret marke which was a wart vpon one of his knees, as hee tolde me Richard Hakluyt of Oxforde himselfe, to whome I rode 200. miles onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his owne mouth, as being the onely man nowe aliue, that was in this discouerie.

The French royally recompenced by king Henry the 8.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subiects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooued with pitie, that hee punished not his subiects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompense vnto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieue their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

The large pension graunted by K. Edward the 6. to *Sebastian Cabota, constituting him grand Pilot* of England.

EDwardus sextus Dei gratia Anglię, Francię, & Hibernię rex, omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos pręsentes hę literę nostræ peruenerint salutem. Sciatis quod nos in cõsideratione boni & acceptabilis seruitii, nobis per dilectum seruientem nostrum, Sebastianũ Cabotam, impensi atque impendendi, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia, & mero motu nostro, nec non de aduisamento, & consensu præclarissimi auunculi nostri Edwardi Ducis Somerseti personæ nostrę Gubernatoris, ac Regnorum, dominiorum, subditorumque nostrorum protectoris, & cæterorum consiliariorum nostrorum, dedimus & concessimus, ac per pręsentes damus, & concedimus eidem Sebastiano Cabotæ, quandam annuitatem siue annualem reditum, cẽtum sexaginta & sex librarũ, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum sterlingorum habendam, gaudendam, & annuatim percipiendam prędictam annuitatem, siue annalem reditum eidem Sebastiano Cabotę, durante vita sua naturali, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scacarii nostri Westmonasterii per manus thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum, ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa annuntiationis beatę Marię Virginis, natiuitatis sancti Ioannis Baptistę, Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, & Natalis Domini per æquales portiones soluendam. Et vlterius de vberiori gratia nostra, ac de aduisamento, & consensu prędictis damus, & per præsentes concedimus præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ, tot & tantas Denariorum summas, ad quot & quantas dicta annuitas siue annalis redditus centũ sexaginta sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum, & quatuor denariorum, à festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli vltimò præterito huc vsque se extendit, & attingit, habendas & recipiendas præfato Sebastiano Cabotæ & assignatis suis de thesauro nostro prædicto per manus prædictorum Thesaurariorum, & Camerariorum nostrorum de dono nostro absque computo, seu aliquo alio nobis, hæredibus, vel successoribus nostris proinde reddendo, soluendo, vel faciendo, eo quòd expressa mentio, &c. In cuius rei testimonium, &c. Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, 6. die Ianuarii, Anno 2. Regis Edwardi sexti.

¶ *The same in English.*

EDward the sixt by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all Christian people to whome these prẽsents shall come, sendeth greeting. Knowe ye that wee, in consideration of the good and acceptable seruice done, and to bee done, vnto vs by our beloued seruant Sebastian Cabote, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, meere motion, and

and by the aduiſe and counſell of our moſt honourable vncle Edward duke of Somerſet gouernour of our perſon, and Protector of our kingdomes, dominions, and ſubiects, and of the reſt of our Counſaile, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt to the ſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, a certaine annuitie, or yeerely reuenue of one hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings foure pence ſterling, to haue, enioye, and yeerely receiue the foreſaide annuitie, or yeerely reuenue, to the foreſaide Sebaſtian Cabota during his naturall life, out of our Treaſurie at the receite of our Exchequer at Weſtminſter, at the handes of our Treaſurers and paymaſters, there remayning for the time being, at the feaſtes of the Annuntiation of the bleſſed Virgine Mary, the Natiuitie of S. Iohn Baptiſt, S. Michael the Archangel, and the Natiuitie of our Lord, to be paide by equall portions.

And further, of our more ſpeciall grace, and by the aduiſe and conſent aforeſaide we doe giue, and by theſe preſents doe graunt vnto the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, ſo many, and ſo great ſummes of money as the ſaide annuitie or yeerely reuenue of an hundreth, threeſcore and ſixe pounds, thirteene ſhillings 4. pence, doeth amount and riſe vnto from the feaſt of S. Michael the Archangel laſt paſt vnto this preſent time, to be had and receiued by the aforeſaide Sebaſtian Cabota, and his aſſignes out of our aforeſaid Treaſurie, at the handes of our aforeſaide Treaſurers, and officers of our Exchequer of our free gift without accompt, or any thing elſe therefore to bee yeelded, payed, or made, to vs, our heires or ſucceſſours, foraſmuch as herein expreſſe mention is made to the contrary.

In witneſſe whereof we haue cauſed theſe our Letters to be made patents: Witneſſe the king at Weſtminſter the ſixt day of Ianuarie, in the ſecond yeere of his raigne. The yeere of our Lorde 1548.

A voyage to Braſill, made by the worſhipfull M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, father to ſir Iohn Haukins knight now liuing, in the yeere 1530.

OLde M. William Haukins of Plimmouth, a man for his wiſdome, valure, experience, and ſkill in ſea cauſes much eſteemed, and beloued of king Henry the eight, and being one of the principall Sea Captaines in the Weſt partes of England in his time, not contented with the ſhort voyages commonly then made onely to the knowen coaſtes of Europe, armed out a tall and goodly ſhip of his owne of the burthen of 250. tunnes, called the Pole of Plimmouth, wherewith hee made three long and famous voyages vnto the coaſt of Braſill, a thing in thoſe dayes very rare, eſpecially to our Nation. In the courſe of which voyages he touched at the Riuer of Seſtos vpon the coaſt of Guinea, where hee trafiqued with the Negroes, and tooke of them Oliphants teeth, and other commodities which that place yeeldeth: and ſo arriuing on the coaſt of Braſil vſed there ſuch diſcretion, and behaued himſelfe ſo wiſely with thoſe ſauage people, that he grew into great familiaritie and friendſhip with them. Inſomuch that in his 2. voyage, one of the ſauage kings of the Countrey of Braſill, was contented to take ſhippe with him, and to bee tranſported hither into England: whereunto M. Haukins agreed, leauing behinde in the Countrey as a pledge for his ſafetie and returne againe, one Martin Cockeram of Plimmouth. This Braſilian king being arriued, was brought vp to London, and preſented to king Henry the 8. lying as then at Whitehall: at the ſight of whome, the king and all the Nobilitie did not a little marueile, and not without cauſe: for in his cheekes were holes made according to their ſauage maner, and therein ſmall bones were planted, ſtanding an inche out from the ſaid holes, which in his owne Countrey was reputed for a great brauerie. He had alſo another hole in his nether lippe, wherein was ſet a precious ſtone about the bigneſſe of a peaſe: All his apparell, behauiour and geſture, were very ſtrange to the beholders.

Hauing remained here the ſpace almoſt of a whole yere, and the king with his ſight fully ſatiſfied, M. Haukins according to his promiſe and appointment, purpoſed to conuey him againe into his Countrey: but it fell out in the way that by change of ayre, and alteration of diet, the ſaide ſauage king died at Sea, which was feared would turne to the loſſe of the life of Martin Cockeram his pledge. Nenertheleſſe, the Sauages being fully perſwaded of the honeſt dealing of our men with their Prince, reſtored againe the ſaide pledge, without any harme to him, or any man of the companie: which pledge of theirs they brought home againe into England,

with their shippe fraighted, and furnished with the commodities of the Countrey. Which Martine Cockeram, by the witnesse of sir Iohn Haukins, being an officer in the towne of Plimmouth, was liuing within these fewe yeeres.

I haue bene informed by M. Anthony Garrard an ancient & worshipful marchant of London, that this voyage to Brasil was frequented by Robert Reniger, Thomas Borey, and diuers other wealthie Marchants of Southhampton, about 50. yeeres past, to wit, in the yeere 1540.

An acte against the exaction of money or any other thing *by any officer for licence to trafique into Iseland, and New* found land, made in An. 2. Edwardi sexti.

FOrasmuch as within these fewe yeeres now last past, there hath bene leuied, perceiued & taken by certaine of the officers of the Admiraltie, of such Marchants, and fishermen as haue vsed and practised the aduentures and iourneis into Iseland, New found land, Ireland, and other places commodious for fishing, and the getting of fish, in and vpon the seas or otherwise, by way of Marchants in those parties diuers great exactions, as summes of money, doles or shares of fish, & such other like things, to the great discouragement & hinderance of the same marchants and fishermen, and to no litle damage of the whole common wealth, and thereof also great complaints haue bene made, & informations also yerely to the kings Maiesties most honourable counsell: for reformation whereof, & to the intent also that the said marchants and fishermen may haue occasion the rather to practise and vse the same trade of marchandizing, and fishing freely without any such charges or exactions, as is before limitted, whereby it is to be thought that more plenty of fish shal come into this realme, & thereby to haue the same at more reasonable prices: Be it therfore enacted by the king our soueraigne Lord, and the lords & commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that neither the Admiral, nor any officer, or minister, officers or ministers of the Admiraltie for the time being, shall in any wise hereafter exact, receiue, or take by himselfe his seruant, deputie, seruants, or deputies of any such marchant or fisherman, any summe or summes of money, doles or shares of fish, or any other reward, benefite or aduantage whatsoeuer it be for any licence to passe this Realme to the saide voyages or any of them, nor vpon any respect concerning the saide voyages, nor any of them, vpon paine to forfeite for the first offence treble the summe, or treble the value of the rewarde, benefite or aduantage, that any such officer or minister shall hereafter haue or take of any such marchant or fishermen. For the which forfeiture the partie grieued, and euery other person or persons whatsoeuer he or they be, shal and may sue for the same by information, bill, plaint, or action of debt in any of the kings courts of recorde: The king to haue the one moitie, and the partie complayning the other moitie: in which suite no essoigne, protection, or wager of lawe shalbe allowed. And for the second offence the partie so offending, not onely to loose and forfeite his or their office or offices in the Admiraltie, but also to make fine and ransome at the kings will, and pleasure.

By this act it appeareth, that the trade out of England to New found land was common and frequented about the beginning of the raigne of Edward the 6. namely in the yere 1548. and it is much to be marueiled, that by the negligence of our men, the countrey in all this time hath bene no better searched.

The first voyage of the right worshipfull and valiant knight, *sir Iohn Haukins, now treasurer of her Maiesties nauie* Royall, made to the West Indies 1562.

MAster Iohn Haukins hauing made diuers voyages to the ples of the Canaries, and there by his good and vpright dealing being growne in loue and fauour with the people, informed himselfe amongst them by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India, whereof he had receiued some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the aduertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulers assured, that Negroes were very good marchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had vpon the coast of Guinea, resolued with himselfe to make trial thereof,

and

and communicated that deuiſe with his woꝛſhipfull friends of London: namely with ſir Lionell Ducket, ſir Thomas Lodge, M. Gunſton his father in lawe, ſir William Winter, M. Bromfield, and others. All which perſons liked ſo well of his intention, that they became liberall contributers and aduenturers in the action. Foꝛ which purpoſe there were 3. good ſhippes immediatly pꝛouided: The one called the Salomon of the burthen of 120. tunne, wherein M. Haukins himſelfe went as Generall: The 2. the Swallow of 100. tunnes, wherein went foꝛ Captaine M. Thomas Hampton: And the 3. the Ionas a barke of 40. tunnes, wherein the Maſter ſupplied the Captaines roome: in which ſmall fleete, M. Haukins tooke with him not aboue 100. men, foꝛ feare of ſickeneſſe, and other inconueniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly ſubiect.

With this company hee put off and departed from the coaſt of England in the moneth of October 1562. and in his courſe touched firſt at Teneriffe, where he receiued friendly intertainement. From thence hee paſſed to Sierra Leona, vpon the coaſt of Guinea, which place by the people of the Countrey is called Tagarin, where he ſtayed ſome good time, and got into his poſſeſſiõ, partly by the ſwoꝛd, and partly by other meanes, to the nomber of 300. Negroes at the leaſt, beſides other marchandiſes, which that Countrey yeeldeth. With this pꝛaye he ſailed ouer the Ocean ſea vnto the Iſland of Hiſpaniola, and arriued firſt at the poꝛt of Iſabella: and there hee had reaſonable vtterance of his Engliſh commodities, as alſo of ſome part of his Negroes, truſting the Spaniards no further, then that by his owne ſtrength he was able ſtill to maſter them. From the poꝛt of Iſabella he went to Porte de Plata, where he made like ſales, ſtanding alwayes vpõ his garo: from thence alſo hee ſailed to Monte Chriſti another poꝛt on the Noꝛth ſide of Hiſpaniola, and the laſt place of his touching, where he had peaceable trafique, & made vent of the whole nomber of his Negroes: foꝛ which he receiued in thoſe 3. places by way of exchange, ſuch quantitie of marchandiſe, that he did not onely lade his owne 3. ſhippes, with hides, ginger, ſugers, and ſome quantitie of pearles, but he fraighted alſo two other hulkes with hides, and other like commodities, which he ſent into Spaine. And thus leauing the Iſland, hee returned and diſimboked, paſſing out by the Iſlands of the Caycos, without further entring into the bay of Mexico, in this his firſt voyage to the Weſt India. And ſo with pꝛoſperous ſucceſſe and much gaine to himſelfe, and the afoꝛeſaide aduenturers he came home, and arriued in the moneth of September 1563.

A voyage made by M. Roger Bodenham, to S. Iohn de *Vllua in the bay of Mexico, in the yeere 1564.*

Roger Bodenham, hauing a long time liued in the Citie of Siuill in Spaine, being there married, and by occaſion thereof vſing trade and trafique to the parts of Barbarie, grew at length to great loſſe and hinderance by that new trade begunne by mee in the Citie of Fez: Whereupon being returned into Spaine I began to call my wits about me, and to conſider with my ſelfe by what meanes I might recouer & renue my ſtate: and in concluſion by the ayde of my friends, I pꝛocured a ſhippe called the Barke Foxe, pertaining to London, of the burden of 8. oꝛ 9. ſcoꝛe tunnes, and with the ſame I made a voyage to the Weſt India, hauing obtained good fauour with the Spaniſh marchants, by reaſon of my long abode, and marriage in the Countrey. My voyage was in the companie of the Generall Don Pedro Melendes, foꝛ Noua Hiſpania. Who being himſelfe appointed Generall foꝛ Terra firma and Peru, made his ſonne our Generall foꝛ Newe Spaine, although Pedro Melendes himſelfe was the pꝛincipall man and directer in both fleetes. We all departed from Cales together the laſt day of May in the yere 1564. And I with my ſhip being vnder the conduct of the ſonne of Don Pedro afoꝛeſaide, arriued with him in Noua Hiſpania, where immediatly I tooke oꝛder foꝛ ẏ diſcharge of my marchandiſe at the poꝛt of Vera Cruz, otherwiſe called Villa ricca, to be tranſpoꝛted thence to the Citie of Mexico, which is 70. and odde leagues diſtant from the ſaid poꝛt of Villa Ricca. In the way are many good townes, as namely, Pueblo de los Angelos, & another called Tlaxcalan. The citie of Mexico hath 3. great cauſeis to bring men to it, compaſſed with a lake, ſo that it needeth no walles, being ſo defended by the water. It is a Citie plentiful of al neceſſary things, hauing many faire houſes, Churches & monaſteries. I hauing continued in the Countrey the ſpace of 9. moneths, returned againe foꝛ Spaine with the Spaniſh fleet, & deliuered the marchandiſe & ſiluer which I had in ẏ ſhip, into the Cõtraction houſe, and there receiued my fraight, which amounted outwards and homewards to the value of 13000. ducats, & moꝛe. I obſerued many things in ẏ time of my abode in Noua Hiſpania as wel touching the cõmodities of the countrey, as the maners of the people both Spaniards & Indians, but becauſe

the Spaniſh hiſtories are full of thoſe obſeruations, I omit them, and refer the readers to the ſame: onely this I ſay, that the commoditie of Couchenelio, groweth in greateſt aboundance about the towne of Pueblo de los Angelos, and is not there worth aboue 40. pence the pound.

The voyage made by the worſhipful M. Iohn Haukins *Eſquire, now knight, Captaine of the Ieſus of Lubek, one of her Maieſties* ſhippes, and Generall of the Salomon, and other two barkes going in his companie to the coaſt of Guinea, and the Indies of Noua Spania, being in Affrica, and America: begunne in An. Dom. 1564.

October 18.

MAſter Iohn Haukins with the Ieſus of Lubek, a ſhippe of 700. and the Salomon a ſhip of 7. ſcore, the Tiger a barke of 50. and the Swallowe of 30. tunnes, being all well furniſhed with men to the nomber of one hundreth, threeſcore and tenne, as alſo with ordinance, and victuall requiſite for ſuch a voyage, departed out of Plimmouth the 18. day of October, in the yere of our Lord 1564. with a proſperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foreſaile, a marueilous miſfortune happened to one of the officers in the ſhippe, who by the pullie of the ſheat was ſlaine out of hande, being a ſorrowfull beginning to them all. And after their ſetting out tenne leagues to the ſea, he met the ſame day with the Minion a ſhip of the Queenes Maieſties, whereof was Captaine Dauid Carlet, and alſo her conſort, the Iohn Baptiſt of London, being bounde to Guinea alſo, who hailed one the other after the cuſtome of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinance for ioy of their meeting: which done, the Minion departed from him to ſeeke her other conſort, the Merline of London, which was a ſtarne out of ſight, leauing in M. Haukins companie the Iohn Baptiſt her other conſort.

The Minion, the Iohn Baptiſt, and the Merline bound for Guinea.

Thus ſayling forwards on their way with a proſperous winde vntill the 21. of the ſame moneth, at that time a great ſtorme aroſe, the winde being at Northeaſt about 9. a clocke in the night, and continued ſo 23. houres together, in which ſtorme M. Haukins loſt the companie of the Iohn Baptiſt aforeſaid, and of his pinneſſe called the Swallow, his other 3. ſhippes being ſore beaten with the ſtorme. The 23. day the Swallow to his no ſmall reioycing, came to him againe in the night, 10. leagues to the Northward of Cape Finiſter, he hauing put roomer not being able to double the Cape, in that there roſe a contrary winde at Southweſt. The 25. the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in Gallicia, called Ferroll, where hee remained fiue dayes, and appointed all the Maſters of his ſhippes an order for the keeping of good companie in this manner: The ſmall ſhippes to be alwayes a head and a weather of the Ieſus, and to ſpeake twiſe a day with the Ieſus at leaſt: if in the day the Enſigne bee ouer the poope of the Ieſus, or in the night two lightes, then ſhall all the ſhippes ſpeake with her: If there be three lights aboord the Ieſus, then doeth ſhe caſt about: If the weather be extreeme, that the ſmall ſhippes cannot keepe companie with the Ieſus, then all to keepe companie with the Salomon, and forthwith to repaire to the Iſland of Teneriffe, to the Northward of the roade of Sirroes; If any happen to any miſfortune, then to ſhewe two lights, and to ſhoote off a piece of Ordinance. If any looſe companie, and come in ſight againe, to make three pawes, and ſtrike the Pylon three times: Serue God dayly, loue one another, preſerue your victuals, beware of fire, and keepe good companie.

The 26. day the Minion came in alſo where he was, for the reioycing whereof hee gaue them certaine pieces of Ordinance, after the courteſie of the Sea for their welcome, but the Minions men had no mirthe, becauſe of their conſort the Merline, whome at their departure from M. Haukins vpon the coaſt of England they went to ſeeke: and hauing mette with her, kept companie two dayes together, and at laſt by miſfortune of fire (through the negligence of one of their gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was ſet on fire, which with the firſt blaſt ſtrooke out her poope, and therewithall loſt three men, beſides many ſore burned (which eſcaped by the Brigandine being at her ſterne) and immediatly, to the great loſſe of the owners, and moſt horrible ſight to the beholders, ſhe ſonke before their eyes.

The 30. day of the moneth M. Haukins with his conſorts and companie of the Minion, hauing nowe both the Brigandines at her ſterne, wayed ancre, and ſet ſaile on their voyage, hauing a proſperous winde thereunto.

The fourth of Nouember they had ſight of the Iſlande of Madera, and the firſt day of Teneriffe,

Teneriffe, which they thought to haue bene the Canaries, in that they ſuppoſed themſelues to haue bene to the Eaſtward of Teneriffe, and were not: but the Mynion being a three or foure leagues a head of vs, kept on her courſe to Teneriffe, hauing better ſight thereof, then the other had, and by that meanes they parted compame. For Maſter Hawkins and his companie, went more to the Weſt, vpon which courſe hauing ſailed a while, he eſpied another Iſland, which he thought to be Teneriffe, and being not able, by the meanes of the fogge vpon the hils, to diſcerne the ſame, nor yet to fetch it by night, went roomer, vntill the morning, being the 7. of Nouember, which as yet he could not diſcerne, but ſailed along the coaſt, the ſpace of two howres, to perceaue ſome certaine marke of Teneriffe, and found no likelihoode thereof at all, accompting that to be, as it was in deede, the Iſle of Palmes: and ſo ſailing forwards, eſpied another Iſland, called Gomera, and alſo Teneriffe, with the which he made, and ſailing all night, came in the morning the next day to the port of Adecia, where he found his pinneſſe which had departed from him the 1ſt of the moneth, being in the weather of him, and eſpying the pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither. At his arriuall, ſomewhat before he came to anker, he hoyſed out his ſhips pinneſſe rowing a ſhoare, intending to haue ſent one with a letter to Peter de ponte, one of the Gouernours of the Iſland, who dwelled a league from the ſhoare: but as he pretended to haue landed, ſuddenly there appeared vpon the two points of the roade, men leuelling of baſſes and harquebuſſes to them, with diuers others, to the number of 80. with halberts, pykes, ſwordes, and targets, which happened ſo contrarie to his expectation, that it did greatly amaſe him, and the more, becauſe he was nowe in their danger, not knowing well how to auoide it, without ſome miſchiefe. Wherefore he determined to call to them, for the better appeaſing of the matter, declaring his name, and profeſſing himſelfe to be an eſpeciall friend to Peter de ponte, and that he had ſundry things for him, which he greatly deſired. And in the meane time, while he was thus talking with them, whereby he made them to hold their hands, he willed the marriners to rowe away, ſo that at laſt he gat out of their danger: and then aſking for Peter De Ponte, one of his ſonnes being Signior Nicholas Ponte, came forth, whome he perceauing, deſired to put his men aſide, and he himſelf would leape a ſhoare, and common with him, which they did: ſo that after communication had betweene them of ſundry things, and of the feare they both had, Maſter Hawkins deſired to haue certaine neceſſaries prouided for him. In the meane ſpace, while theſe things were prouiding, he trimmed the maine maſt of the Ieſus, which in the ſtorme aforeſaid was ſprong: here he ſoiourned 7. daies, refreſhing himſelfe and his men. In the which time Peter de ponte dwelling at S. Cruz, a Citie 20. leagues off, came to him, & gaue him as gentle entertainment, as if he had bene his own brother. To ſpeak ſomewhat of theſe Iſlands, being called in olde time Inſulæ fortunatæ, by the meanes of the flouriſhing therof, the fruitfulnes of them doeth ſurely exceede farre all other that I haue heard of: for they make wine better then any in Spaine, they haue grapes of ſuch bignes, that they may be compared to damſons, and in taſte inferiour to none: for ſugar, ſuckets, raiſons of the Sunne, and many other fruits, abundance: for roſine & rawe ſilke, there is great ſtore, they want neither corne, pullets, cattell, nor yet wilde fowle: they haue many Camels alſo, which being young, are eaten of the people for victuals, and being olde, they are vſed for carriage of neceſſaries: whoſe propertie is as he is taught to kneele at the taking of his loade, and vnlading againe: his nature is to ingender backward, contrarie to other beaſtes: of vnderſtanding very good, but of ſhape very deformed, with a little bellie, long miſhapen legges, and feete very broade of fleſh, without a hooſe, all whole, ſauing the great toe, a backe bearing vp like a molehill, a large and thinne necke, with a little head, with a bunch of hard fleſh, which nature hath giuen him in his breaſt, to leane vpō. This beaſt liueth hardly, and is contented with ſtrawe, and ſtubble, but of force ſtrong, being well able to carry 500. weight. In one of theſe Iſlands, called" de Fierro, there is by the reportes of the inhabitants, a certaine tree that raineth continually, by the dropping whereof, the inhabitants and cattell are ſatisfied with water, for other water haue they none in all the Iſland. And it raineth in ſuch abundance, that it were incredible vnto man to beleeue ſuch a vertue to be in a tree, but it is knowen to be a diuine matter, and a thing ordained by God, at whoſe power therein, we ought not to maruell, ſeeing he did by his prouidence, as we read in the Scriptures, when the children of Iſraell were going into the land of promiſe, feede them with Manna from heauen, for the ſpace of 40. yeeres. Of the trees aforeſaid, we ſawe in Guinie many, being of great heigth, dropping continually, but not ſo abundantly as the other, becauſe the leaues are narrower, and are like the leaues of a peare tree. About theſe Iſlands, are certaine flitting Iſlands, which haue bene oftentimes ſeene, and when men approched neere them, they vaniſhed: as the like hath bene of theſe Iſlands now knowen, by the report of the Inhabitants, which were not founde of long time one after the other: and therefore it ſhoulde ſeeme he is not yet borne, to whome God hath appointed the finding

The Iſle of Palmes. Gomera and Teneriffe.

"De Fierro.

Trees dropping water in Ginney.

The pike of Teneriffe.

ding of them. In this Iland of the Teneriffe, there is a hill called the Pike, because it is picked, which is in heigth by their reports, 20. leagues, hauing both winter and summer, abundance of snowe in the toppe of it: this pike may be seene in a cleere day 50. leagues off, but it sheweth as though it were a blacke clowde a great heigth in the element. I haue heard of none to be compared with this in heigth, but in the Indias I haue seene many, and in my iudgement not inferiour to the pike, and so the Spaniards write.

The 15. of November at night, we departed from Teneriffe, and the 20. of the same, wee had sight of 10. Caruels, that were fishing at sea, with whome we would haue spoken, but they fearing vs, fled into a place of Barbarie, called Cape de las Barbas.

Cape de Barbas.

The 20. the shippes pinnesse, with two men in her, sailing by the shippe, was ouerthrowen by the oversight of them that were in her, the wind being so great, that before they were espied, and the ship had cast about for them, she was driuen halfe a league to leeward of the pinnesse, and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recouerie, had not Gods helpe, and the Captaines diligence bene, who hauing well marked, which way the pinnesse was by the Sunne, appointed 24. of the lustiest rowers in the great boate, to rowe to windwards, and so recouered, contrary to all mens expectations, both the pinnesse and the men sitting vpon the keele of her.

Cape Blanco.

The 25. he came to Cape Blanco, which is vpon the coast of Affrica, and a place where the Portingals doe ride that fishe there, in the moneth of November especially, and is a very good place of fishing, for Pargoes, Mullet, and Dogge fishe. In this place the Portingals haue no holde for their defense, but haue rescue of the Barbarians, whome they entertaine as their souldiers, for the time of their being there, and for their fishing vpon that coast of Affrica, doe pay a certaine tribute to the King of the Moores. The people of that part of Affrica, are tawnie, hauing long haire, without any apparell, sauing before their priuie members. Their weapons in warres, are bowes, and arrowes.

Cape Verde in 14. degrees.

The 26. we departed from S. Auis Baye, within Cape Blanco, where we refreshed our selues with fishe, and other necessaries: and the 29. we came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14. degrees, and a halfe. These people are all blacke, and are called Negroes, without any apparell, sauing before their priuities: of stature goodly men, and well liking, by reason of their foode, which passeth all other Guyneans for kine, goates, pullin, rise, fruits, and fishe. Here we tooke fishes with heades like Conies, and teeth nothing varying, of a iollie thicknes, but not past a foote long, and is not to be eaten without flaying or cutting of his head. To speake somewhat of the sundry sortes of these Guyneans. The people of Cape Verde, are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of al other, sauing ỹ Manicongoes, which do inhabite on this side ỹ cape de Buena Speranza. These Leophares haue warres against the Ieloffes, which are borderers by them: their weapon sare bowes, and arrowes, targets, and short daggers, darts also, but varying from other Negroes: for whereas the other vse a long dart, to fight with in their hands, they carry fiue or sixe small ones a peece, which they cast with. These men also are more ciuill then any other, because of their dailie traffike with the Frenchmen, and are of nature very gentle, and louing: for while we were there, we tooke in a Frenchman, who was one of the 19. that going to Brasile, in a Barke of Diepe, of 60. tunnes, and being a sea boord of Cape De Verde, 200. leagues, the plankes of their barke with a sea brake out vpon them so suddenly, that much a doe they had to saue themselues in their boates: but by Gods prouidence, the wind being westerly, which is rarely seene there, they got to the shoare, to the Isles Braues, and in great penurie got to Cape Verde, where they remained sixe weekes, and had meate and drinke of the same people. The said Frenchman hauing forsaken his fellowes, which were three leagues off from the shoare, and wandring with the Negroes too and fro, fortuned to come to the water side, and communing with certaine of his countreymen, which were in our ship, by their persuasions came away with vs: but his entertainment amongst them was such, that he desired it not: but through the importunate request of his Countreymen, consented at the last. Here we staied but one night, and part of the day: for the 7. of December, wee came away, in that pretending to haue taken Negroes there perforce, the Mynions men gaue them there to vnderstand of our comming, and our pretence, wherefore they did auoide the snares we had laid for them.

The 8. of December, we ankered by a small Island, called Alcatrarsa, wherein at our going a shoare, we found nothing but sea birds, as we call them Ganets, but by the Portingals called Alcatrarses, who for that cause gaue the said Island the same name. Herein halfe of our boates were laden with yong and olde fowle, who not being vsed to the sight of men, flew so about vs, that wee stroke them downe with poles. In this place, the two ships riding, the two barkes, with their boates, went into an Island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them,

and

and there landed to the number of 80. in armour, and eſpying certaine, made to them, but they fled in ſuch order into the woods, that it booted them not to followe: ſo going on their way forward til they came to a riuer which they could not paſſe ouer, they eſpied on the other ſide two men, who with their bowes and arrowes ſhot terribly at them. Whereupon we diſcharged certaine harquebuſſes to them againe, but the ignorant people waied it not, becauſe they knewe not the danger thereof: but vſing a maruelous crying in their fight, with leaping, and turning their tailes, that it was moſt ſtrange to ſee, and gaue vs great pleaſure to behold them. At the laſt, one being hurt with a harquebuſſe vpon the thigh, looked vpon his wound, and wiſt not howe it came, becauſe he could not ſee the pellet. Here Maſter Hawkins perceauing no good to be done amongſt them, becauſe we could not finde their townes, and alſo not knowing how to goe into Rio grande, for want of a Pilot, which was the very occaſion of our comming thither: and finding ſo many ſholes, feared with our great ſhips to goe in, and therefore departed on our pretended way to the Idols.

The 10. of December, hauing a northeaſt wind, with raine, and ſtorme, which weather continued two daies together, was the occaſion, that the Salomon, and Tyger loſte our companie: for whereas the Ieſus, and pinneſſe ankered at one of the Iſlands, called Sambula, the 12. day, the Salomon and Tyger came not thither, till the 14. In this Iſland, we ſtaied certaine daies, going euery day a ſhoare, to take the Inhabitants, with burning, and ſpoiling their townes, who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboſes, Inhabitants beyond Sierra Leona. Theſe Samboſes had inhabited there 3. yeeres before our comming thither, and in ſo ſhort ſpace haue ſo planted the ground, that they had great plentie of mill, riſe, rootes, pompions, pullin, goates, of ſmall frye dried, euery houſe full of the Countrey fruite planted by Gods prouidence, as Palmito trees, fruites like dates, and ſundry other in no place in all that Countrey ſo aboundantly, whereby they liued more deliciouſly then other. Theſe inhabitants haue diuerſe of the Sapies, which they tooke in the warres, as their ſlaues, whome onely they keepe to till the ground, in that they neither haue the knowledge thereof, nor yet will worke themſelues, of whome wee tooke many in that place, but of the Samboſes none at all, for they fled into the maine. All the Samboſes haue white teeth as wee haue, far vnlike to the Sapies, which doe inhabite about Rio grande, for their teeth are all filed, which they doe for a brauerie, to ſet out themſelues, and doe iagge their fleſh, both legges, armes, and bodies, as workemanlike, as a Ierkinmaker with vs pinketh a ierkin. Theſe Sapies be more ciuill then the Samboſes: for whereas the Samboſes liue moſt by the ſpoile of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them alſo, The Sapies doe not eate mans fleſh, vnleſſe in the warres they be driuen by neceſſitie thereunto, which they haue not vſed, but by the example of the Samboſes, but liue onely with fruits, and cattell, whereof they haue great ſtore. This plentie is the occaſion that the Sapies deſire not warre, except they be thervnto prouoked by the inuaſions of the Samboſes, whereas the Samboſes for want of foode, are inforced thereunto, and therefore are not woont onely to take them that they kill, but alſo keepe thoſe that they take, vntill ſuch time as they want meate, and then they kill them. There is alſo another occaſion, that prouoketh the Samboſes to warre againſt the Sapies, which is for couetouſnes of their riches. For whereas the Sapies haue an order to burie their dead in certaine places appointed for that purpoſe, with their golde about them, the Samboſes diggeth vp the ground, to haue the ſame treaſure: for the Samboſes haue not the like ſtore of golde, that the Sapies haue. In this Iſland of Sambula, we found about 50. boates, called Almadyes, or Canoas, which are made of one peece of wood, digged out like a trough, but yet of a good proportion, being about 8. yardes long, and one in breadth, hauing a beake head, and a sterne very proportionably made, and on the out ſide artificially carued, and painted red, and blewe: they are able to carry 20. or 30. men, but they are about the coaſt able to carry three ſcore, and vpward. In theſe Canoas they rowe ſtanding vpright, with an ower ſomewhat longer then a man, the ende whereof is made about the breadth and length of a mans hand, of the largeſt ſort. They rowe very ſwift, and in ſome of them foure rowers, and one to ſteere make as much way, as a paire of oares in the Thames of London. Their townes are pretily diuided with a maine ſtreete at the entring in, that goeth thorough their Towne, and another ouerthwart ſtreete, which maketh their townes croſſe waies: their houſes are built in a ranke very orderly in the face of the ſtreete, and they are made round, like a doue cote, with ſtakes ſet full of Palmito leaues, in ſteede of a wall: they are not much more then a fathome large, & two of heigth, and thatched with Palmito leaues very cloſe, other ſome with reede, and ouer the roofe thereof, for the better garniſhing of the ſame, there is a round bundle of reede pretily contriued like a louer: in the inner part, they make a loft of ſticks, whereupon they lay all their prouiſion of victuals: a place they reſerue at their entrance for the kitchin, and the place they lie in is deuided with certaine mats artificially made with the rine of Palmito trees: their bed-

The Iſland called Sambula.

The Samboſe

Sapies.

The Canoas of Affrica.

The forme of their townes.

bedsteedes are of small staues, laide along, and raised a foote from the ground, vpon which is laide a matte, and another vpon them when they list: for other couering they haue none. In the middle of the Towne, there is a house larger and higher then the other, but in forme alike, adioyning vnto the which, there is a place made of foure good stancions of woode, and a round roofe ouer it, the grounde also raised round with claye, a foote high, vpon the which flooze were strawed many fine mats: this is the consultation house, the like whereof is in all Townes, as the Portingals affirme: in which place, when they sitte in Counsell, the King or Captaine sitteth in the middes, and the Elders vpon the flooze by him: (for they giue reuerence to their Elders,) and the common sorte sitte round about them. There they sitte to examine matters of theft, which if a man be taken with, to steale but a Portingall clothe from another, he is solde to the Portingals for a slaue. They consult also, and take order what tyme they shall goe to warres: and as it is certainly reported by the Portingals, they take order in gathering of fruites in the season of the yeere, and also for receauing of Palmito wine, which is gathered by a hole cutte in the toppe of a tree, and a gourde set for the receauing thereof, which falleth in by droppes, and yeeldeth freshe wine againe within a moneth, and this diuided, part and portion like to euery man, by the iudgement of the Captaine and Elders, euery man holdeth himselfe contented: and this surely I iudge to be a very good order: for otherwise, whereas scarsitie of Palmito is, euery man would haue the same, which might breede great strife: but for such things, as euery man doth plant for himselfe, the sower thereof reapeth it to his owne vse, so that nothing is common, but that which is vnset by mans handes. In their houses there is more common passage of Lizardes, like Eiuats, and other greater, of blacke and blewe colour, of neere a foote long, besides their tailes, then there is with vs of Mise in great houses. The Sapies and Samboses also, vse in their warres bowes and arrowes, made of reedes, with heads of yron poysoned with the iuice of a Cucumber, whereof I haue had many in my handes. In their battels they haue target men, with broade wicker targets, and darts with heades at both endes, of yron, the one in forme of a two edged sworde, a foote and a halfe long, and at the other ende, the yron long of the same length, made to counterpease it, that in casting, it might flee leuell, rather then for any other purpose, as I can iudge. And when they espie the enemie, the Captaine to cheere his men, crieth, Hungry, and they answere Heygre, and with that euery man placeth himselfe in order, for about euery target man three bowemen will couer themselues, and shoote as they see aduantage: and when they giue the onset, they make such terrible cryes, that they may be heard two miles off. For their beleefe, I can heare of none that they haue, but in such as they themselues imagine to see in their dreames, and so worshippe the pictures, whereof we sawe some like vnto Diuels. In this Iland aforesaide, wee sojourned vnto the one and twentieth of December, where hauing taken certaine Negroes, and of their fruites, rise, and mill, as we could well carry away, (whereof there was such store, that we might haue laden one of our Barkes therewith,) we departed, and at our departure, diuers of our men being desirous to goe a shoare, to fetch Pompions, which hauing prooued, they found to be very good, certaine of the Tygers men went also, amongest the which there was a Carpenter, a yong man, who with his fellowes hauing fet many, and carried them downe to their boates, as they were ready to depart, desired his fellowes to tarry, while he might goe vp to fetch a few which he had layed by for himselfe, who being more licorous then circumspect, went vp without weapon, and as hee went vp alone, possibly beeing marked of the Negroes that were vpon the trees, espying him what he did, perceauing him to be alone, and without weapon, dogged him, and finding him occupied in binding his Pompions together, came behind him, ouerthrowing him, and straight cutte his throate, as he afterwards was founde by his fellowes, who came to the place for him, and there founde him naked.

The extreme negligence of one of the companie.

The riuer Callowsa.

The two and twentieth the Captaine went into the Riuer, called Callowsa, with the two Barkes, and the Iohns pinnesse, and Salomons boate, leauing at anker in the Riuers mouth the two shippes, the Riuer being twentie leagues in, where the Portingals roade: he came the fiue and twentieth, and dispatched his busines, and so returned with two Carauels, loaden with Negroes.

The towne of Bymba.

The 27. the Captaine being aduertised by the Portingals, of a Towne of the Negroes, called Bymba, being in the way as they returned, where was not onely great quantitie of golde, but also that there were not aboue fortie men, and a hundred women, and children in the Towne, so that if hee woulde giue the aduenture vpon the same, hee might gette a hundreth slaues: with the which tydings hee beeing gladde, because the Portingals shoulde not thinke him to bee of so base a courage, but that hee durst to giue them that, and greater attempts: and being

being thereunto alſo the more prouoked with the proſperous ſucceſſe he had in other Iſlands adiacent, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boate 20. together, determined to ſtay before the Towne three or foure howres, to ſee what he could doe: and therefore prepared his men in armour, and weapon together, to the number of fortie men well appointed, hauing to their guides certaine Portingals, in a boate, who brought ſome of them to their death: we landing boate after boate, and diuers of our men ſcattering themſelues, contrarie to the Captaines will, by one or two in a companie, for the hope they had to finde golde in their houſes, ranſaking the ſame, in the meane time the Negroes came vppon them, and hurte many, beeing thus ſcattered, whereas if fiue or ſixe had bene together, they had bene able, as their companies did, to giue the ouerthrowe to 40. of them, and being driuen downe to take their boates, were followed ſo hardly by a route of Negroes, who by that tooke courage to purſue them to their boates, that not onely ſome of them, but others ſtanding a ſhoare, not looking for any ſuch matter, by meanes that the Negroes did flie at the firſt, and our companie remained in the towne, were ſuddenly ſo ſet vpon, that ſome with great hurt recouered their boates: other ſome not able to recouer the ſame, tooke the water, and periſhed by meanes of the oaze. While this was a doing, the Captaine, who with a doſen men went thorough the Towne, returned, finding 200. Negroes at the waters ſide, ſhooting at them in the boates, and cutting them in peeces, which were drowned in the water, at whoſe comming, they ranne all away: ſo he entred his boates, and before he could put off from the ſhore, they returned againe, and ſhot very fiercely, and hurt diuers of them. Thus wee returned backe, ſomewhat diſcomforted, although the Captaine in a ſingular wiſe manner, with countenance very cheerefull outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the great hurt of the reſt, although his heart inwardly was broken in peeces for it, done to this ende, that the Portingals being with him, ſhould not preſume to reſiſt againſt him, nor take occaſion to put him to further diſpleaſure or hinderance, for the death of our men: hauing gotten by our going ten Negroes, and loſt ſeuen of our beſt men, whereof Maſter Field, Captaine of the Salomon, was one, and we had 27. of our men hurt. In the ſame howre, while this was a doing, there happened at the ſame inſtant, a meruelous miracle to them in the ſhippes, who roade ten leagues to ſeaward, by many ſharks or Tuberons, who came about the ſhips, among which one was taken by the Ieſus, and foure by the Salomon, and one very ſore hurt, eſcaped: and ſo it fell out of our men, whereof one of the Ieſus men, and foure of the Salomons were killed, and the 5. hauing 20. wounds, was reſcued, and ſcaped with much adoe.

Portingals not to be truſted.

Want of circumſpection in our men.

The 28. they came to their ſhips, the Ieſus, and the Salomon, and the 30. departed from thence to Taggarin.

Taggarin.

The firſt of Ianuarie, the two barkes, and both the boates forſooke the ſhips, and went into a riuer, called the Caſſerroes, and the 6. hauing diſpatched their buſines, the two barkes returned, and came to Tagarrin, where the two ſhips were at anker. Not two daies after the comming of the two ſhippes thither, they put their water caſke a ſhoare, and filled it with water, to ſeaſon the ſame, thinking to haue filled it with freſh water afterward: and while their men were ſome a ſhoare, and ſome at their boates, the Negroes ſet vpon them in the boates, and hurt diuers of them, and came to the caſkes, and cut off the hoopes of twelue buts, which loſt vs 4. or 5. dayes time, beſides great want we had of the ſame: ſoiourning at Taggarin, the Swallowe went vp the riuer about her traffike, where they ſawe great townes of the Negroes, and Canoas, that had three ſcore men in a peece: there they vnderſtoode of the Portingals, of a great battell, betweene them of the Sierra Leona ſide, and them of Taggarin: they of Sierra Leona, had prepared 300. Canoas to inuade the other. The time was appointed not paſt 6. daies after our departure from thence, which we would haue ſeene, to the intent we might haue taken ſome of them, had it not bene for the death, and ſickenes of our men, which came by the contageouſnes of the place, which made vs to make haſte away.

Ianuary. The riuer of Caſſerroes.

Very great Canoas.

The contagion of the Countrey of Sierra Leona.

The 18. of Ianuarie at night, we departed from Taggarin, being bound to the Weſt Indiaes, before which departure, certaine of the Salomons men went a ſhoare, to fil water in the night, and as they came a ſhoare with their boate, being ready to leape a land, one of them eſpied a Negroe in a white coate, ſtanding vpon a rocke, being ready to haue receaued them, when they came a ſhoare, hauing in ſight of his fellowes alſo, eight or nine, ſome in one place leaping out, & ſome in another, but they hid themſelues ſtraight againe: whereupon our men doubting they had bene a great companie, and ſought to haue taken them at more aduantage, as God would, departed to their ſhippes, not thinking there had bene ſuch a miſchiefe pretended toward them, as then was in deede. Which the next day we vnderſtoode of a Portingall, that came downe to vs, who had trafficked with the Negroes, by whome he vnderſtoode, that the King of Sierra Leona had made all the power

power he could, to take some of vs, partly for the desire he had to see what kind of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, wherof he had newes before our comming, and as I iudge also, vpon other occasions prouoked by the Tangomangoes, but sure we were that the armie was come downe, by meanes that in the euening we sawe such a monstrous fire, made by the watring place, that before was not seene, which fire is the onely marke for the Tangomangoes, to knowe where their armie is alwaies. If these men had come downe in the euening, they had done vs great displeasure, for that we were a shoare, filling water: but God, who worketh all thinges for the best, woulde not haue it so, and by him wee escaped without danger, his name bee praysed for it.

Tangomangoes.

The 29. of the same moneth, we departed with all our ships from the Sierra Leona, towards the West Indias, where for the space of 28. daies, wee were becalmed, hauing nowe and then contrarie windes, and some Ternados amongest the same calme, which happened to vs very ill, being but reasonably watered, for so great a companie of Negroes, and our selues, which pinched vs all, and that which was worst, put vs in such feare, that many neuer thought to haue reached to the Indias, without great death of Negroes, and of themselues: but Almightie God, who neuer suffereth his elect to perish, sent vs the sixteene of Februarie, the ordinarie Briese, which is the Northwest winde, which neuer left vs, till we came to an Iland of the Cannybals, called Sancta Dominica, where we arriued the ninth of March, vpon a Satturday: and because it was the most desolate place in all the Iland, we could see no Cannybals, but some of their houses, where they dwelled, and as it should seeme, forsooke the place, for want of freshe water, for wee coulde finde none there but raine water, and such as fell from the hils, and remayned as a puddle in the dale, whereof we filled for our Negroes. The Cannybals of that Iland, and also others adiacent, are the moste desperate warriers that are in the Indias, by the Spaniards report, who are neuer able to conquer them, and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driuen to water there in any of those Ilands: of very late, not two moneths past, in the saide Iland, a Carauell being driuen to water, was in the night sette vpon by the Inhabitants, who cutte their cable in the halser, whereby they were driuen a shoare, and so taken by them, and eaten. The greene Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was Captaine, one Bontemps, in Marche also, came to one of those Ilands, called Granado, and being driuen to water, could not doe the same, for the Cannybals, who fought with him very desperately two daies. For our part also, if we had not lighted vpon the desertest place in all the Iland, we could not haue missed, but should haue bene greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards reportes, who make them Deuils in respect of men.

Februarie.

Dominica Iland. March.

Cannybals exceeding cruell, and to be auoided.

The tenth day, at night, we departed from thence, and the fifteenth had sight of nine Ilands, called the Testigos: and the sixteenth, of an Iland, called Margarita, where we were entertayned by the Alcalde, and had both beeues and sheepe giuen vs, for the refreshing of our men: but the Gouernour of the Iland, would neither come to speake with our Captaine, neither yet giue him any licence to traffike: and to displease vs the more, whereas wee had hired a Pilot, to haue gone with vs, they would neither suffer him to goe with vs, but also sent worde by a Carauell out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Uiceroy, who doth represent the Kings person, of our arriuall in those parts, which had like to haue turned vs to great displeasure, by the meanes that the same Uiceroy did send word to Capo de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them by the vertue of his authoritie, and the obedience that they owe to their Prince, no man should traffike with vs, but shoulde resiste vs with all the force they could. In this Iland, notwithstanding that we were not within foure leagues of the Towne, yet were they so afraid, that not onely the Gouernour himselfe, but also all the Inhabitants forsooke their Towne, assembling all the Indians to them, and fled into the mountaines, as we were partly certified, and also sawe the experience our selues, by some of the Indians comming to see vs, who by three Spaniards a horseback passing hard by vs, went vnto the Indians, hauing euery one of them their bowes, and arrowes, procuring them away, who before were conuersant with vs. Here perceauing no traffike to be had with them, nor yet water for the refreshing of our men, wee were driuen to depart the twentieth day, and the two and twentieth, we came to a place in the mayne, called Kenimnawo, whither the Captaine going in his pinnesse, spake with certaine Spaniards, of whome he demanded traffike, but they made him answere, they were but souldiers newly come thither, and were not able to buy one Negroe: whereupon he asked for a watring place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Sancta Fee, where we found maruelous goodly watring, and commodious for the taking in thereof: for that the fresh water came into the Sea, and so our shippes had aboord the shoare 20. fathome water. Neere about this place, inhabited certaine Indians, who the next day after

The Testigos Iland. Margarita Iland.

ter we came thither, came downe to vs, presenting vs with cakes of bread, which they had made of a kind of corne called Maise, in bignes of a pease, the eare whereof is much like to a teasell, but a span in length, hauing thereon a number of graines. Also they brought downe to vs which we bought for beades, pewter whistles, glasses, knines, and other trifles, Hennes, Potatoes and pines. These Potatoes be the most delicate rootes that may bee eaten, and doe farre exceede their passeneps or carets. Their pines be of the bignesse of two fistes, the outside whereof, is of the making of a pine-apple, but it is soft like the rinde of a Coucomber, and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious then any sweete apple sugred. These Indians be of colour tawnie like an Oliue; hauing euery one of them both men and women, haire all blacke, and no other colour, the women wearing the same hanging downe to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards, neither men nor women suffering any haire to growe in any part of their body, but daily puls it off as it groweth. They goe all naked, the men couering no part of their body but their yard, vpon the which they weare a gourd or piece of cane, made fast with a threed about his loines, leauing the other partes of their members vncouered, whereof they take no shame. The women also vncouered, sauing with a cloth which they weare a handbreadth, where with they couer their priuities both before and behind. These people be very small feeders, for trauelling, they carrie but two small bottels of gourdes, wherein they put in one the iuice of Sorrell whereof they haue great store, and in the other flowre of their Maise, which being moist, they eate, taking sometime of the other. These men carie euery man his bowe and arrowes, whereof some arrowes are poisoned for warres, which they keepe in a Cane together, which Cane is of the bignesse of a mans arme, other some with broad heades of iron wherewith they strike fishe in the water: the experience whereof we sawe not once nor twise, but daily for the time we taried there, for they are so good archers that the Spaniards for feare thereof arme themselues and their horses with quilted canuas of two inches thicke, and leaue no place of their bodie open to their enemies, sauing their eyes which they may not hide, and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling: their poison is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith, dieth within foure and twentie howers, as the Spaniards doe affirme, and in my iudgement it is like there can bee no stronger poyson as they make it, vsing thereunto apples which are very faire and red of colour, but are a strong poison, with the which together with venemous Bats, Vipers, Adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The vse of Sorrell.

The making of their poison.

The Indian women delight not when they are yong in bearing of children, because it maketh them haue hanging breasts which they account to bee great deforming in them, and vpon that occasion while they bee yong, they destroy their seede, saying, that it is fittest for olde women. Moreouer, when they are deliuered of childe, they goe straight to washe themselues, without making any further ceremonie for it, not lying in bed as our women doe. The beds which they haue are made of Gossopine cotton, and wrought artificially of diuers colours, which they carie about with them when they trauell, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein they and their women. The people bee surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to liue peaceablie, or els had it bene vnpossible for the Spaniards to haue conquered them as they did, and the more to liue now peaceable, they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

The maners of the yong women.

From hence we departed the eight and twentie, and the next day we passed betweene the maine land and the Island called Tortuga, a very lowe Island, in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fiue hundred sixtie fiue aforesaid, and sailed along the coast vntill the first of April, at which time the Captaine sayled along in the Iesus pinnace to discerne the coast, & saw many Caribes a shore, and some also in their Canowas, which made tokens vnto him of friendship, and shewed him golde, meaning thereby that they would traffique for wares. Whereupon hee stayed to see the maners of them, and so for two or three trifles gaue such things as they had about them and departed: but the Caribes were very vnfortunate to haue them come a shore, which if it had not bene for want of wares to traffique with them, he would not haue denied them, because the Indians we sawe before were very gentle people, and such as doe no man hurt. But as God would haue it, hee wanted that thing, which if hee had had, would haue bene his confusion: for these were no such kinde of people as wee tooke them to bee, but more diuelish a thousand partes, and are eaters and deuourers of any man they catche, as it was afterwardes declared vnto vs at Burborata, by a Carauell comming out of Spaine with certaine souldiours, and a captaine generall sent by the king for those East ward parts of the Indians, who sailing along in his pinnace as our Captaine did to descrie the coast, was by the Caribes called a shore with sundrie tokens made to him of friendshippe, and golde shewed as though they desired traffique, with the which the Spaniardes being mooued, suspecting no deceite at all, went a shore amongst them,

The Isle of Tortuga.

who was no sooner a shore, but with 4. or 5. more was taken, the rest of his company being inuaded by them, saued themselues by flight, but they that were taken, paied their ransome with their liues, and were presently eaten. And this is their practise to toll with their golde the ignorant to their snares: they are bloudsuckers both of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps, not sparing their owne countrymen if they can conueniently come by them. Their pollicie in fight with the Spaniards is maruelous: for they choose for their refuge the mountaines and woods where the Spaniards with their horses cannot follow them, and if they fortune to bee met in the plaine where one horseman may ouerrunne 100. of them, they haue a deuise of late practised by them to pitch stackes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes to mischiefe their horses, wherein they shew themselues politike warriours. They haue more abundaunce of gold then all the Spaniards haue, and liue vpon the mountains where the Mines are in such number, that the Spaniards haue much adoe to get any of them from them, and yet sometimes by assembling a great number of them, which happeneth once in two yeeres, they get a piece from them, which afterwards they keepe sure inough.

The crueltie of the Caribes.

Thus hauing escaped the daunger of them, wee kept our course along the coast, and came the third of Aprill to a Towne called Burborota, where his ships came to an anker, and hee himselfe went a shore to speake with the Spaniardes, to whom he declared himselfe to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them by the way of merchandize, and therefore required licence for the same. Vnto whom they made answere, that they were forbidden by the king to traffique with any forren nation, vpon penaltie to forfeit their goods, therfore they desired him not to molest them any further, but to depart as he came, for other comfort he might not looke for at their hands, because they were subiects & might not goe beyond the law. But he replied that his necessitie was such, he might not so doe: for being in one of the Queenes Armados of England, and hauing many souldiours in them, he had neede both of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also, without the which hee could not depart, and with much other talke perswaded them not to feare any dishonest part of his behalfe towards them, for neither would he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, vnlesse hee were too rigorously delt withall, which hee hoped not to finde at their handes, in that it should as well redound to their profite, as his owne, and also hee thought they might doe it without daunger, because their princes were in amitie one with another, and for our partes wee had free traffique in Spaine and Flaunders, which are in his dominions, and therefore hee knew no reason why hee should not haue the like in all his dominions. To the which the Spaniardes made answere, that it laie not in them to giue any licence, for that they had a gouernour to whom the gouernment of those partes was committed, but if they would stay tenne dayes, they would send to their gouernour who was three score leagues off, and would returne answere within the space appointed, of his mind.

Burborota.

In the meane time they were contented he should bring his ships into harbour, and there they would deliuer him any victuals he would require. Whereupon, the fourth day we went in, where being one day and receiuing all things according to promise, the captaine aduised himselfe, that to remaine there tenne dayes idle, spending victuals and mens wages, and perhaps in the ende receiue no good answere from the gouernour, it were meere follie, and therefore determined to make request to haue licence for the sale of certaine leane and sicke Negroes which he had in his shippe like to die vpon his hands if he kept them ten dayes, hauing litle or no refreshing for them, whereas other men hauing them, they would bee recouered well inough. And this request hee was forced to make, because he had not otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals & for necessaries which he should take: which request being put in writing and presented, the officers and townedwellers assembled together, and finding his request so reasonable, graunted him licence for thirtie Negroes, which afterwardes they caused the officers to view, to the intent they should grant to nothing but that were very reasonable, for feare of answering thereunto afterwardes. This being past, our captaine according to their licence, thought to haue made sale, but the day past and none came to buy, who before made shewe that they had great neede of them, and therefore wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Gouernour his answere because they would keepe themselues blamelesse, or for any other pollicie hee knew not, and for that purpose sent them worde, maruelling what the matter was that none came to buie them. They answered, because they had graunted licence onely to the poore to buie those Negroes of small price, and their money was not so readie as other mens of more wealth. More then that, as soone as euer they sawe the shippes, they conueyed away their money by their wiues that went into the mountaines for feare, and were not yet returned, and yet asked two dayes to seeke

their

their wiues and fetch their money. Notwithſtanding, the next day diuers of them came to cheapen, but could not agree of price, becauſe they thought the price to high. Whereupon the Captaine perceiuing they went about to bring downe the price, and meant to buie, and would not confeſſe if hee had licence, that hee might ſell at any reaſonable rate, as they were worth in other places, did ſend for the Principals of the Towne, and made a ſhew hee would depart, declaring himſelfe to be very ſory that hee had ſo much troubled them, and alſo that hee had ſent for the gouernour to come downe, ſeeing now his pretence was to depart, whereat they maruelled much, and aſked him what cauſe mooued him thereunto, ſeeing by their working he was in poſſibilitie to haue his licence. To the which he replied that it was not onely a licence that he ſought, but profite, which hee perceiued was not there to be had, and therefore would ſeeke further, and withall ſhewed him his writings what he paied for his Negroes, declaring alſo the great charge he was at in his ſhipping, and mens wages, and therefore to counteruaile his charges, hee muſt ſell his Negroes for a greater price then they offered. So they doubting his departure, put him in comfort to ſell better there then in any other place. And if it fell out that hee had no licence, that hee ſhould not looſe his labour in tarying, for they would buie without licence. Whereupon, the captaine being put in comfort, promiſed them to ſtay, ſo that hee might make ſale of his leane Negroes, which they graunted vnto. And the next day did ſell ſome of them, who hauing bought and paied for them, thinking to haue had a diſcharge of the Cuſtomer for the cuſtome of the Negroes, being the kings duetie, they gaue it away to the poore for Gods ſake, and did refuſe to giue the diſcharge in writing, and the poore not truſting their wordes, for feare, leaſt hereafter it might bee demaunded of them, did refraine from buying any more, ſo that nothing els was done vntill the Gouernours comming downe, which was the fourteenth day, and then the Captaine made petition, declaring that hee was come thither in a ſhippe of the Queenes maieſties of England, being bound to Guinie, and thither driuen by winde and weather, ſo that being come thither, hee had neede of ſundry neceſſaries for the reparation of the ſayde Nauie, and alſo great neede of money for the paiment of his Souldiours, vnto whom hee had promiſed paiment, and therefore although hee would, yet would not they depart without it, and for that purpoſe requeſted licence for the ſale of certaine of his Negroes, declaring that although they were forbidden to traffique with ſtraungers, yet for that there was a great amitie betweene their princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queenes highneſſe, hee thought he might doe their prince great ſeruice, and that it would bee well taken at his handes, to doe it in this cauſe. The which allegations with diuers others put in requeſt, were preſented vnto the Gouernour, who ſitting in counſell for that matter, granted vnto his requeſt for licence. But yet there fell out another thing which was the abating of the kings cuſtome, being vpon euery ſlaue 30. duckets, which would not be granted vnto.

Whereupon the captaine perceiuing that they would neither come neere his price hee looked for by a great deale, nor yet would abate the kings cuſtome of that they offered, ſo that either hee muſt bee a great looſer by his wares, or els compell the officers to abate the ſame kings cuſtome which was too vnreaſonable, for to a higher price hee could not bring the buiers: Therefore the ſixteenth of Aprill hee prepared one hundred men well armed with bowes, arrowes, harquebuſſes and pikes, with the which he marched to the towne wardes, and being perceiued by the Gouernour, hee ſtraight with all expedition ſent meſſengers to know his requeſt, deſiring him to marche no further forward vntill hee had anſwere againe, which incontinent hee ſhould haue. So our captaine declaring how vnreaſonable a thing the kinges cuſtome was, requeſted to haue the ſame abated, and to pay ſeuen and a halfe per centum, which is the ordinarie cuſtome for wares thorough his dominions there, and vnto this if they would not graunt, he would diſpleaſe them. And this worde being caried to the Gouernour, anſwere was returned that all things ſhould bee to his content, and thereupon hee determined to depart, but the ſouldiours and mariners finding ſo litle credite in their promiſes, demaunded gages for the performance of the premiſſes, or els they would not depart. And thus they being conſtrained to ſend gages, we departed, beginning our traffique, and ending the ſame without diſturbance.

An hundred Engliſhmen in armour.

Thus hauing made traffique in the harborough vntill the 28. our Captaine with his ſhips intended to goe out of the roade, and purpoſed to make ſhew of his departure, becauſe now the common ſort hauing imploied their money, the rich men were come to towne, who made no ſhew that they were come to buie, ſo that they went about to bring downe the price, and by this pollicie the captaine knew they would be made the more eger, for feare leaſt we departed, and they ſhould goe without any at all.

The nine and twentie we being at anker without the roade, a French ſhippe called the Greene

Dragon of Newhauen, whereof was captaine one Bon Temps came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the Sea, with certaine pieces of ordinaunce, and we resaluted him with the like againe: with whom hauing communication, he declared that he had bene at the Mine in Guinie, and was beaten off by the Portingals Gallies, and inforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was happened vnto the Minion, besides the captaine, Dauie Carlet and a merchaunt, with a doozen mariners betrayed by the Negroes at their first arriuall thither, and remaining prisoners with the Portingals, besides other misaduentures of the losse of their men, happened thorough the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of hunging home the ships, which was most sorowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The reports of the mishaps of the Minion in Guinie.

May. Thus hauing ended our traffique here the 4. of May, wee departed, leauing the French man behind vs, the night before the which, the Caribes whereof I haue made mention before, being to the number of 200. came in their Canowas to Burboroata, intending by night to haue burned the towne, and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant because of our being there, then their custome was, perceiuing them comming, raised the towne, who in a moment being a horseback, by meanes their custome is for all doubts to keepe their horses readie sadled, in the night set vpon them, and tooke one, the rest making shift for themselues, escaped away. But this one, because hee was their guide, and was the occasion that diuers times they had made inuasion vpon them, had for his trauell a stake thrust thorough his fundement, and so out at his necke.

Horses kept ready sadled.

The sixt of May aforesayd, wee came to an Island called Curasao, where wee had thought to haue ankred, but could not finde ground, and hauing let fall an anker with two cables, were faine to weie it againe, and the 7. sayling along the coast to seeke an harborow, and could finde none, came to an anker where wee rode open in the sea. In this place we had traffique for Hides, and found great refreshing both of beefe, mutton and lambes, whereof there was such plentie, that sauing the skinnes, we had the flesh giuen vs for nothing, the plentie whereof was so abundaunt, that the worst in the ship thought scorne not onely of mutton, but also of sodden lambe, which they disdained to eate vnrosted.

Exceeding plentie of cattell in Curasao

The increase of cattell in this Island is maruellous, which from a doozen of each sort brought thither by the gouernour, in 25. yeeres had 100. thousand at the least, and of other cattell was able to kill without spoile of the increase, 15. hundred yeerely, which he killeth for the skinnes, and of the flesh saueth onely the tongues, the rest he leaueth to the foule to deuour. And this I am able to affirme, not onely vpon the Gouernours owne report, who was the first that brought the increase thither, and so remaineth vnto this day, but also by that I sawe my selfe in one field, where an hundred oxen lay one by another all whole, sauing the skinne and tongue taken away, and it is not so maruelous a thing why they doe thus cast away the flesh in all the Islands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more then they are able to inhabite, the people fewe, hauing delicate fruits and meates inough besides to feede vpon, which they rather desire, and the increase which passeth mans reason to beleeue, when they come to a great number: for in S. Domingo an Island called by the finders thereof, Hispaniola, is so great quantitie of cattell, and such increase thereof, that notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not able to asswage the number of them, but they are deuoured by wild dogs, whose number is such by suffering them first to range the woods and mountains, that they eate and destroy 60000. a yeere, and yet small lacke found of them. And no maruell, for the said Island is almost as big as all England, and being the first place that was found of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, and therefore it ought of reason to be most populous, and to this hower the Uiceroy and counsell roiall, abideth there as in the chiefest place of all the Indies to prescribe orders to the rest for the kings behalfe, yet haue they but one citie and 13. villages in all the same Island, whereby the spoile of them in respect of the increase is nothing.

The 15. of the foresaid moneth we departed from Curasao, being not a little to the reioycing of our captaine and vs, that we had there ended our traffique, for notwithstanding our sweete meate, we had sower sauce, for by reason of our riding so open at sea, what with blasts whereby our ankers being a ground, three at once came home, and also with contrary windes blowing, whereby for feare of the shore we were faine to hale off to haue anker hold, sometimes a whole day and a night turning vp and downe, and this happened not once, but halfe a doozen times in the space of our being there.

The 16. wee passed by an Island called Aruba, and the 17. at night, ankred 6. howers at the West end of Cabo de La vela, and in the morning being the 18. weied againe, keeping our course, in the which time the captaine sailing by the shore in the pinnace, came to the Rancharia, a place where the Spaniards vse to fish for pearles, and there spoke with a Spaniard, who told him how farre

farre off he was from Rio de la Hacha, which becauſe he would not ouerſhoote, ankered that night againe, and the 19. came thither, where hauing talke with the kings treaſurer of the Indies reſident there, declared his quiet traffique in Burboroata, and ſhewed a certificate of the ſame, made by the gouernour thereof, and therefore he deſired to haue the like there alſo: but the treaſurer made anſwere that they were forbidden by the Uiceroy and counſell of S. Domingo, who hauing intelligence of our being on the coaſt, did ſend expreſſe commiſſion to reſiſt vs, with all the force they could, inſomuch that they durſt not traffique with vs in no caſe, alleaging that if they did, they ſhould looſe all that they did traffique for, beſides their bodies at the magiſtrates commaundement. Our captaine replied, that hee was in an Armado of the Queenes maieſties of England, and ſent about other her affaires, but driuen beſides his pretended voiage, was inforced by contrary windes to come into thoſe partes, where he hoped to find ſuch friendſhip as hee ſhould doe in Spaine, to the contrary wherof he knew no reaſon, in that there was amitie betwixt their princes. But ſeeing they would contrary to all reaſon goe about to withſtand his traffique, he would it ſhould not be ſaid by him, that hauing the force he hath, to be driuen from his traffique perforce, but he would rather put it in aduenture to trie whether he or they ſhould haue the better, and therefore willed them to determine either to giue him licence to trade, or els to ſtand to their owne harmes: So vpon this it was determined hee ſhould haue licence to trade, but they would giue him ſuch a price as was the one halfe leſſe then he had ſold for before, and thus they ſent word they would do, and none otherwiſe, & if it liked him not, he might do what he would, for they were not determined to deale otherwiſe with him. Wherupon, the captaine waying their vnconſcionable requeſt, wrote to them a letter, that they delt too rigorouſly with him, to goe about to cut his throte in the price of his commodities, which were ſo reaſonablie rated, as they could not by a great deale haue the like at any other mans hands. But ſeeing they had ſent him this to his ſupper, hee would in the morning bring them as good a breakefaſt. And therefore in the morning being the 21. of May, he ſhot of a whole Culuering to ſummon the towne, and preparing one hundred men in armour, went a ſhore, hauing in his great boate two Faulcons of braſſe, and in the other boates double baſes in their noſes, which being perceiued by the Townesmen, they incontinent in battell araie with their drumme and enſigne diſplayed, marched from the Towne to the ſands, of footemen to the number of an hundred and fiftie, making great bragges with their cries, and weauing vs a ſhore, whereby they made a ſemblant to haue fought with vs in deede. But our Captaine perceiuing them ſo bragge, commaunded the two Faulcons to bee diſcharged at them, which put them in no ſmall feare to ſee, as they afterward declared, ſuch great pieces in a boate. At euery ſhotte they fell flat to the ground, and as we approched neere vnto them, they broke their araie, and diſperſed themſelues ſo much for feare of the ordinaunce, that at laſt they went all away with their enſigne. The horſemen alſo being about thirtie, made as braue a ſhew as might be, courſing vp and downe with their horſes, their braue white leather Targets in the one hand, and their Jauelings in the other, as though they would haue receiued vs at our landing. But when we landed, they gaue ground, and conſulted what they ſhould doe, for litle they thought wee would haue landed ſo boldly: and therefore as the Captaine was putting his men in aray, and marched forward to haue encountred with them, they ſent a meſſenger on horſebacke with a flagge of truce to the Captaine, who declared that the treaſurer maruelled what hee ment to doe to come a ſhore in that order, in conſideration that they had graunted to euery reaſonable requeſt that hee did demaund: but the Captaine not well contented with this meſſenger, marched forwardes. The meſſenger praied him to ſtay his men, and ſaid, if hee would come apart from his men, the treaſurer would come and ſpeake with him, whereunto he did agree to common together. The captaine onely with his armour without weapon, and the treaſurer on horſeback with his iauelin, was afraid to come neere him for feare of his armour, which he ſaid was worſe then his weapon, and ſo keeping aloofe communing together, granted in fine to all his requeſts. Which being declared by the captaine to the company, they deſired to haue pledges for the performance of all things, doubting that otherwiſe when they had made themſelues ſtronger, they would haue bene at defiance with vs: and ſeeing that now they might haue what they would requeſt, they iudged it to be more wiſedome to be in aſſurance then to be forced to make any more labours about it. So vpon this, gages were ſent, and we made our traffique quietly with them. In ỹ meane time while we ſtaied here, we watred a good breadth off from the ſhore, where by the ſtrẽgth of the freſh water running into the ſea, the ſalt water was made freſh. In this riuer we ſaw many crocodils of ſundry bigneſſes, but ſome as big as a boat, with 4. feet, a long broad mouth, & a long taile, whoſe ſkin is ſo hard, that a ſword wil not pierce it. His nature is to liue out of the water as a frog doth, but he is a great deuourer, & ſpareth neither fiſh, which is his cõmon food, nor beaſts, nor men, if he take thẽ, as the proofe thereof was knowen

M. Hawkins his letter to the treaſurer of Rio de la Hacha.

by a Negroe, who as he was filling water in the riuer was by one of them caried cleane away, and neuer seene after. His nature is euer when he would haue his praie, to crie, and sobbe like a christian bodie, to prouoke them to come to him, and then hee snatcheth at them, and thereupon came this prouerbe that is applied vnto women when they weepe, Lachrymæ Crocodili, the meaning whereof is, that as the Crocadile when he crieth, goeth then about most to deceiue, so doth a woman most commonly when she weepeth. Of these the master of the Iesus watched one and by the bankes side stroke him with a pike of a bill in the side, and after 3. or 4. times turning in sight, he sunke downe, & was not afterward seene. In the time of our being in the riuers of Guinie, we saw many of a monstrous bignes, amongst the which the captaine being in one of the barks comming downe the same, shot a faulcon at one, which very narowly he missed, and with a feare plunged into the water, making a streame like the way of a boate.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a feare that the Spaniards doubted wee would haue done them some harme before wee departed, or for any treason that they pretended towardes vs, I am not able to say, but then came thither a captaine from some of the other townes, with a dozen souldiers, who vpon a time that our captaine and the treasurer cleared all things betweene them, and were in a communication of a debt of the gouernours of Burbora, which was to be paied by the said treasurer, who would not answere the same by any meanes. Certaine words of displeasure passed betwixt the captaine and him, and parting the one from the other, the treasurer possibly doubting that our captaine would perforce haue sought the same, did immediately commaund his men in armour both horsemen and footemen: but because the captaine was in the Riuer on the backe side of the towne with his other boates, and all his men vnarmed and without weapons, it was to be iudged he ment him litle good, hauing that aduantage of him, that comming vpon the sudden, he might haue mischieued many of his men, but the captaine hauing vnderstanding thereof, not trusting to their gentlenesse, if they might haue the aduauntage, departed aboord his ships, and at night returned againe, & demanded amongst other talke, what they ment by assembling their men in that order, and they answered, that their captaine being come to towne did muster his men according to his accustomed maner. But it is to bee iudged to bee a cloake, in that comming for ꝑ purpose he might haue done it sooner, but the trueth is, they were not of force vntill then, whereby to enterprise any matter against vs, by meanes of pikes and harquebusses, whereof they haue want, and were now furnished by our captaine, and also 3. faulcons, which hauing got in other places, they had secretly conueied thither, which made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a conuenient place to do such a feat, and time also seruing thereunto, by the meanes that our men were not only vnarmed and vnprouided, as at no time before the like, but also were occupied in hewing of wood, & least thinking of any harme: these were occasions to prouoke them thereunto. And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that * I with another gentleman being in the towne, thinking of no harme towards vs, and seeing men assembling in armour to the treasurers house, whereof I maruelled, and reuoking to minde the former talke betweene the captaine and him, and the vnreadinesse of our men, of whom aduauntage might haue bene taken, departed out of the Towne immediately to giue knowledge thereof, but before wee came to our men by a flight shot, two horsemen riding a gallop were come neere vs, being sent, as we did gesse, to stay vs least we should carie newes to our captaine, but seeing vs so neere our men staied their horses, comming together, and suffering vs to passe, belike because we were so neere, that if they had gone about the same, they had bene espied by some of our men which then immediately would haue departed, whereby they should haue bene frustrate of their pretence: and so the two horsemen ridde about the bushes to espie what wee did, and seeing vs gone, to the intent they might shadow their comming downe in post, whereof suspicion might be had, fained a simple excuse in asking whether he could sell any wine, but that seemed so simple to the captaine, that standing in doubt of their curtesie, hee returned in the morning with his 3. boates, appointed with bases in their noses, and his men with weapons accordingly, where as before he caried none: and thus dissembling all iniuries conceiued of both partes, the captaine went a shore, leauing pledges in the boates for himselfe, & cleared all things betweene the treasurer and him, sauing for the gouerners debt, which the one by no means would answere, nor the other, because it was no his due debt, he would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it vntill another time, & therefore departed, causing the two barkes which rode neere the shore to weie and goe vnder saile, which was done to the intent that captaine demaunding a testimoniall of his good behauiour there, could not haue the same vntill he were vnder the saile readie to depart, and therefore at night went for the same againe, and receiued it at the treasurers hand, of whom very curteously he tooke his leaue, and departed shooting of the bases of his boate for his farewell, and the townesmen also shot off foure

* The author of this storie.

foure faulcons and thirtie harquebusses, and this was the first time that we knew of the conueyance of theyr faulcons.

The 31 of May we departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola, and the fourth of June wee had sight of an Island, which we made to be Iamaica, maruelling that by the vehement course of the seas we should be driuen so farre to leeward: for setting our course to the West end of Hispaniola we fell with the middle of Iamaica, notwithstanding that to all mens sight it shewed a head land, but they were all deceiued by the clouds that lay vpon the land two dayes together, in such sort that we thought it to be the head land of the said Island. And a Spanyard being in the ship, who was a merchant, and inhabitant in Iamaica, hauing occasion to go to Guinie, and being by treason taken of the Negroes, & afterwards bought by the Tangomangoes, was by our captaine brought from thence, and had his passage to go into his countrey, who perceiuing the land, made as though he knew euery place therof, and pointed to certaine places, which he named to be such a place, and such a mans ground, and that behinde such a point was the harborow, but in the end he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leebord of all places, & found our selues at the West end of Iamaica before we were aware of it, and being once to leeward, there was no getting vp againe, so that by trusting of the Spanyards knowledge, our captaine sought not to speake with any of the inhabitãts, which if he had not made himselfe sure of, he would haue done, as his custom was in other places: but this man was a plague not onely to our captaine, who made him loose, by ouershooting the place, two thousand pounds by hides, which he might haue gotten, but also to himselfe, who being three yeeres out of his countrey, and in great misery in Guinie, both among the Negroes and Tangomangoes, and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure account, in that at his going in to the pinnesse, when he went a shoare he put on his new clothes, and for ioy flung away his olde, could not afterwards finde any habitation, neither there nor in all Cuba, which we sayled all along, but it fell out euer, by one occasion or other, that we were put beside the same, so that he was fayne to be brought into England, and it happened to him as it did to a Duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger, and being tolde by the Prophet Elizæus, that a bushell of flower should be solde for a sickle, would not beleeue him, but thought it vnpossible: and for that cause Elizæus propheſied he should see the same done, but he should not eate therof: so this man being absent three yeeres, and not euer thinking to haue seene his owne countrey, did see the same, went vpon it, and yet was it not his fortune to come to it, or to any habitation, whereby to remayne with his friendes according to his desire.

Thus hauing sailed along the coast two dayes, we departed the seuenth of June, being made to beleeue by the Spanyard, that it was not Iamaica, but rather Hispaniola, of which opinion the captaine also was, because that which he made Iamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby tooke it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast, and also for that being ignorant of the force of the currant, he could not beleeue he was so farre driuen to leeward, and therefore setting his course to Iamaica, and after certaine dayes, not finding the same, perceiued then certainly that the Island which he was at before, was Iamaica, and that the clouds did deceiue him, wherof he maruelled not a little: and this mistaking of the place came to as ill a passe as the ouershooting of Iamaica: for by this did he also ouerpasse a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz, where, as hee was informed, was great store of hides to be had: and thus being disappointed of two of his ports, where he thought to haue raised great profit by his traffike, and also to haue found great refreshing of victualles and water for his men, was now disappointed greatly, and such want he had of fresh water, that he was forced to seeke the shoare to obtaine the same, which he had sight of after certaine dayes ouerpassed with stormes and contrary windes, but yet not of the maine of Cuba, but of certaine Islands, in number two hundred, wherof the most part was desolate of inhabitants: by the which Islands the captaine passing in his pinnesse, could finde no fresh water vntill he came to an Island bigger then all the rest, called the Isle of Pinas, where we ankered with our shippes the sixteenth of June, and found water, which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by the meanes it is standing, and but the water of raine, and also being neere the sea was brackish, yet did we not refuse it, but were more glad therof, as the time then required, then we should haue beene another time with fine conduct water. Thus being reasonably watred we were desirous to depart, because the place was not very conuenient for such shippes of charge as they were, because there were many shoales leeward, and also lay open to the sea for any winde that should blowe, and therefore the captaine made the more haste away, which was not vnneedfull: for little sooner were there ankers weyed, and foresayle set, but there arose such a storme, that they had not much to spare for doubling out of the shoales: for one of the barks not being fully ready as the rest

June.

The deceitfull force of the currant.

Two hundred Islands for the most part not inhabited.

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was faine for haste to cutte the cable in the hawse, and loose both anker and cable to saue her selfe.

The cape of S. Anthony in Cuba.

Thus the seuenteenth of June we departed and the twentith fell with the West end of Cuba, called Cape S. Anthony, where for the space of three dayes, we doubled along till we came beyond the shoales, which are 20 leagues beyond S. Anthony. And the ordinary brise taking vs, which is the Northeast winde, put vs the 24 from the shoare, and therfore we went to the Northwest to fetch winde, and also to the coast of Florida to haue the helpe of the currant, which was iudged to haue set to the Eastward: so the 29 wee found our selues in 27 degrees, and in the soundings of Florida, where we kept our selues the space of foure dayes, sailing along the coast as neere as we could, in tenne or twelue fathome water, hauing all the while no sight of land.

Florida.

July. The isles of Tortugas. Great store of birds.

The fift of July we had sight of certaine Islandes of sand, called the Tortugas (which is lowe land) where the captaine went in with his pinnesse, and found such a number of birds, that in halfe an houre he laded her with them, and if they had beene tenne boats more, they might haue done the like. These Islandes beare the name of Tortels because of the number of them, which there doe breed, whose nature is to liue both in the water and vpon land also, but breed onely vpon the shoare, in making a great pit wherein they lay egges to the number of three or foure hundred, and couering them with sand, are hatched by the heat of the sunne, and by this meanes commeth the great increase. Of these we tooke very great ones, which haue both backe and belly all of bone of the thickenesse of an inch, the fish whereof we proued, eating much like veale, and finding a number of egges in them, tasted also of them, but they did eate very swelly. Heere we ankered sixe houres, and then springing a fayre gale of winde, we weyed anker, and made saile toward Cuba, whither we came the sixt day, and weathered as farre as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the forme thereof: heere we lay off and on all night, to keepe that wee had gotten to windeward, intending to haue watered in the morning, if we could haue done it, or els if the winde had come larger, to haue plyed to windeward to the Hauana, which is a harborow whereunto all the fleet of the Spanyards come, and doe there tarry to haue one the company of another. This hill we thinking to haue bene the Table, made account (as it was in deed) the Hauana, to be but eight leagues to windeward, but by the persuasion of a French man, who made the captaine beleeue hee knew the Table very well, and had beene at the Hauana, said that it was not the Table, and that the Table was much higher, and neerer to the sea side, and that there was no plaine ground to the Eastward, nor hilles to the Westward, but all was contrary, and that behinde the hilles to the Westward was the Hauana: to which persuasion credit being giuen by some, and they not of the worst, the captaine was persuaded to go to leeward, and so sailed along the seuenth and eight dayes, finding no habitation, nor no other Table, and then perceiuing his folly to giue eare to such praters, was not a little sorry, both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so farre to windeward againe, which would haue bene with the weathering which we had 10 or 12 dayes worke, and what it would haue beene longer he knew not, and that (which was worst) he had not aboue a dayes water, and therefore knew not what shift to make: but in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not liue with it, he determined to seeke water, and to go further to leeward, to a place (as it is set in the card) called Rio de los porcos, which he was in doubt of both whether it were inhabited, and whether there were water or not, and whether for the shoales he might haue such accesse with his shippes that he might conueniently take in the same: and while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, almighty God our guide (who would not suffer vs to runne into any further danger, which we had beene like to haue incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida along as we did before, which is so dangerous (by reports) that no shippe escapeth which commeth thither, as the Spanyards haue very well proued the same) sent vs the eight day at night a fayre Westerly winde, whereupon the captaine and company consulted, determining not to refuse Gods gift, but euery man was contented to pinch his owne belly whatsoeuer had happened, and taking the sayd winde, the ninth day of July got to the Table, and sailing the same night, vnawares ouershot the Hauana, at the which place we thought to haue watered, but the next day, not knowing that we had ouershot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it, and the eleuenth day in the morning, by certaine knowen markes, we vnderstood that we had ouershotte it twentie leagues: in which coast ranging, we found no conuenient watering place, whereby there was no remedy but to dissemble, and to water vpon the coast of Florida: for, to go further to the Eastward, we could not for the shoales, which are very dangerous, and because the currant shooteth to the Northeast, we doubted by the force therof to be set vpon them, and therefore durst not approach them: so making but reasonable way the day aforesaid, & all night: the 12 day in the morning, we fell with the Islands vpon the cape of Florida, which we could scant double by the

A hill called the Table.

The port of Hauana.

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meanes that fearing the ſhoales to the Eaſtwards, and doubting the currant comming out of the Weſt, which was not of that force we made account of, for we felt little or none till we fell with the cape, and then felt ſuch a currant, that bearing all ſailes againſt the ſame, yet were driuen backe againe a great pace: the experience whereof we had by the Jeſus pinneſſe, and the Sallomons boate, which were ſent the ſame day in the afternoone, while the ſhippes were becalmed, to ſee if they could finde any water vpon the Iſlands aforeſayd, who ſpent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being further off then they deemed it to be, and in the meane time a fayre gale of winde ſpringing at ſea, the ſhippes departed, making a ſigne to them to come away, who although they ſaw them depart, becauſe they were ſo neere the ſhoare would not looſe all the labour they had taken, but determined to keepe their way, and ſee if there were any water to be had, making no account but to finde the ſhippes well enough: but they ſpent ſo much time in filling the water which they had founde, that the night was come before they coulde make an end, and hauing loſt the ſight of the ſhippes, rowed what they could, but were wholly ignorant which way they ſhould ſeeke them againe, as in deede there was a more doubt then they knew of. For when they departed, the ſhippes were in no currant, and ſayling but a mile further, founde one ſo ſtrong, that bearing all ſailes, it coulde not preuaile againſt the ſame, but were driuen backe: whereupon the captaine ſent the Sallomon, with the other two barkes, to beare neere the ſhoare all night, becauſe the currant was leſſe there a great deale, and to beare light with ſhooting off a piece now and then, to the intent the boates might better knowe how to come to them. The ſtate of the currant of Florida.

The Jeſus alſo bare a light in her toppe gallant, and ſhot off a piece alſo now and then, but the night paſſed and the morning was come, being the thirteenth day, and no newes could be heard of them, but the ſhippes and barkes forſooke not, but to looke ſtill for them, yet they thought it was all in vaine, by the meanes they heard not of them all the night paſt, and therefore determined to tarry no longer, ſeeking for them till noone, and if they heard no newes, then they would depart to the Jeſus, who perforce (by the vehemency of the currant) was carryed almoſt out of ſight, but as God would haue it, now time being come, and they hauing tacked about in the pinneſſes top, had ſight of them, and tooke them vp: they in the boates, being to the number of one and twentie, hauing ſight of the ſhippes, and ſeeing them tacking about, whereas before at the firſt ſight of them did greatly reioyce, were now in a greater perplexitie then euer they were: for by this they thought themſelues vtterly forſaken, whereas before they were in ſome hope to haue found them. Truely God wrought maruellouſly for them, for they themſelues hauing no victualles but water, and being ſore oppreſſed with hunger, were not of opinion to beſtowe any further time in ſeeking the ſhippes then that preſent noone time: ſo that if they had not at that inſtant eſpyed them, they had gone to the ſhoare to haue made prouiſion for victualles, and with ſuch thinges as they could haue gotten, either to haue gone for that part of Florida, where the French men are (which would haue beene very hard for them to haue done, becauſe they wanted victualles to bring them thither, being one hundred and twentie leagues off) or els to haue remayned amongeſt the Floridians, at whoſe handes they were put in comfort by a French man, who was with them, that had remayned in Florida at the firſt finding thereof, a whole yeere together, to receiue victualles ſufficient, and gentle intertainement, if neede were, for a yeere or two, vntill which time God might haue prouided for them. But how contrary this would haue fallen out to their expectations, it is hard to iudge, ſeeing thoſe people of the cape of Florida, are of more ſauage and fierce nature, and more valiant then any of the reſt, which the Spanyardes well proued, who being fiue hundred men, who intended there to land, returned few or none of them, but were inforced to forſake the ſame, and of their cruelty mention is made in the booke of the Decades, of a fryer, who taking vpon him to perſuade the people to ſubiection, was by them taken with his ſkinne cruelly pulled ouer his eares, and his fleſh eaten.

In theſe Iſlandes they being a ſhoare, founde a dead man dried in a maner whole, with other heads and bodyes of men, ſo that thoſe ſorts of men are eaters of the fleſh of men, as well as the Canibals. But to returne to our purpoſe.

The foureteenth day the ſhippe and barks came to the Jeſus, bringing them newes of the recouery of the men, which was not a little to the reioycing of the captaine, and the whole company: and ſo then altogether they kept on their way along the coaſt of Florida, and the fifteenth day came to an anker, and ſo from ſixe and twenty degrees to thirtie degrees & halfe, where the French men are, ranging all the coaſt along, ſeeking for freſh water, ankering euery night, becauſe we woulde ouerſhoote no place of freſh water, and in the day time the captaine in the ſhippes pinneſſe ſayled along the ſhoare, went into euery creeke, ſpeaking with diuers of the Floridians, becauſe he would vnderſtand where the French men inhabited, and not finding them in eight and twentie degrees as M. Hawkins ranged all the coaſt of Florida.

as it was declared vnto him, maruelled thereat, and neuer left ſailing along the coaſt till he found them, who inhabited in a riuer, by them called the riuer of May, and ſtandeth in thirtie degrees and better. In ranging this coaſt along, the captaine found it to be all an Iſland, and therefore it is all lowe land, and very ſcant of freſh water, but the countrey was maruellouſly ſweet, with both marſh and medow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found Sorrell to growe as abundantly as graſſe, and where theyr houſes were, great ſtore of mayis and mill, and grapes of great bigneſſe, but of taſte much like our Engliſh grapes. Alſo Deere great plenty, which came vpon the ſands before them. Theyr houſes are not many together, for in one houſe a hundred of them do lodge: they being made much like a great barne, and in ſtrength not inferiour to ours, for it hath ſtanchions and rafters of whole trees, and couered with Palmito leaues, hauing no place diuided, but one ſmall roome for their King and Queene. In the middeſt of this houſe is a hearth where they make great fyers all night, and vpon certaine pieces of wood hewen in for the bowing of their backes, and another place made high for theyr heads, they lye vpon the ſame, which they put one by another all along the walles on both ſides. In their houſes they remaine onely in the nights, and in the day they deſire the fieldes, where they dreſſe their meat, and make prouiſion for victualles, which they prouide onely for a meale from hand to mouth. There is one thing to be maruelled at, for the making of their fire, and not onely they but alſo the Negroes doe the ſame, which is made onely by two ſtickes, rubbing them one againſt another: and this they may doe in any place they come, where they finde ſticks ſufficient for the purpoſe. In theyr apparell the men onely vſe deere ſkinnes, wherewith ſome only couer their priuy members, other ſome vſe the ſame as garments to couer them before and behinde, which ſkinnes are painted, ſome yellow & red, ſome blacke and ruſſet, and euery man according to his owne fancy. They do not omit to paint their bodies alſo with curious knots, or antike worke, as euery man in his owne fancy deuiſeth, which painting, to haue it to continue the better, they vſe with a thorne to pricke their fleſh, and dent in the ſame, whereby the painting may haue better holde. In their warres they vſe a ſlighter couler of painting their faces, therby to make themſelues ſhew the more fierce: which after their warres ended they waſh away againe. In their warres they vſe bowes and arrowes, whereof their bowes are made of a kinde of Yew, but blacker then ours, but many paſſing the ſtrength of the Negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours, their arrowes alſo of a great length, but yet of reeds like other Indians, but varying in two points both for length, and alſo for nocks and fethers, which the other lacke, whereby they ſhoot very ſteddy: the heads of the ſame are vipers teeth, bones of fiſhes, flint ſtones, piked points of kniues, which hauing gotten of the French men, broke the ſame, and put the points of them in their arrowes heads: ſome of them haue their heads of ſilue, other ſome that haue want of theſe, put in a kinde of hard wood, notched, which perceth as farre as any of the reſt. In their fight, being in the woods, they vſe a maruellous pollicie for their owne ſafegard, which is by claſping a tree in their armes, and yet ſhooting notwithſtanding: this pollicy they vſed with the French men in their fight, wherby it appeareth that they are people of ſome pollicy: and although they are called by the Spanyards Gente triſte, that is to ſay, Bad people, meaning therby, that they are not men of capacity: yet haue the French men found them ſo witty in their anſwers, that by the captaines owne report, a councellour with vs could not giue a more profound reaſon.

The riuer of May.

Florida found to be cut in Iſlands.

Sorrell.

The commodities of Florida.

The houſes of Florida.

The maner of kindling of fire in Florida.

The women alſo in their apparell vſe painted ſkinnes, but moſt of them gownes of moſſe, ſomewhat longer then our moſſe, which they ſowe together artificially, & make the ſame ſurpleſwiſe, wearing their haire downe to theyr ſhoulders, like the Indians. In this riuer of May aforeſaid, the captaine entring with his pinneſſe, found a French ſhip of foureſcore tunne, and two pinneſſes of fifteene tunne a piece, by her, and ſpeaking with the keepers thereof, they tolde him of a fort two leagues vp, which they had built, in which theyr captaine Mounſieur Laudonier was, with certaine ſouldiers therin. To whom our captaine ſending to vnderſtand of a watring place, where he might conueniently take it in, and to haue licence for the ſame, he ſtraight becauſe there was no conuenient place but vp the riuer fiue leagues, where the water was freſh, did ſend him a pilot for the more expedition thereof, to bring in one of his barkes, which going in with other boats prouided for the ſame purpoſe, ankered before the fort, into the which our captaine went, where he was by the general, with other captaines and ſouldiers, very gently intertained, and declared vnto him ꝑ time of their being there, which was 14 months, with the extremity they were driuē to for want of victuals, hauing brought very little with them, in which place they being 200 men at their firſt comming, had in ſhort ſpace eaten al the mayis they could buy of the inhabitants about them & therfore were driuen certeine of thē to ſerue a king of the Floridians againſt other his enemies for mill, and other victualles, which hauing gotten, coulde not ſerue them, being ſo many ſo long a time,

The French fort.

Monſieur Laudonier.

but

but want came vpon them in such sort, that they were faine to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitternesse of them, did vse the same for bread, eating withall sundry times rootes, whereof they found many good and wholesome, and such as serue rather for medicines then for meates alone. But this hardnesse not contenting some of them, who would not take the paynes so much as to fish in the riuer before they doores, but would haue all thinges put in they mouthes, did rebell agaynst the captaine, taking away first his armour, & afterward imprisoning him: and so to the number of fourescore of them, departed with a barke and a pinnesse, spoyling they store of victuall, and taking away a great part therof with them, and so went to the Islands of Hispaniola & Iamaica a rouing, where they spoiled, and pilled the Spanyardes, and hauing taken two caruels laden with wine and Casaua, which is a breade made of roots, and much other victualles and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith, but were of such hautie stomacks, that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harborough in Iamaica, going dayly a shoare at their pleasure. But God which would not suffer such euill doers vnpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long, that a shippe and galeasse being made out of S. Domingoes, came thither into the harborough, and tooke twentie of them, wherof the most part were hanged, and the rest carried into Spayne, and some (to the number of fiue and twentie) escaped in the pinnesse, and came to Florida, where at their landing they were put in prison, and incontinent foure of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the souldiours, did passe the harquebussers, and then were hanged vpon a gibbet. This lacke of threescore men was a great discourage & weakning to the rest, for they were of the best souldiors that they had: and wheras they had now made the inhabitants weary of them by their dayly crauing of mayis hauing no wares left to content them withall, and therefore inforced to robbe them, and to take away their victuall perforce, was the occasion that the Floridians (not well contented therewith) did take certaine of they company in the woods, and slew them, whereby there grew great warres betwixt them and the French men, and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but at such time as they were inforced therunto for want of food to do the same: and going twentie harquebussers in a company, were set vpon by eightene kings, hauing seuen or eight hundred men, which with one of they bowes slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and droue them all downe to they boats, whose pollicy in fight was to be maruelled at: for hauing shot at diuers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiuing that their arrowes did not preuaile against the same, they shot at their faces & legs, which were the places that the French men were hurt in. Thus the French men returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, hauing not aboue forty souldiors left vnhurt, whereby they might till make any more inuasions vpon the Floridians, and keepe their fort withall: which they must haue beene driuen vnto, had not God sent vs thither for their succour, for they had not aboue ten dayes victuall left before we came. In which perplexity our captaine seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meale, and foure pipes of beanes, with diuers other victuals and necessaries which he might conueniently spare: and to helpe them the better homewards whither they were bound before our comming, at their request we spared them one of our barks of fifty tunnes. Notwithstanding the great want that the French men had, the ground doth yeeld victuals sufficient, if they would haue taken paines to get the same, but they being souldiors, desired to liue by the sweat of other mens browes: for while they had peace with ȳ Floridians, they had fish sufficient, by weares which they made to catch the same: but when they grew to warres, the Floridians tooke away the same againe, and then would not the French men take the paines to make any more. The ground yeldeth naturally grapes in great store, for in the time that the French men were there, they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yeeldeth roots passing good, deere maruellous store, with diuers other beasts, and fowle, seruiceable to the vse of man. These be things wherewith a man might liue, hauing corne or mayis wherwith to make bread: for mayis maketh good sauory bread, and cakes as fine as flower. Also it maketh good meale beaten and sodden with water and eateth like pappe wherwith we feed children. It maketh also good beuerage sodden in water, and nourishable: which the French men did vse to drinke of in the morning, and it allayed their thirst, so that they had no need to drinke all the day after. And this mayis was the greatest lacke they had, because they had no labourers to sowe the same, and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisit to haue labourers to till and sowe the ground. For they hauing victuals of they owne, whereby they neither rob nor spoile the inhabitants, may liue not onely quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace then of warres, but also shall haue abundance of victuals profered them for nothing: for it is with them as it is with one of vs, when we see another man euer taking away from vs, although we haue enough besides, yet then we thinke all to little for our selues: for surely we haue heard the French men

Bread made of acorns.

The occasion of the falling out with the Floridians.

The French greatly relieued by M. Hawkins.

Twentie hogsheads of wine made in Florida, like to the wine of Orleance.

Labourers necessarie to inhabit new countries.

men repoꝛt, and I know it by the Indians that a very little contenteth them: foꝛ the Indians with the head of mayis roasted, will trauel a whole day, and when they are at the Spanyards finding, they giue them nothing but sodden herbs and mayis, & in this oꝛder I saw threescoꝛe of them seed, who were laden with wares, and came fiftie leagues off. The Floridians when they trauell haue a kinde of herbe dꝛyed, which with a cane, and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dꝛied herbs put together, do sucke thoꝛow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there with they liue foure oꝛ fiue dayes without meat oꝛ dꝛinke, and this all the French men vsed foꝛ this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks. The commodities of this land are moꝛe then are yet knowne to any man: foꝛ besides the land it selfe, whereof there is moꝛe then any king Christian is able to inhabit, it floꝛisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypꝛes, and other soꝛts, as better can not be in the woꝛld: they haue foꝛ apothicary herbes, trees, roots and gumme great stoꝛe, as Storax liquida, Turpintine, Gumme, Myrre and Frankinsence, with many others, wherof I know not the names. Coulers both red, blacke, yellow, and russet, very perfect, wherewith they paint their bodies, and deere skinnes which they weare about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, noꝛ altereth couler. Golde and siluer they want not: foꝛ at the French mens first comming thither, they had the same offered them foꝛ little oꝛ nothing, foꝛ they receiued foꝛ a hatchet two pound weight of golde, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the souldiours being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giuing them nothing foꝛ it: the which they perceiuing, that both the French men did greatly esteeme it, and also did rigoꝛously deale with them, by taking the same away from them, at last would not be knowen they had any moꝛe, neither durst they weare the same foꝛ feare of being taken away: so that sauing at their first comming, they could get none of them: and how they came by this golde and siluer, the French men know not as yet, but by gesse, who hauing trauelled to the Southwest of the cape, hauing foũd the same dangerous, by meanes of sundꝛy banks, as we also haue found the same, and there finding masts which were wꝛacks of Spanyards comming from Mexico, iudged that they had gotten treasure by them. Foꝛ it is most true that diuers wꝛacks haue beene made of Spanyards, hauing much treasure. Foꝛ the French men hauing trauelled to the capeward a hundꝛed and fiftie miles, did finde two Spanyards with the Floridians, which they bꝛought afterward to theyꝛ foꝛt, whereof one being a Carauell, comming from the Indias was cast away foureteene yeeres ago, and the other twelue yeeres, whose fellowes some escaped, other some were slaine by the inhabitants. It seemeth they had estimation of theyꝛ golde and siluer, foꝛ it is wꝛought flat and grauen, which they weare about their necks, other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the middest to boalster bp their bꝛestes withall, because they thinke it a defoꝛmitie to haue great bꝛests. As foꝛ mines either of golde oꝛ siluer, the French men can heare of none they haue vpon the Iland, but of copper, whereof as yet also they haue not made the pꝛoofe, because they were but few men: but it is not vnlike, but that in the maine where are high hilles, may be golde and siluer as well as in Mexico, because it is all one maine. The French men obtained pearles of them of great bigneſſe, but they were blacke, by meanes of roasting of them, foꝛ they do not fish foꝛ them as the Spanyards do, but foꝛ their meat: foꝛ the Spanyardes vse to keepe dayly a fishing some two oꝛ three hundꝛed Indians, some of them that be of choyse a thousand: and their oꝛder is to goe in Canoaes, oꝛ rather great pinnesses, with thirtie men in a piece, whereof the one halfe, oꝛ most part be diuers, the rest doe open the same foꝛ the pearles: foꝛ it is not suffered that they should vse dꝛagging, foꝛ that would bring them out of estimation, and marre the beads of them. The oysters which haue the smallest soꝛt of pearles are found in seuen oꝛ eight fathome water, but the greatest in eleuen oꝛ twelue fathom.

The Floridians haue pieces of Unicones hoꝛnes, which they were about their necks, whereof the French men obtayned many pieces. Of those Unicoꝛnes they haue many, foꝛ that they doe affirme it to be a beast with one hoꝛne, which comming to the riuer to dꝛinke, putteth the same into the water befoꝛe shee dꝛinketh. Of these Unicoꝛnes there is of our company, that hauing gotten the same of the French men, bꝛought home thereof to shewe. It is therefoꝛe to be pꝛesuppoſed that there are moꝛe commodities, as well as that, which foꝛ want of time, and people sufficient to inhabite the same, can not yet come to light: but I trust God will reueale the same befoꝛe it be long, to the great pꝛofite of them that shall take it in hand. Of beastes in this countrey besides Deere, Foxes, Hares, Polcats, Cunnies, Dwnces, Leopards, I am not able certainely to say: but it is thought that there are Lions and Tygers as well as Unicoꝛnes, Lions especially, if it bee true that is said of the enmity betweene them & the Unicoꝛnes. Foꝛ there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the Cunny the Polcat, a Sheepe the Wolfe, the Elephant the Rinoceros, and so of other beasts the like: insomuch, that wheras the one is the other can not be missing. And seeing I haue

made

Tabacco, & the great vertue thereof.

The variety of commodities in Florida.

Coulers.

Golde and siluer.

Two Spanyards liued long among the Floridians

Pieces of golde grauen among the Floridians.

Florida esteemed an iland.

This copper was found perfect golde, called by the Sauages, Syeroa phyra.

Pearles.

Unicorns hoꝛnes, which the inhabitats call Soumanma.

Beastes.

made mention of the beaſtes of this Countrey, it ſhal not be from my purpoſe to ſpeake alſo of the venemous beaſtes, as Crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, Adders of great bigneſſe, whereof our men killed ſome of a yard and a halfe long. Alſo I heard a miracle of one of theſe adders, vpon the which a Faulcon ſeazing, the ſaide adder did claſpe her taile about her, which the French Captaine ſeeing, came to the reſcue of the faulcon, and tooke her ſlaying the adder, and this faulcon being wilde hee did reclaime her, and kept her for the ſpace of 2. moneths, at which time for very want of meat he was faine to call her off: On theſe adders the Frenchmen did feede to no litle admiration of vs, and affirmed the ſame to be a delicate meate. And the Captaine of the Frenchmen ſawe alſo a Serpent with 3. heads and 4. feete, of the bigneſſe of a great Spaniell which for want of a harquebuſſe he durſt not attempt to ſlay. Of fiſhe alſo they haue in the riuer, pike, roche, ſalmon, troute, and diuers other ſmall fiſhes, and of great fiſh, ſome of the length of a man and longer, being of bigneſſe accordingly, hauing a ſnoute much like a ſworde of a yarde long. There be alſo of ſea fiſhes which wee ſawe comming along the coaſt flying, which are of the bigneſſe of a ſmelt, the biggeſt ſort whereof haue foure winges, but the other haue but two: Of theſe we ſawe comming out of Guinea, a hundreth in a companie, which being chaſed by the Gilt heads, otherwiſe called the Bonitoes, doe to auoyde them the better take their flight out of the water, but yet are they not able to flie farre, becauſe of the drying of their winges, which ſerue them not to flye but when they are moyſte, and therefore when they can flye no further, fall into the water, and hauing wette their wings take a newe flight againe. Theſe Bonitoes be of bigneſſe like a carpe, and in colour like a makarell, but it is the ſwifteſt fiſh in ſwimming that is, and followeth her praye very fiercely, not onely in the water, but alſo out of the water: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doeth this Bonito leape after them, and taketh them ſometimes aboue the water. They were ſome of thoſe Bonitoes, which being galled by a fiſgig did follow our ſhip comming out of Guinea 500. leagues. There is a ſea foule alſo that chaſeth this flying fiſh as wel as the Bonito: for as the flying fiſh taketh her flight, ſo doth this foule purſue to take her, which to beholde is a greater pleaſure then hauking, for both the flights are as pleaſant, and alſo more often then 100. times: for the foule can flie no way but one or other lighteth in her pawes, the nomber of them are ſo abundant. There is an innumerable pong frie of theſe flying fiſhes, which commonly keepe about the ſhippe, and are not ſo bigge as butterflies, and yet by flying doe auoyde the inſatiableneſſe of the Bonito. Of the bigger ſort of theſe fiſhes we tooke many, which both night and day flew into the ſailes of our ſhippe, and there was not one of them which was not worth a Bonito: for being put vpon a hooke trabling in the water, the Bonito would leape thereat, and ſo was taken. Alſo, we tooke many with a white clothe made faſt to a hooke, which being tied ſo ſhort in the water, that it might leape out, and in, the greedie Bonito thinking it to be a flying fiſh leapeth thereat, and ſo is deceiued: Wee tooke alſo Dolphins which are of very goodly colour and proportion to beholde, and no leſſe delicate in taſte. Foules alſo there be many, both vpon lande and vpon ſea: But concerning them on the lande I am not able to name them, becauſe my abode was there ſo ſhort. But for the foule of the freſh riuers, theſe two I noted to bee the chiefe, whereof the Flemengo is one, hauing all redde fethers, and long redde legges like a Herne, a necke according to the bill redde, whereof the vpper nebbe hangeth an inche ouer the nether; And an Egripte which is all white as the ſwanne, with legges like to an hearneſhewe, and of bigneſſe accordingly, but it hath in her taile feathers of ſo fine a plume, that it paſſeth the Eſtridge his feather. Of ſea foule aboue all other not common in Englande, I noted the Pellicane, which is faigned to be the louingeſt birde that is: which rather then her yong ſhoulde want, will ſpare her heart bloud out of her bellie, but for all this louingneſſe ſhee is very deformed to beholde, for ſhee is of colour ruſſet, notwithſtanding in Guinea I haue ſeene of them as white as a ſwanne, hauing legges like the ſame, and a body like a Herne, with a long necke, and a thicke long beake, from the nether iawe whereof downe to the breaſt paſſeth a ſkinne of ſuch a bigneſſe, as is able to receiue a fiſhe as bigge as ones thigh, and this her bigge throate and long bill, doeth make her ſeeme ſo ougly.

Faulcons in Florida.

Serpents.

Dolphins.

Flemingo.

The Egript.

The Pellicane

Here I haue declared the eſtate of Florida, and the commodities therein to this day knowen, which although it may ſeeme vnto ſome, by the meanes that the plentie of Golde and Siluer is not ſo abundant, as in other places, that the coſt beſtowed vpon the ſame, will not bee able to quite the charges: Yet am I of the opinion, that by that which I haue ſeene in other Iſlandes of the Indians, where ſuch increaſe of cattell hath bene that of twelue head of beaſtes in 25. yeeres, did in the hides of them raiſe 1000. pound profite yeerely, that the increaſe of cattell onely would raiſe profite ſufficient for the ſame: For wee may conſider, if ſo ſmall a portion did raiſe ſo much gaines in ſuch ſhort time, What would a greater doe in many yeeres?

Meanes to reape a ſufficient profite in Florida and Virginia.

And surely I may this affirme, that the ground of the Indians for the breede of cattell, is not in any point to be compared to this of Florida, which all the yeere long is so greene, as any time in the Sommer with vs: which surely is not to be marueiled at, seeing the Countrey standeth in so watrie a climate: for once a day without faile, they haue a showre of raine. Which by meanes of the Countrey it selfe, which is drie, and more feruent hot then ours, doeth make all things to flourish therein: and because there is not the thing wee all seeke for, being rather desirous of present gaines, I do therefore affirme the attempt therof to be more requisite for a prince, who is of power able to goe thorow with the same, rather then for any subiect.

From thence we departed the 28. of July, vpon our voyage homewards, hauing there al things as might be most conuenient for our purpose: and tooke leaue of the Frenchmen that there still remained, who with diligence determined to make great speede after, as they coulde. Thus by meanes of contrary windes oftentimes, we prolonged our voyage in such manner that victuals scanted with vs, so that wee were diuers (or rather the most part) in despaire of euer comming home, had not God of his goodnesse better prouided for vs, then our deseruing. In which state of great miserie, we were prouoked to call vpon him by feruent prayer, which mooued him to heare vs, so that wee had a prosperous winde, which did set vs so farre shotte, as to be vpon the banke of Newfound land, on S. Bartlemewes eue, & sounded thereupon finding ground, at 130. fathoms, being that day somewhat becalmed, and tooke a great number of fresh codde fish, which greatly relieued vs: and very glad thereof, the next day departing, by lingring little gales for the space of foure or fiue dayes, at the which we sawe a couple of French ships, and had so much fish as woulde serue vs plentifully for all the rest of the way, the Captaine paying for the same both golde and siluer, to the iust value thereof, vnto the chiefe owners of the saide shippes, which they not looking for any thing at all, were glad in themselues to meete with such good interteinement at sea, as they had at our handes. After which departure from them, with a good large winde the 20. of September we came to Padstow in Cornewall God be thanked, in safetie, with the losse of 20. persons in all the voyage, and profitable to the venturers of the saide voyage, as also to the whole Realme, in bringing home both golde, siluer, pearles and other iewels great store. His name therefore be praised for euermore. Amen.

Their arriual in Padstow in the moneth of September, 1565.

The names of certaine Gentlemen that were in this voyage.

M.Iohn Hawkins.
M.Iohn Chester, } sir William Chesters sonne.
M.Anthony Parkhurst.
M.Fitzwilliam.
M,Thomas Woorley.
M.Edward Lacie, } with diuers others.

The Regist er and true accompts of all herein expressed, hath bene approoued by mee Iohn Sparke the yonger, who went vpon the same voyage, and wrote the same.

The arriuall and courtesie of M.Hawkins to the distressed *Frenchmen in Florida, is elsewhere also recorded, both in French,* and English, in the historie of Laudonier, written by himselfe, and printed in Paris, Anno 1586. And translated into English by me Richard Hackuyt, Anno 1587. and published as followeth.

‖Laudoniere and his companie.

SOone after ‖ vs were much tormented in minde with diuers cogitations, the thirde of August I descried foure sailes in the Sea, as I walked vpon a little hill, whereof I was exceeding well apayde: I sent immediatly one of them which were with me, to aduertise those of the fort thereof, which were so glad of those newes, that one would haue thought them to be out of their wits, to see them laugh and leape for ioy. After these shippes had cast ancre, we descried that they sent off their shippe boates to land: whereupon I caused one of mine to be armed with diligence to sende to meete them, and to knowe who they were.

In

In the meane while fearing leaſt they were Spaniards, I ſet my ſouldiers in order and readineſſe, attending the returne of Captaine Vaſſeur, and my lieutenant, which were gone to meete them, who brought me word that they were Engliſhmen. And in trueth they had in their companie one whoſe name was Martine Attinas of Diepe, which at that time was in their ſeruice: which on the behalfe of M. Iohn Haukins their Generall came to requeſt me that I would ſuffer them to take freſh water, whereof they ſtoode in great neede, ſignifying vnto me that they had bene aboue 15. dayes on the coaſt to get ſome. He brought vnto me from the Generall 2. flagons of wine, & bread made of wheate, which greatly refreſhed mee, foraſmuch as for 7. moneths ſpace, I neuer taſted a drop of wine: neuertheleſſe it was all deuided among ỹ greateſt part of my ſouldiers: this Martin Attinas had guided ỹ Engliſhmen to our coaſt, wherwith he was acquainted. For in ỹ yere 1562. he came thither with me, & therfore the General ſent him to me. Therfore after I had granted his requeſt, he ſignified the ſame vnto ỹ general, which the next day following cauſed one of his ſmall ſhips to enter into the riuer, & came to ſee me in a great ſhipboat, accompanied wᵗ gentlemẽ honorably apparelled, yet vnarmed: he ſent for great ſtore of bread & wine to diſtribute thereof to euery one. On my part I made him the beſt cheare I could poſſibly, & cauſed certaine ſheepe & poultry to be killed, which vnto this preſent I had cauſed carefully to be preſerued, hoping to ſtore ỹ coũtrey withal. Now 3. dayes paſſed while the Engliſh general remained wᵗ me, during which time the Indians came in frõ all parts to ſee me, & aſked me whether he were my brother: I told them he was ſo, & ſignified vnto them, that he was come to ſee me, & ayde me with ſo great ſtore of victuals, that frõ hence forward I ſhould haue no need to take any thing of them. The bruit hereof incontinently was ſpred ouer all ỹ countrie, in ſuch ſort, as Ambaſſadors came vnto me frõ al parts, which on the behalfe of the kings their maſters, deſired to make alliance wᵗ me, & euen they which before ſought to make warre againſt me, came to offer their ſeruice & friendſhip vnto me: whereupon I receiued them, & gratified them with certaine preſents. The general immediatly vnderſtood the deſire and vrgent occaſion which I had to returne into France; whereupon he offred to tranſport me, & al my company home: whereunto notwithſtanding I would not agree, being in doubt vpon what occaſion he made ſo large an offer. For I knew not how the caſe ſtood betwixt the French & the Engliſh: and although he promiſed me on his faith to put me on land in France, before he would touch in England, yet I ſtood in doubt leaſt he would attempt ſomewhat in Florida in the name of his Miſtreſſe: wherefore I flatly refuſed his offer. Whereupon there roſe a great mutinie among my ſouldiers, which ſaid that I ſought to deſtroy them al, And that the Brigandine whereof I ſpake before, was not ſufficient to tranſport them, conſidering the ſeaſon of the yeere, wherein wee were. The bruite and mutinie increaſed more and more: for after that the generall was returned to his ſhips, he told certaine gentlemen and ſouldiers which went to ſee him, partly to make good cheere with him, he declared and ſaid vnto them, that he greatly doubted, that hardly we ſhould be able to paſſe ſafely in thoſe veſſels which we had, and that in caſe we ſhould enterpriſe the ſame, we ſhould no doubt be in great ieopardie: Notwithſtanding, if I were ſo cõtented, he would tranſport part of my men in his ſhips, and that he would leaue me a ſmall ſhip to tranſport the reſt. The ſouldiers were no ſooner come home, but they ſignified the offer vnto their companions, which incontinently conſented together, that in caſe I would not accept the ſame, they would imbarke themſelues with him, and forſake me, ſo that he would receiue them according to his promiſe. They therefore aſſembled themſelues together, and came to ſeeke me in my chamber, and ſignified vnto me their intention, Whereunto I promiſed to anſwere them in one houre after. In which meane ſpace I gathered together the principall members of my companie, which, after that I had broken the matter with them, anſwered mee all with one voyce, that I ought not to refuſe his offer, nor contemne the occaſion which preſented it ſelfe. And that they coulde not thinke euill of it in France, if, being forſaken as we were, wee ayded our ſelues with ſuch meanes, as God hath ſent to vs. After ſundrie debatings of this matter, in concluſion I gaue my aduiſe that wee ought to deliuer him the price of the ſhippe which hee was to leaue vs, and that for my part I was content to giue him the beſt of my ſtuffe, and the ſiluer which I had gathered in the Countrey.

Whereupon notwithſtanding it was determined, that I ſhould keepe the ſiluer, for feare leaſt the Queene of Englande ſeeing the ſame, ſhoulde the rather bee incouraged to ſet footing there, as before ſhe had deſired: That it was farre better to carry it into Fraunce, to giue incouragement to our Princes not to leaue off ſuch an enterpriſe of ſo great importance for our Common wealth. And that ſeeing wee were reſolued to depart, it was farre better to giue him our Artillerie, which otherwiſe wee ſhould be conſtrained to leaue behinde vs, or to hide in the ground, by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of our men, being not able to imbarke the ſame. This point being thus concluded, and reſolued on, I went (my ſelfe) vnto the Engliſh Generall, accompanied

Siluer in Florida.

with my lieuetenant, and Captaine Vasseur, Captaine Verdier, and Trenchant the pilot, and my seriant, al men of experience in such affaires, & knowing sufficiently how to driue such a bargaine. We therefore tooke a view of the ship, which the Generall would sell, whom we drew to such reason, that he was content to stand vnto mine owne mens iudgement, who esteemed it to bee worth 700. crownes, whereof we agreed very friendly. Wherefore I deliuered him in earnest of the summe, 2. bastards, 2. minions, one thousand of yron, & one thousand of pouder: this bargaine thus made, he considered the necessitie wherein we were, having for al our sustenance but mil & water: whereupon being mooued with pitie, he offered to relieue me with 20. barrels of meale, 6. pipes of beanes, one hogshead of salt, and 100. of waxe to make candles. Moreouer, for somuch as he saw my souldiers goe barefoote, he offered me besides 50. paire of shoes, which I accepted, and agreed of a price with him, and gaue him a bill of my hand for the same, for which vntil this present I am indebted to him. He did more then this, for particularly he bestowed vpon my selfe a great iarre of oyle, a iarre of vineger, a barrel of oliues, and a great quantitie of rise, and a barrel of white bisket: besides he gaue diuers presents to the principall officers of my company, according to their qualities. So that I may say, that we receiued as many courtesies of the General, as it was possible to receiue of any man liuing. Wherein doubtlesse, he hath wonne the reputation of a good & charitable man, deseruing to be esteemed as much of vs al, as if he had saued all our liues. Incontinent after his departure, I spared no paines to hasten my men, to make biscuits of the meale which hee had left me, and to hoope my caske to take in water needefull for the voyage.

Thus farre Laudoniere, concerning M. Haukins and his courtesie.

A relation of the commodities of Noua Hispania, and the *maners of the inhabitants, written by Henry Hawkes mar-* chant, which liued 5. yeeres in the said Countrey, and drewe the same at the request of M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire of Eiton in the Countie of Hereford, 1572.

S. Iohn de Vllua.

Saint Iohn de Vllua, is an Island not high aboue the water, whereas nowe the Spaniards, vpon M. Iohn Hawkins being there, are in making a strong fort. In this place all the shippes that come out of Spaine with goods for these parts do vnlade. For they haue none other port so good as this is. The comming into this place hath 3. chanels, and the best of all is the Northermost, which goeth by the maine land: and on euery side of the chanels, there are many small rockes as bigge as a small barrell: they will make men stand in doubt of them, but there is no feare of them. There is another Island thereby called the Island of sacrifices, whereas the Spaniards did in times past vnlade their goods. And for that they say there are vpon it spirits or deuils, it is not frequented as it hath bene. In these places the North winde hath so great dominion, that oftentimes it destroyeth many shippes and barkes. This place is giuen to great sicknesse. These Islands stand in 18. degrees and a halfe, and about the same is great plentie of fish.

Spirits.

Fiue leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua is a faire riuer: it lieth Northwest from the porte, and goeth to a little towne of the Spaniards called Vera Cruz, and with small vessels or barkes, which they call Fragates, they carry all their marchandise which commeth out of Spaine, to the said towne: and in like maner bring all the golde, siluer, Cochonelio, hides, and all other things that the shippes carry into Spaine vnto them. And the goods being in Vera Cruz, they carry it to Mexico, and to Pueblo del los Angelos, Sacatecas, and Saint Martin, and diuers other places so farre within the Countrey, that some of them are 700. miles off, and some more and some lesse, all vpon horses, mules, and in waynes drawne with oxen, and in carres drawne with mules. In this towne of Vera Cruz within these 20. yeres, when women were brought to bedde, the children newe borne incontinently died: which is not so now in these dayes, God be thanked.

Vera Cruz.

This towne is inclined to many kinde of diseases by reason of the great heate, and a certaine gnat or flie which they call a Muskito, & biteth both men and women in their sleepe, and as soone as they are bitten, incontinently the flesh swelleth as though they had bene bitten with some venemous worme. And this Muskito or gnat doeth most followe such as are newly come into the Countrey: Many there are that die of this annoyance.

Muskito.

This towne is situated vpon the riuer aforesaide, and compassed with woods of diuers maners and sortes, and many fruits, as Oranges and lemmons, Guiaues, and diuers others, and birds in them,

them, popiniayes both ſmall and great, and ſome of them as bigge as a rauen, and their tailes as long as the taile of a Feſant. There are alſo many other kinde of birdes of purple coullek, and ſmall monkies marueilous proper. Popiniayes. Monkies.

This hotte or ſicke Countrey continueth 45. miles towardes the Citie of Mexico: and the 45. miles being paſſed, then there is a temperate Countrey and full of tillage: but they water all their corne with riuers which they turne in vpon it. And they gather their wheate twiſe a yeere. And if they ſhould not water the ground where as their corne is ſowne, the Countrey is ſo hotte it would burne all. Wheate twiſe in a yeere.

Before you come to Mexico, there is a great towne called Tlaxcalla, which hath in it aboue 16000. houſeholds. All the inhabitants thereof are free by the kings of Spaine: for theſe were the occaſion that Mexico was wonne in ſo ſhort time, and with ſo little loſſe of men. Wherefore they are all Gentlemen and pay no tribute to the king. In this towne is all the Cochonilio growing. Tlaxcalla a free Citie.

Mexico is a great Citie: it hath more then fiftie thouſande houſeholds, whereof there are not paſt fiue or ſixe thouſande houſes of Spaniards, all the other are the people of the Countrey, which liue vnder the Spaniards lawes. There are in this Citie ſtately buildings and many Monaſteries of friers and nonnes which the Spaniards haue made. And the building of the Indians is ſomewhat beautifull outwardly, and within full of ſmall chambers, with very ſmall windoes, which is not ſo comely as the building of the Spaniards. This Citie ſtandeth in the middeſt of a great lake, and the water goeth through all or the moſt part of the ſtreetes, and there come ſmall boates, which they call Canoas, and in them they bring all things neceſſary, as wood and coales, and graſſe for their horſes, ſtones and lime to builde, and corne. Mexico.

This Citie is ſubiect to many earthquakes, which oftentimes caſt downe houſes, and kill people. This Citie is very well prouided of water to drinke, and with al maner of victuals, as fruits, fleſh and fiſh, bread, hennes and capons, Guinie cocks and hennes, and all other foule. There are in this Citie euery weeke three faires or marktes, which are frequented with many people as well Spaniards as the people of the Countrey. There are in theſe faires or markets all maner of things that may bee inuented to ſell, and in eſpeciall things of the Countrey. The one of theſe faires is vpon the Monday, which is called S. Hypolitos faire, and S. Iames his faire is vpon the Thurſday, and vpon Saturday is S. Iohns faire. In this Citie is alwayes the kings Gouernour or Viceroy, and there are kept the Termes and Parliaments. And although there bee other places of Iuſtice, yet this is aboue all; ſo that all men may appeale vnto this place, and may not appeale from this Citie, but onely into Spaine before the King: and it muſt be for a certaine ſumme; And if it be vnder that ſumme, then there is no appellation from them. Many riuers fall into this lake which the Citie ſtandeth in: but there was neuer any place founde whither it goeth out.

The Indians knowe a way to drowne the Citie, and within theſe 3. yeeres they would haue practiſed the ſame: but they which ſhoulde haue bene the doers of it were hanged, and euer ſince the Citie hath bene well watched both day and night, for feare leaſt at ſometime they might be deceiued: for the Indians loue not the Spaniards. Round about the towne there are very many gardens and Orchards of the fruits of the Countrey marueilous faire, where the people haue great recreation. The men of this Citie are marueilous vicious, and in like maner the women are diſhoneſt of their bodies, more then they are in other Cities or townes in this Countrey. A way to drowne Mexico.

There are neere about this Citie of Mexico many riuers and ſtanding waters, which haue in them a monſtrous kinde of fiſhe which is marueilous rauening, and a great deuourer of men and cattell. He is wont to ſleepe vpon the drie land many times: and if there come in the meane time any man or beaſt and wake or diſquiet him, he ſpeedeth well if he get from him. Hee is like vnto a ſerpent ſauing that he doeth not flye, neither hath he wings. Crocodiles.

There is Weſt out of Mexico a porte towne which is on the Southſea, called Puerto de Nauidad, whereas there are ſhippes which they haue ordinarily for the Nauigation of China, which they haue newly found. This porte is threeſcore leagues from Mexico. Nauigation to China from porte de Nauidad.

There is another porte towne which is called Culluacan on the South Sea which lyeth Weſt and by North out of Mexico, and is 150. leagues from the ſame. And there the Spaniards made two ſhips to goe ſeeke the ſtreight or gulfe, which as they ſay, is betweene the Newfounde land and Groenland, and they call it the Engliſhmens ſtraite, which as yet was neuer fully found. They ſay, that Straight lieth not farre from the maine land of China, which the Spaniards accompt to be marueilous rich. The North-weſt ſtraight.

Towarde the North from Mexico, there are great ſtore of ſiluer mynes. There is greater

quantitie of siluer founde in these mines towarde the North, then there is in any other partes: and as the most men of experience said alwayes, they finde the richer mines the more Northerly. These mines are commonly vpon great hilles and stonie ground, maruailous hard to be laboured and wrought.

Painting earth. Out of some of the mines, the Indians finde a certaine kinde of earth of diuers coulers, wherewith they paint themselues in times of their daunces, and other pastimes which they vse.

Golde mines. In this Countrey of Noua Hispania, there are also mines of gold, although the golde be commonly found in riuers, or very neere vnto riuers. And nowe in these dayes there is not so much golde found as there hath bene heretofore.

There are many great riuers and great store of fishe in them, not like vnto our kindes of fish. And there are marueilous great woods, and as faire trees as may bee seene of diuers sortes, and especially firre trees that may make any shippe that goeth vpon the sea, okes and pineaples, and another tree which they call a Miskito: it beareth a fruite like vnto a peasecod marueilous sweete, which the wilde people gather and keepe it all the yeere, and eate it in steede of bread.

The Spaniards haue notice of seuen Cities which olde men of the Indians shewe them should lie towards the Northwest from Mexico. They haue vsed and vse dayly much diligence in the seeking them, but they cannot finde any one of them. They say that the witchcraft of the Indians is such, that when they come by these townes they cast a miste vpon them, so that they can not see them.

7. Cities by witchcraft not found of the seekers.

They haue vnderstanding of another Citie which they call Copalla, and in like maner, at my being in the Countrey, they haue vsed much labour and diligence in the seeking of it: they haue found the lake on which it should stande, and a Canoa, the head whereof was wrought with copper curiously, and coulde not finde nor see any man nor the towne, which to their vnderstanding should stand on the same water or very neere the same.

The beastes of Noua Hispania. There is a great nomber of beastes or kine in the Countrey of Cibola, which were neuer brought thither by the Spaniards, but breed naturally in the Countrey. They are like vnto our oxen, sauing that they haue long haire like a Lion, and short hornes, and they haue vpon their shoulders a bunche like a Camell, which is hier then the rest of their body. They are marueilous wilde and swift in running. They call them the beastes or kine of Cibola.

Cibola abandoned. This Cibola is a Citie which the Spaniards founde nowe of late, without any people in the same, goodly buildings, faire chimneis, windoes made of stone and timber excellently wrought, faire welles with wheeles to drawe their water, and a place where they had buried their dead people, with many faire stones vpon the graues. And the Captaine woulde not suffer his souldiers to breake vp any part of these graues, saying, hee would come another time to doe it.

They asked certaine people which they mette, whither the people of this Citie were gone: And they made answere, they were gone downe a riuer which was thereby very great, and there had builded a Citie which was more for their commoditie.

This Captaine lacking things necessarie for himselfe and his men, was faine to returne backe againe without finding any treasure according to his expectation: neither founde they but fewe people, although they founde beaten wayes, which had bene much haunted and frequented. The Captaine at his comming backe againe, had a great checke of the gouernour, because he had not gone forwards and seene the ende of that riuer.

Water congealed to salt. They haue in the Countrey farre from the seaside, standing waters which are salt: And in the moneths of Aprill and May, the water of them congealeth into salt, which salt is all taken for the kings vse and profite.

Dogs of India described. Their dogges are all crooked backt as many as are of the Countrey breede, and cannot runne fast: their faces are like the face of a pigge or an hogge, with sharpe noses.

Cacao a fruit current as money. In a certaine prouince which is called Guatimala, and Sacanosco, there is growing great store of Cacao; which is a berrie like vnto an Almond: It is the best Marchandise that is in all the Indies. The Indians make drinke of it, and in like maner meate to eate. It goeth currantly for money in any market or faire, and may buy any flesh, fish, bread or cheese or other things.

Fruites. There are many kinde of fruites of the Countrey which are very good, as Plantans, Sapotes, Guiaues, Pinas, Aluacatas, Tunas, Mamios, Lymons, Orenges, Walnuts, very small and hard, and little meate in them, grapes which the Spaniards brought into the Countrey, and also wilde grapes, which are of the Countrey, and are very small, quinses, peches, figges, and but fewe apples, and very small, and no peares: but there are melons and Calabasses.

There is much honie both of bees, and also of a kind of tree which they cal Maguez. This hony

of

of Maguez is not ſo ſweete as the other honp is, but it is better to be eaten onely with bread, then the other is: and the tree ſerueth for many things, as the leaues make threed to ſowe any kinde of bags, and are good to couer or thatch houſes, and for diuers other things.

They haue in diuers places of the Countrey many hot ſpringes of water. As aboue all other, I haue ſeene one in the prouince of Mechuacan. In a plaine field without any mountaine, there is a ſpring which hath much water, and it is ſo hot, that if a whole quarter of beefe bee caſt into it, within one halfe howre, it will be as well ſodden, as it will be ouer a fire in halfe a daye. I haue ſeene halfe a Sheepe caſt in, and immediatly it hath beene ſodden, and I haue eaten parte of it. Hot ſpringes.

There are many Hares and ſome Conies. There are no Partridges, but aboundance of Quayles. Hares and conies.

They haue great ſtore of fiſhe in the South Sea, and many Dyckers, and very great. The people doe open the Dyckers, and take out the meate of them, and dry it, as they doe any other kind of fiſhe, and keepe them all the yeere: and when the times ſerue, they ſende them abroad into the Countrey, to ſell as all other fiſhe. They haue no Salmon, nor Trowte, nor Pele, nor Carpe, Tench, nor Pike, in all the Countrey. Sea fiſhe.

There are in the Countrey mightie high mountaines, and hils, and ſnowe vpon them. They commonly burne, and twiſe euery day they caſt out much ſmoke, and aſhes, at certaine open places, which are in the toppes of them. Mountaines.

There is among the wild people much Manna. I haue gathered of the ſame, and haue eaten it, and it is good. For the Apothecaries ſend their ſeruants at certain times, to gather of the ſame, for purgations, and other vſes. Manna.

There are in the mountaines many wild hogs, which all men may kill, and Lyons and Tygers, which Tygers doe much harme to men that trauell in the wildernes.

In this Countrey, not long ſince, there were two poore men that found a meruelous rich myne, and when theſe men went to make a regiſter of the ſame, according to the Lawe and cuſtome, before the Kings officers, they thought this myne not meete for ſuch men as they were, and violently tooke the ſaid myne for the King, and gaue no part thereof vnto the two poore men. And within certaine daies the Kings officers reſorted thither to labour in the myne, and they found two great mightie hils were come together, ſo they founde no place to worke in. And in the time, while I was among them, which was fiue yeeres, there was a poore ſheepheard, who keping of his ſheepe, happened to finde a Well of quicke ſiluer, and he went in like manner to manifeſt the ſame, as the cuſtome and manner is. The Kings officers dealt in like order, as they did with the two poore men that found the rich myne, taking it quite from the ſheepheard: but when they went to fetch home the quicke ſiluer, or part therof, they could neuer finde it againe. So theſe thinges haue bene declared vnto the King, who hath giuen commandement, that nothing being found in the fieldes, as mynes, and ſuch like, ſhall be taken away from any man. And many other things haue bene done in this Countrey, which men might count for great merueils. Mynes diſcouered, not found againe.

There is great abundance of ſuger here, and they make diuers conſerues, and very good, & ſend them into Peru, whereas they ſell them meruelous well, becauſe they make none in thoſe parts. Suger and conſerues.

The people of the Countrey, are of a good ſtature, tawnie coloured, broad faced, flat noſed, and giuen much to drinke both wine of Spaine, & alſo a certain kind of wine, which they make wt honp of Maguez, and rootes, and other things which they vſe to put into the ſame. They call the ſame wine Pulco. They are ſo one drunke, and giuen to much beaſtlines, and void of all goodnes. In their drunkennes, they vſe and commit ſodomie, and with their mothers and daughters they haue their pleaſures and paſtimes. Whereuppon they are defended from the drinking of wines, vpon paines of money, aſwell he that ſelleth the wines, as the Indian that drinketh the ſame. And if this commandement were not, all the wine in Spaine, and in France, were not ſufficient for the Weſt Indias onely. Deſcription of the Indians perſon and manners.

They are of much ſimplicitie, and great cowards, void of all valour, and are great Witches. They vſe diuers times to talke with the Deuill, to whome they doe certaine ſacrifices and oblations: many times they haue bene taken with the ſame, and I haue ſeene them moſt cruelly puniſhed for that offence.

The people are giuen to learne all maner of occupations and ſciences, which for the moſt part they learned ſince the comming of the Spaniards: I ſay all manner of artes. They are very artificiall in making of Images, with feathers, of the proportion or figure of any man, in all kinde of maner as he is. The finenes and excellencie of this is wonderfull, that a barbarous people as they are, ſhould giue themſelues to ſo fine an arte as this is. They are Goldſmiths, Blackeſmiths, and

Copper-

Copper Smiths, Carpenters, Masons, Shoemakers, Tailers, Sadlers, Imbroderers, and of all other kind of sciences: and they will, and doe worke so good cheape, that poore yong men that go out of Spaine, to get their liuing, are not set on worke. Which is the occasion there are many idle people in the Countrey. For the Indian will liue all the weeke with lesse then one groate, which the Spaniard cannot doe, nor any man else.

The Indians ignorance from whence they came.

They say, that they came of the linage of an olde man, which came thither in a boate of wood, which they call a Canoa. But they cannot tell whether it were before the flood, or after, neither can they giue any reason of the flood, nor from whence they came. And when the Spaniards came first among them, they did certaine sacrifice to an Image made in stone, of their owne inuention. The stone was set vpon a great hill, which they made of bricks of earth, they call it their Cowa. And certaine daies in the yeere, they did sacrifice certaine olde men, and yong children, and onely

The sunne and moone honored.

beleeued in the Sunne and the Moone, saying, that from them they had all things that were needfull for them. They haue in these parts great store of cotton wooll, with which they make a maner of linnen cloth, which the Indians weare, both men and women, and it serueth for shirts & smocks and all other kind of garments, which they weare vpon their bodies: and the Spaniards vse it to all such purposes, especially such as cannot buy other. And if it were not for this kind of cloth, all manner of cloth that goeth out of Spaine, I say, linnen cloth would be sold out of all measure.

The wild Indians.

The wild people goe naked, without any thing vpon them. The women weare the skinne of a Deere, before their priuities, and nothing else vpon all their bodies. They haue no care for any thing but onely from day to day, for that which they haue neede to eate. They are bigge men, and likewise the women. They shoote in bowes, which they make of a cherrie tree, and their arrowes are of a Cane, with a sharpe flint stone in the end of the same: they will pierce any coate of maile, and they kill Deere, and Cranes, and wild Geese, Duckes, and other fowle, and Woymes, and Snakes, and diuers other vermin, which they eate. They liue very long, for I haue seene men that haue bene 100. yeeres of age. They haue but very litle haire in their face, nor on their bodies.

Friers in reuerence.

The Indians haue the Friers in great reuerence. The occasion is, that by them, and by their meanes, they are free, & out of bondage, which was so ordained by Charles the Emperour, which is the occasion, that now there is not so much gold and siluer comming into Europe, as there was while the Indians were slaues. For when they were in bondage, they could not chuse but doe their taske euery daye, and bring their Maisters so much mettall out of their Mynes. But nowe they must be well paied, and much entreated to haue them worke. So it hath bene, and is a great hinderance to the owners of the Mynes, and to the Kings quinto or custome.

Copper mines

There are many Mynes of Copper, in great quantitie, whereof they spend in the Countrey, as much as serueth their turnes. There is some gold in it, but not so much as will pay the costes of the fining. The quantitie of it is such, and the Mynes are so farre from the sea, that it will not be worth the fraight to carry it into Spaine. On the other side, the Kings officers will giue no licence to make Ordinance thereof: whereupon the Mynes lie vnlaboured, and of no valuation.

There is much lead in the Countrey, so that with it they couer Churches, and other religious houses: wherefore they shal not neede any of our lead, as they haue had neede thereof in times past.

The pompe of owners of Mynes.

The pompe and liberalitie of the owners of the Mynes, is meruelous to behold. The apparell both of them, and of their wiues, is more to be compared to the apparell of Noble persons, then otherwise. If their wiues goe out of their houses, as vnto the Church, or any other place, they goe out with great Maiestie, and with as many men and maides, as though she were the wife of some Noble man. I will assure you, I haue seene a Myners wife goe to the Church, with 100. men, and 20. Gentlewomen, and maides. They keepe open house, who will, may come to eate their meate. They call men with a bell to come to dinner and supper. They are Princes in keeping of their houses, and bountifull in all manner of things.

A good owner of Mynes must haue at the least 100. slaues, to carrye, and to stampe his mettals: he must haue many Mules, and men to keepe the Mynes: he must haue mils to stampe his mettals: he must haue many waines, and Oxen to bring home wood to find the fire: he must haue much quicksiluer, and a meruelous quantitie of salt brine, for the mettals, and he must be at many other charges. And as for this charge of quicksiluer, it is a newe inuention, which they finde more profitable, then to find their fire with lead. Howbeit the same is very costly. For there is neuer a hundreth of quicksiluer, but costeth at the least 60. pounds sterling. And the Mynes fall dayly in decay, and of lesse value: and the occasion is, the fewe Indians that men haue to labour their Mynes.

The plentie of cattell.

There is in new Spaine, a meruelous increase of cattel, which daily doth increase, and they are of a greater growth then ours are. You may haue a great Steere that hath an hundred weight of tallowe

tallowe in his bellie for 16. ſhillings, and ſome one man hath 20. thouſand head of cattell of his owne. They ſel the hides vnto the Merchants, who lade into Spaine as many as may be wel ſpared. They ſpend many in the Countrey in ſhoes and bootes, and in the mynes: and as the Countrey is great, ſo is the increaſe of the cattell wonderfull. In the Iſland of Santo Domingo, they commonly kil the beaſts for their hides and tallowe, and the fowles eate the carkaſes: and ſo they doe in Cuba, and Porto Rico, whereas there is much ſuger, and Cana fiſtula, which daily they ſend into Spaine. They haue great increaſe of ſheepe in like maner, and daily doe intend to increaſe them. They haue much wool, and as good as the wooll of Spaine. They make cloth as much as ſerueth the Countrey, for the common people, and ſend much cloth into Peru. I haue ſeene cloth made in the Citie of Mexico, which hath bene ſold for ten pezos a vare, which is almoſt 4. pounds Engliſh, and the vare is leſſe then our yard. They haue Dad growing in the Countrey, and Allam, and Braſill, and diuers other things to dye withall, ſo that they make all colours. In Peru they make no cloth, but hereafter our cloth will be little ſet by in theſe partes, vnleſſe it be ſome fine cloth. The wools are commonly 4. ſhillings euery roue, which is 25. pounds: and in ſome places of the Countrey that are farre from the places whereas they make cloth, it is worth nothing, and doth ſerue but onely to make beds for men to lye on.

Sheepe, wool. Cloth. Dad. Allam. Braſill.

They make hats, as many as doe ſerue the Countrey, very fine and good, and ſell them better cheape, then they can be brought out of Spaine, and in like manner ſend them into Peru.

Many people are ſet on worke, both in the one, and in the other: they ſpin their wooll as we do, and in ſteede of oile, they haue hogs greaſe: they twiſt not their threed ſo much as we doe, neither worke ſo fine a threed. They make no kerſies, but they make much cloth, which is courſe, and ſell it for leſſe then 12. pence the vare. It is called Sayall.

They haue much ſilke, and make all maner of ſortes thereof, as Taffataes, Sattins, Veluets of all colours, and they are as good as the ſilkes of Spaine, ſauing that the colours are not ſo perfect: but the blackes are better then the blackes that come out of Spaine.

They haue many horſes, and mares, and mules, which the Spaniards brought thither. They haue as good Jennets, as any are in Spaine, and better cheape then they be in Spaine. And with their Mules they carry all their goods from place to place.

Horſes. Mules. Jennets.

There is raine vſually in this Countrey, from the moneth of May, to the midſt of October, euery day, which time they call their winter, by reaſon of the ſaid waters. And if it were not for the waters which fal in theſe hot ſeaſons, their Maiz, which is the greateſt part of their ſuſtenance, would be deſtroied. This Maiz is the greateſt maintenance which the Indian hath, and alſo all the common people of the Spaniards. And their horſes and mules which labour, cannot be without the ſame. This graine is ſubſtantiall, and increaſeth much blood. If the Miners ſhoulde bee without it, they could not labour their Mines: for all their ſeruants eate none other bread, but only of this Maiz, and it is made in cakes, as they make oaten cakes, in ſome places of England.

Maiz graine for man and beaſt.

The Indians pay tribute, being of the age of 20. yeeres, 4. ſhillings of money, and an hanege of Maiz, which is worth 4. ſhillings more, vnto the King euery yeere. This is paid in all Noua Hiſpania, of as many as be of the age of 20. yeeres, ſauing the citie of Tlaſcalla, which was made free, becauſe the Citizens thereof were the occaſion that Cortes tooke Mexico in ſo litle a time. And although at the firſt, they were freed from paiment of tribute, yet the Spaniards now begin to vſurpe vpon them, and make them to till a great field of Maiz, at their owne coſtes euery yeere for the King, which is as beneficiall vnto him, and as great coſt vnto them, as though they paid their tribute, as the others doe.

The ſhips which goe out of Spaine with goods from Peru, goe to Nombre de dios, and there diſcharge the ſaid goods: and from thence they be carried ouer the necke of a lande, vnto a porte towne, in the ſouth ſea, called Panama, which is 17. leagues diſtant from Nombre de dios. And there they doe ſhip their goods againe, and ſo from thence goe to Peru. They are in going thither 3. moneths, and they come backe againe in 20. daies. They haue ſeldome foule weather, and few ſhips are loſt in the ſouth ſea. Foure yeeres paſt, to wit, 1568. there was a ſhip made out of Peru, to ſeeke Salomons Iſlands, and they came ſomewhat to the ſouth of the Equinoctiall, and founde an Iſland with many blacke people, in ſuch number, that the Spaniards durſt not goe on land among them. And becauſe they had bene long vppon the voyage, their people were very weake, and ſo went not on land, to know what commoditie was vpon it. And for want of victuals, they arriued in Noua Hiſpania, in a port called Porte de Nauidad, and thence returned backe againe vnto Peru, whereas they were euill entreated, becauſe they had not knowen more of the ſame Iſland.

Salomons Iſlands ſought, and found in the South ſea 1568.

They haue in this port of Nauidad, ordinarily their ſhips, which goe to the Iſlands of China, which are certain Iſlands, which they haue found within theſe 7. yeeres. They haue brought from thence

China found by the Weſt.

thence gold, and much Cinamon, and dishes of earth, and cups of the same, so fine, that euery man that may haue a peece of them, will giue the weight of siluer for it. There was a marriner that brought a pearle, as big as a doues egge, from thence, & a stone, for which the Uiceroy would haue giuen 3000. duckets. Many things they bring from thence, most excellent. There are many of these Ilands, & the Spaniards haue not many of them as yet: "for the Portingals disturbe them much, & combate with them euery day, saying, it is part of their conquest, & to the maine land they cannot come at any hand. There are goodly people in them, & they are great marriners, richly apparelled in cloth of gold, & siluer, & silke of all sorts, & goe apparelled after the maner of ỹ Turkes. This report make such as come from thence. The men of the maine lande, haue certaine traffike with some of these Islanders, & come thither in a kind of ships, which they haue with one saile, and bring of such merchandize as they haue neede of. And of these things there haue bene brought into Newe Spaine both cloth of gold, & siluer, & diuers maners of silkes, & workes of gold and siluer, maruelous to be seene. So by their saying, there is not such a Countrey in the whole world. The maine land is from the Ilands 150. leagues: and the Ilands are not farre from the Moluccas northwards. And the people of those Ilands, which the Spaniards haue, say, that if they woulde bring their wiues & children, that then they should haue among them what they would haue. So there goe women daily, & the king paieth all the charges of the maried men & their wiues, that go to those Ilands. And there is no doubt, but the trade will be meruelous rich in time to come.

"This is to be vnderstood of the time when this discourse was written. anno 1572.

China ships with one saile.

It was my fortune to be in companie with one Diego Gutieres, who was the first Pilot that euer went to that Countrey of the Phillipinaes. He maketh report of many strange things in that Countrey, aswel riches, as others, and saith, if there be any Paradise vpon earth, it is in that countrey: and addeth, that sitting vnder a tree, you shall haue such sweete smels, with such great content and pleasure, that you shall remember nothing, neither wife, nor children, nor haue any kinde of appetite to eate or drinke, the odoriferous smels will be so sweete. This man hath good liuings in Noua Hispania, notwithstanding he will returne thither, with his wife and children, and as for treasure, there is aboundance, as he maketh mention. In this Countrey of Noua Hispania, there are many Bucks and Does, but they haue not so long hornes as they haue here in England. The Spaniards kill them with handguns, and with grayhounds, and the Indians kill them with their bowes, and arrowes, and with the skins they make chamoyce, such as we in England make doublets and hose of, as good as the skins that are dressed in Flanders, and likewise they make maruelous good Spanish leather of them. There is a bird, which is like vnto a Rauen, but he hath some of his feathers white: there is such aboundance of them, that they eate all the corrupt and dead flesh which is in the Countrey. Otherwise the aboundance of carren is so much, that it would make a maruelous corrupt aire in all the Countrey, and be so noisome, that no man could abide it. Therefore it is commanded, there shall none of them be killed. These birds are alwaies about Cities, and Townes, where there is much flesh killed.

Chamoice.

Spanish leather.

India Rauens not killed, to deuoure carrion.

The Indians are much fauoured by the Iustices of the Countrey, and they call them their Orphanes. And if any Spaniard should happen to doe any of them harme, or to wrong him in taking any thing from him, as many times they doe, or to strike any of them, being in any towne, whereas iustice is, they are aswell punished for the same, as if they had done it one Spaniard to another. When a Spaniard being farre from Mexico, or any place of iustice, thinking to doe with the poore Indian what he list, considering he is so farre from any place of remedie, he maketh the Indian doe what he commandeth him, and if he will not doe it, he beateth and misuseth him, according to his owne appetite. The Indian holdeth his peace, vntill he find an opportunitie, and then taketh a neighbour with him, and goeth to Mexico, although it be 20. leagues off, and maketh his complaint. This his complaint is immediatly heard, and although it be a Knight, or a right good Gentleman, he is foorthwith sent for, and punished both by his goods, and also his person is imprisoned, at the pleasure of the Iustice. This is the occasion that the Indians are so tame and ciuill, as they are: and if they should haue this fauour, the Spaniards would soone dispatch all the Indians, or the Indians would kill them. But they may call them dogs, and vse other euill words, as much as they will, and the Indian must needes put it vp, and goe his way.

Wrongs done to the Indians punished.

Iustice cause of ciuilitie.

The poore Indians will goe euery day 2. or 3. leagues to a Faire or Market, with a childe vpon their necks, with as much fruite or rootes, or some kind of ware, as cotton wooll, or Cadis of all colours, as shall be not past worth a pennie: and they will maintaine themselues vpon the same: For they liue with a maruelous small matter.

They are in such pouertie, that if you neede to ride into the Countrey, you shall haue an Indian to goe with you all the day, with your bed vpon his backe, for one rotall of plate: and this you shall haue from one Towne to another. Here you are to vnderstand, that all men that trauell by

the

the way,are alwaies wont to carry their beds with them. They are great theeues, and will ſteale all that they may,and you ſhall haue no recompence at their hands.

The garments of the women, are in this manner. The vppermoſt part is made almoſt like to a womans ſmock,ſauing that it is as broad aboue as beneath,and hath no ſleeues, but holes on eche ſide one to put out their armes. It is made of linnen cloth, made of cotton wooll, and filled full of flowers,of red Cadis and blewe,and other colours. This garment commeth downe to the knees, and then they haue another cloth made after the ſame manner, and that goeth round about their waſte,and reacheth to their ſhoes and ouer this a white fine ſheete vpon their heads, which goeth downe halfe the legge. Their haire is made vp round with an haire lace about their head. And the men haue a ſmall paire of breeches,of the ſame cotton wooll, and their ſhirtes which hang ouer their breeches,and a broad girdle about their middles,and a ſheete with flowers vpon their backs, and with a knot vpon one ſhoulder,and an hat vpon their heads,and a paire of ſhoes. And this is all their apparell,although it be a Caſique,which they vſe in all the Countrey. The apparell of the Indians.

The wals of the houſes of the Indians,are but plaine, but the ſtones are laid ſo cloſe, that you ſhall not well perceaue the ioynts betweene one ſtone and another, they are ſo finely cut: and by the meanes that the ſtones are ſo workmanly done,and finely ioyned together,there is ſome beautie in their wals. They are meruelous ſmall and light,as Pumie ſtones. They make their doores very little,ſo that there can goe in but one man at a time. Their windowes, and roomes within their houſes,are ſmall,and one roome they haue reſerued for their friendes, when they come to talke one with another,and that is alwaies faire matted, and kept meruelous cleane, and hanged full of images,and their chaires ſtanding there to ſit in. They eate their meate vpon the ground, and ſleepe on the ground vpon a mat,without any bed,both the gentlemen,and other. The houſes of the Indians.

The Indians ſtrike their fire with one ſticke in another,aſwell the tame people, as the wilde. For they know not howe to doe it with an yron,and a ſtone. Fire rubbed out of two ſtickes.

In Noua Hiſpania,euery 10. or 12. leagues they haue a contrarie ſpeech, ſauing onely about Mexico: ſo there is a number of ſpeeches in the Countrey. Diuers ſpeeches.

Mutezuma which was the laſt King of this Countrey, was one of the richeſt Princes which haue bene ſeene in our time,or long before. He had all kind of beaſts,which were then in the countrey,and all maner of birds,and fiſhes,and all maner of wormes,which creepe vpon the earth,and all trees,and flowers,and herbes,all faſhioned in ſiluer and gold,which was the greateſt part of al his treaſure,and in theſe thinges had he great ioy,as the olde Indians report. And vnto this day, they ſay that the treaſure of Mutezuma,is hidden,and that the Spaniards haue it not. This King would giue none of his people freedome, nor forgiue any of them that ſhoulde paye him tribute, though he were neuer ſo poore. For if it had bene told him, that one of his tributaries was poore, & that he was not able to pay his tribute,according to the cuſtome, then he would haue him bound to bring at ſuch times as tributes ſhould be paid, a quill full of Lyce, ſaying, he would haue none free,but himſelfe. He had as many wiues,or concubines, as he would haue, and ſuch as liked him. Alwaies whenſoeuer he went out of his Court,to paſſe the time,he was borne vpon 4. of his noble mens ſhoulders,ſet vpon a table,ſome ſay,of gold,and very richly dreſſed with feathers, of diuers and many colours and flowers. He waſhed all his bodie euery day,were it neuer ſo cold. And vnto this day,ſo doe all the Indians,and eſpecially the women. Mutezuma, and his riches. The Indians waſh themſelues euery day.

The Spaniards keepe the Indians in great ſubiection. They may haue in their houſes no ſword nor dagger,nor knife with any pointe,nor may weare vppon them any manner of armes, neither may they ride vpon any horſe, nor mules, in any ſadle nor bridle, neither may they drinke wine, which they take for the greateſt paine of all. They haue attempted diuers times to make inſurrections,but they haue bene ouerthrowen immediatly by their owne great and beaſtly cowardlines.

There remaine ſome among the wild people,that vnto this day eate one another. I haue ſeene the bones of a Spaniard,that haue bene as cleane burniſhed, as though it had bene done by men that had no other occupation. And many times people are carried away by them, but they neuer come againe,whether they be men or women. Cannybals.

They haue in the ſea Iſlands of red ſalt in great aboundance,whereas they lade it from place to place,about the ſea coaſt: and they ſpend very much ſalt with ſalting their hides, and fiſhe: and in their mynes they occupie a great quantitie. Iſland of ſalt.

They haue much Allam,and as good as any that is in all the Leuant, ſo that they neede none of that commoditie. Allam.

They haue alſo of their owne growing,much Cana fiſtula, and much Salſa Perilla, which is meruelous good for many kind of diſeaſes. Caſſia fiſtula. Salſa Perillis

There are in Florida,many Iarrefalcons,and many other kind of Hawkes,which the Gentle- Florida.

men

men of Noua Hispania send for euery peere. The Spaniards haue two forts there, chiefly to keepe out the Frenchmen from planting there.

The 3. vnfortunate voyage made with the Iesus, the Minion, *and foure other shippes, to the partes of Guinea, and the VVest In-* dias, in the yeeres 1567. and 1568. by M. Iohn Hawkins.

October. THe shippes departed from Plymmouth, the second day of October, Anno 1567. and had reasonable weather, until the seuenth day, at which time fortie leagues North from Cape Finester, there arose an extreame storme, which continued foure daies, in such sorte, that the fleete was dispersed, and all our great boates lost, and the Iesus our chiefe shippe, in such case, as not thought able to serue the voyage: whereupon in the same storme we sette our course homeward, determining to giue ouer the voyage: but the eleuenth day of the same moneth, the winde changed with faire weather, whereby we were animated to followe our enterprise, and so did, directing our course with the Ilands of Grand Canaries, where according to an order before prescribed, all our shippes before dispersed, mette in one of those Ilands, called Gomera, where we tooke water, and departed from thence the fourth day of Nouember, towards the coast of Guinea, and arriued at Cape Verde, the eighteenth of Nouember: where wee landed 150. men, hoping to obtaine some Negroes, where we gatte but fewe, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their enuenomed arrowes: & although in the beginning, they seemed to be but small hurtes, yet there hardely escaped any, that had bloode drawen of them, but died in strange sorte, with their mouthes shutte, some ten dayes before he died, and after their woundes were whole, where I my selfe had one of the greatest woundes, yet thankes be to God, escaped. From thence we past the time vpon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence, the Riuers from Rio grande, vnto Sierra Leona, till the twelfth of Januarie, in which time wee had not gotten together a hundreth and fiftie Negroes: yet notwithstanding the sickenes of our men, and the late time of the yeere commanded vs away: and thus hauing nothing wherewith to seeke the coast of the West Indias, I was with the rest of our companie in consultation to goe to the coast of the Mine, hoping there to haue obtained some golde for our wares, and thereby to haue defraied our charge. But euen in that present instant, there came to vs a Negro, sent from a King, oppressed by other Kings his neighbours, desiring our aide, with promise, that as many Negroes as by these wares might be obtained, aswell of his part, as of ours, should be at our pleasure: whereupon we concluded to giue aide, and sent 120. of our men, which the fifteenth of Januarie, assaulted a towne of the Negroes of our Allies aduersaries, which had in it 8000. Inhabitants, and very strongly impaled and fenced, after their manner, but it was so well defended, that our men preuailed not, but lost sixe men, and 40. hurt: so that our men sent foorthwith to me for more helpe: whervpon considering that the good successe of this enterprise might highly further the commoditie of our voyage, I went my selfe, and with the helpe of the King of our side, assaulted the towne, both by land and sea, and very hardly with fire (their houses being couered with dry Palme leaues) obtained the towne, and put the Inhabitants to flight, where we tooke 250. persons, men, women, and children, and by our friend the King of our side, there was taken 600. prisoners, whereof we hoped to haue had our choise: but the Negro (in which nation is seldome or neuer found truth) meant nothing lesse: for that night he remooued his campe, and prisoners, so that we were faine to content vs with those fewe which we had gotten our selues.

Decembet. Januarie. Gomera. November. Enuenomed arrowes. A towne of 8000. Negroes taken. No truth in Negroes.

Now had we obtained betweene 4. and 500. Negroes, wherewith we thought it somwhat reasonable to seeke the coast of the West Indias, and there, for our Negroes, and other our merchandize, we hoped to obtaine, whereof to counteruaile our charges with some gaines, whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watring, tooke fuell, and departed the coast of Guinea the third of Februarie, continuing at the sea with a passage more harde, then before hath bene accustomed, til the 27. day of March, which day we had sight of an Island, called Dominica, vpon the coast of the west Indias, in 14. degrees: from thence we coasted from place to place, making our traffike with the Spaniards, as we might, somewhat hardly, because the King had straightly commanded all his Gouernours in those partes, by no meanes to suffer any trade to be made with vs: notwithstanding we had reasonable trade, & courteous entertainment, from the Isle of Margarita vnto Cartagena, without any thing greatly worth ꝑ noting, sauing at Capo de la Vela, in a town called Rio de la Hache, from whence come all the pearles: the treasurer who had ꝑ charge there, would by no meanes agree to any trade, or suffer vs to take water, he had fortified his towne with

Februarie. March. Dominica. Aprill. May.

diuers

diuers bulwarkes in all places where it might be entred, and furnished himselfe with a 100. Hargabusiers, so that he thought by famine to haue inforced vs to haue put a land our Negroes: of which purpose he had not greatly failed vnles we had by force entred the towne: which (after we could by no means obtaine his fauour) we were enforced to do, & so with 200. men brake in vpon their bulwarkes, & entred the towne with the losse only of ii. men of our partes, and no hurt done to the Spanyards because after their volye of shott discharged, they all fled. June. Rio de la Hacha taken.

Thus hauing the town, with some circumstance, as partly by the Spanyards desire of Negroes, & partly by friendship of the Treasorer, we obtained a secrete trade: whereupon the Spanyards resorted to vs by night, & bought of vs to the nomber of 200. Negroes: in all other places where we traded the Spanyards inhabitants were glad of vs and traded willingly.

Cartagena.

At Cartagena the last towne we thought to haue seene on the coast, we could by no meanes obtaine to deale with any Spanyard the gouernor was so straight, & because our trade was so neere finished we thought not good either to aduenture any landing, or to detract further time, but in peace departed from thence the 24. of July, hoping to haue escaped ẏ time of their stormes which then soone after began to raigne, the which they cal Furicanos, but passing by the west end of Cuba, towardes the coast of Florida there happened to vs the xii. day of August an extreme storme which continued by the space of 4. daies, which so beat the Jesus, that we cut downe all her higher buildings, her ruddar also was sore shaken, and with all was in so extreame a leake that we were rather vpon the point to leaue her then to keepe her any longer, yet hoping to bring all to good passe sought the coast of Florida where we found no place nor Hauen for our ships because of the shalownes of the coast: thus being in greater dispaire, & taken with a new storme which continued other 3. dayes, we were inforced to take for our succor ẏ Port which serueth the Citie of Mexico called Saint John de Vllua which standeth in xix. degrees: in seeking of which Port we tooke in our way iii. ships which carried passengers to the nomber of C. which passengers he hoped should be a meane to vs the better to obtaine victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleete: shortly after this the xvi. of September we entered the Port of Saint John de Vllua and in our entrie the Spanyardes thinking vs to be the fleete of Spaine, the chiefe officers of the Countrey came aboorde vs, which being deceiued of their expectation were greatly dismayed: but immediatly when they sawe our demaund was nothing but victuals, were recomforted. I found also in the same Port xii. ships which had in them by the report. 200000. li. in golde and siluer, all which (being in my possession, with the Kinges Iland as also the passengers before in my way thitherwarde stayde) I set at libertie, without the taking from them the wayght of a grote: onely because I woulde not bee delayed of my dispatch, I stayed two men of estimation and sent post immediatly to Mexico, which was 200. miles from vs, to the Presidentes and Counsell there, shewing them of our arriuall there by the force of weather, and the necessitie of the repaire of our shippes and victualles, which wantes wee required as friends to king Philip to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidentes and Counsell there shoulde with all conuenient speede take order, that at the arriuall of the Spanishe fleete, which was daily looked for, there might no cause of quarrel rise betweene vs and them, but for the better maintenance of amitie, their commaundement might bee had in that behalfe. This message being sent away the sixteenth day of September at nyght, being the very day of our arriuall, in the next morning which was the sixteenth day of the same moneth, we sawe open of the Hauen xiii. great shippes, and vnderstanding them to be the fleete of Spaine, I sent immediatly to aduertise the Generall of the fleete of my being there, doing him to vnderstand, that before I would suffer them to enter ẏ Port, there shoul'd some order of condicions passe betweene vs for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace: now it is to be vnderstood that this Port is a little Iland of stones not three foote aboue the water in the hiest place, and but a bow shoote of length any way, this Iland standeth from the maine land two bowe shootes or more, also it is to be vnderstood that there is not in all this coaste any other place for shippes to arriue in safetie, because the North wind hath there such violence, that vnles the shippes be very safely moored with their ancres fastned vpon this Iland, there is no remedie for these North windes but death: also the place of the Hauen was so little, that of necessitie the shippes must ride one aboord the other, so that we could not giue place to them, nor they to vs: & here I began to bewaile ẏ which after followed, for now said I, I am in two dangers, & forced to receaue the one of them. That was, either I must haue kept out the fleete from entring the Port, ẏ which with Gods helpe I was very well able to do, or els suffer them to enter in with their accustomed treason, which they neuer faile to execute, where they may haue opportunitie, or circumuẽt it by any meanes: if I had kept thẽ out, then had there bin prẽtẽt shipwarke of al ẏ fleete which amounted in value to sixe Millions, which was in

Iuly. Furicanos.

Storme.

September. Saint John de Vllua a Port.

The Spanyards deceiued

Our requests.

The fleete of Spaine.

The maner of the Port S. John de Vllua.

North winds perilous.

1800. thousand pound. value of our money 1800000. li. which I considered I was not able to aunswere, fearing the Queens Maiesties indignation in so waighty a matter. Thus with my selfe reuoluing ẏ doubts, thought rather better to abide ẏ Iutt of the vncerteinty, then the certeinty. The vncerteine doubt I accompt was their treason which by good policy I hoped might be preuented, & therefore as chusing the least mischief I proceeded to conditions. Now was our first messenger come & retorned from the fleete with report of the arriual of a vice Roy, so that he had authority, both in all this Prouince of Mexico (otherwise called noua Hispania) & in the sea, who sent vs word that we should send our cõditions, which of his part should (for the better maintenãce of amity betweene ẏ Princes) be both fauorably granted, & faithfully performed, with many faire words how passing the coast of the Indies he had vnderstood of our honest behauiour towards the inhabitants where we had to do aswel elswhere as in ẏ same Port, the which I let passe, thus following our demand we required victual for our mony, & licence to sel asmuch ware as might furnish our wãts, & that there might be of either part xii. gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace: and that the Iland for our better safety might be in our owne possession, during our abode there, & such ordinance as was planted in the same Iland which was xi. peeces of Brasse: & that no Spanyarde might land in the Iland with any kind of weapon: these conditions at the first, he somewhat misliked, chiefly the gard of the Iland to be in our owne keeping, which if they had had, we had soone knowen our fare: for with the first North wind they had cut our cables and our ships had gone a shore: but in the ende hee concluded to our request, bringing the xii. hostages to vs. which with all spede of eyther part weare receaued, with a writing from the vice Roy signed with his hand and sealed with his seale of all the conditions concluded, & forthwith a trumpet blowne with cõmandement that none of either part should be meane to inuiolate the peace vpon paine of death: & further it was concluded that the two generals of the fleetes should meete, & giue faith eche to other for the performance of the premisses which was so done. Thus at the end of 3. daies all was concluded and the fleete entred the Port, saluting one another as the maner of the sea doth require. Thus as I said before, thursday we entred the Port, friday we sawe the fleete, and on monday at night they entred the Port: then we laboured ii. daies placing the English ships by them selues & the Spanish ships by them selues, the captaines of each part & inferiour men of there partes promissing great amity of all sides: which euen as w̃ all fidelity was ment of our part, so the Spanyardes ment nothing lesse of their parts, but from the maine land had furnished them selues with a supplie of men to the nomber of 1000. and ment the next thursday being the 23. of September at dinner time to set vpon vs of all sides, the same thursday in the morning the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed, as shifting of weapon from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordinãce from the ship to the Iland where our men warded, passing too & fro of companies of men more then required for their necessary busines, and many other yll licklyhodes which caused vs to haue a vehement suspition, and therewithall sent to the vice Roy to enquire what was ment by it, which sent immediatly straight commandement to vnplant all thinges suspicious, & also sent word that he in the faith of a vice Roy would be our defence from all villanies. Yet we being not satisfied with this aunswere because we suspected a great nomber of men to be hid in a great ship of 900 tonnes which was mored next vnto the Minion sent againe to the vice Roy the master of the Iesus which had the Spanish tongue and required to bee satisfyed if any such thing were or not, which seeing the vice Roy that the treason must bee discouered, forthwith stayd our master, blewe the trumpet, and of all sides set vpon vs: our men which warded a shore being stricken with sodeu feare, gaue place, fled, and sought to recouer succour of the shippes, the Spanyardes being before prouided for the purpose landed in all places in multitudes from their shippes which they might easely doe without boates, and slewe all our men a shore without mercy, a fewe of them escaped aborde the Iesus. The great shippe which had by the estimation 300 men placed in hir secretly, immediatly fell aborde the minion which by Gods apoinument in the time of the suspition we had, which was onely one halfe houre, the Minion was made ready to auoide and so leesing hir hedfastes, and hayling away by the sterne fastes shee was gotten out: thus with Gods helpe she defended the violence of the first brunt of these CCC. men. The Minion being paste out they came aborde the Iesus, which also with very much a doe and the losse of many of our men weare defended and kept out. Then were there also two other shippes that assaulted the Iesus at the same instant, so that shee had hard getting loose, but yet with some time we had cutt our hedfastes and gotten out by the sterne fastes. Now when the Iesus and the Minion weare gotten abroad two shippes length from the Spanish fleete, the fight beganne hott of all sides that within one houre the Admirall of the Spanyardes was supposed to be suncke their vice Admirall burned and one other of there principall ships supposed to be sunke, so that the ships,

A vice Roy.

Faire wordes begiled.

Our requests.

The peace concluded.

Treason.

A vice Roy false of his worde.

The treason brake forth.

Sudden feare.

The Minion escaped hardly.

The Iesus escaped hardly.

Sharpe wars.

3. Ships of the Spanyardes consumed.

ships were little to annoy vs.

Then is it to bee vnderstood that all the ordinance vpon the Iland was in the Spanyardes handes, which did vs so great annoyance, that it cutt all the Maſtes and yardes of the Ieſus, in ſuch ſort that there was no hope to cary her away: alſo it ſunke our ſmall ſhippes, whereupon wee determined to place the Ieſus on that ſide of the Vnion that ſhee myght abide all the batterie from the lande, and ſo be a defence for the Vnion till night, and then to take ſuch reliefe of victuall and other neceſſaries from the Ieſus as the time woulde ſuffer vs, and to leaue her. As wee were thus determining and had placed the Vnion from the ſhott of the lande, ſuddenly the Spanyardes had fired two great ſhippes which were comming directly with vs, and hauing no meanes to auoide the fire, it bread among our men a marueilous feare, ſo that ſome ſayd, let vs depart with the Vnion, other ſayde, let vs ſee where the winde will carrie the fyre from vs. But to bee ſhort, the Vnions men which had alwayes there ſayles in a readineſſe, thought to make ſure worke, and ſo without eyther conſent of the Captayne or Maſter cutte their ſayle, ſo that verie hardly I was receaued into the Vnion.

A hard caſe.

Fire.

The moſt part of the men that were left a lyue in the Ieſus, made ſhift and followed the Vnion in a ſmall boat, the reſt which the little boate was not able to receaue, were inforced to abide the mercy of the Spanyards (which I doubt was very little): ſo with the Vnion onely and the Iudith (a ſmall barke of fiftye tunne) wee eſcaped, which barke the ſame nyght forſooke vs in our great myſerie: wee were nowe remooued with the Vnion from the Spanyſhe ſhippes two bowe ſhootes and there roade all that nyght: the next morning wee recouered an Iſlande a myle from the Spanyardes where there tooke vs a North winde, and being left onely with two Ankers and two cables (for in this conflicte wee loſte three Cables and two Ankers) wee thought alwayes vpon death which euer was preſent, but God preſerued vs to a longer tyme.

Small hope to be had of tyrants.

A ſtorme.

The weather waxed reaſonable, and the Satturday wee ſet ſayle, and hauing a great nomber of men and lyttle victuals our hope of life waxed leſſe and leſſe: ſome deſired to yelde to the Spanyardes, ſome rather deſired to obtayne a place where they might giue themſelues to the Infidels, and ſome had rather abide with a little pittance the mercie of God at Sea: ſo thus with manie ſorowfull hearts wee wandred in an vnknowen Sea by the ſpace of fourteene dayes, tyll hunger inforced vs to ſeeke the lande, for hides were thought very good meate, rattes, cattes, miſe and dogges none eſcaped that myght bee gotten, parrates and monkayes that were had in great price, were thought there very profitable if they ſerued the tourne one dinner: thus in the ende the eyght day of October wee came to the lande in the botome of the ſame bay of Mexico in twenty three degrees and a halfe where wee hoped to haue founde inhabitantes of the Spanyardes, reliefe of victualles, and place for the repaire of our ſhippe, which was ſo ſore beaten with ſhotte from our enemyes and hurled with ſhooting of our owne ordinance, that our weary and weake armes were ſcarce able to defende and keepe out the water. But all thinges happened to the contrary, for we founde neyther people, victuall, nor hauen of reliefe, but a place where hauing faire weather with ſome perill we might land a boate: our people being forced with hunger deſired to be ſet a land, whereunto I concluded.

Small hope of life.

Hard choiſe.

Myſeries.

October 1568.

Many miſeries.

And ſuch as were willing to land I put them apart, and ſuch as were deſirous to goe homewards, I put apart, ſo that they were indifferently parted a hundred of one ſide and a hundred of the other ſide: theſe hundred men we ſet a land with all diligence in this little place before ſaid, which being landed, we determined there to refreſh our water, and ſo with our little remaine of victuals to take the Sea.

The next day hauing a lande with me fiftie of our hundreth men that remained for the ſpeedier preparing of our water aboorde, there aroſe an extreme ſtorme, ſo that in three dayes we could by no meanes repayre our ſhippes: the ſhippe alſo was in ſuch perill that euery houre we looked for ſhipwracke.

The greateſt miſerie of all.

But yet God againe had mercie on vs, ſent faire weather, had aboorde our water, and departed the ſixteene day of October, after which day wee had faire and proſperous weather till the ſixteene day of Nouember, which day God be prayſed wee were cleere from the coaſt of the Indians, and out of the Chanell and Goulfe of Bahama, which is betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Ilandes of Cuba. After this growing neere to the colde Countrie, our men being oppreſſed with Famine, died continually, and they that

Nouember.

The goulfe of Bahama.

were left, grewe into such weakenes that wee were scantly able to manure our ship, and the wind being alwaies ill for vs to recouer England, determined to go with Galicia in Spaine, with intent there to relecue our company & other extreame wants. And being arriued the last day of December. December in a place neare vnto Vigo called Ponte vedra, our men with excesse of freshe meate grew into miserable diseases, and died a great part of them. This matter was borne out as long as it might be, but in the end although there was none of our men suffered to goe a lande, yet by accesse of the Spanyardes, our feblenes was knowen to them. Whereupon they ceassed not to secke by all meanes to betraie vs, but with all speede possible we departed to Vigo, where we had some helpe of certaine English ships & xii. fresh men wherewith we repaired our wants as wee might, and departing the xx. day of January 1568. arriued in Mounts bay in Cornewale the xxv. Januarie. of the same moneth, praised be God therefore.

If all the miseries and troublesome affaires of this sorowfull voyage should be perfectly and throughly written, there should neede a paynfull man with his penne, and as great a time as hee had that wrote the liues and deathes of the martirs.

Iohn Hawkins.

The Relation of Dauid Ingram of Barking, in the Countie of Essex Sayler, of sundry things which he with others did see, in traueiling by land from the most Northerly partes of the Baie of Mexico (where he with many others were set on shoare by Master Hawkins) through a great part of America, vntill he came within fiftie leagues or there abouts of Cape Britton.

ABout the beginning of October, Anno 1568. Dauid Ingram with the rest of his company being 100. persons in all, were set on land by M. Iohn Hawkins, about sixe Leagues to the West of the riuer La mina, or Rio de Minas, which standeth about 140. leagues west & by North from the cape of Florida, who traueling towards cape Britton, spent about 12. moneths in the whole, And about seuen moneths thereof in those Countries, which lie towards the North of the riuer of May, in which time (as the said Ingram thinketh) he traueiled by land two thousand miles at the least, and neuer continued in any one place aboue three or foure dayes, sauing onely at the Citie of Balma, where he staied sixe or seuen dayes.

Kings. There are in those partes (sayth he) very many Kings, commonly within a hundreth or a hundreth and twenty miles one from an other, who are at continual warres together: The first King that they came before, dwelt in a Countrey called Giricka, who caused them to be stripped naked, and wondring greatly at the whitenes of their skins, let them depart without further harme.

Large precious stones. The Kings in those Countries are clothed with painted or colloured garments, and thereby you may know them, and they weare great precious stones, which commonly are Rubies, being 4. inches long, and two inches broad. And if the same bee taken from them, either by force or sleight, they are presently depriued of their kingdomes.

The Kings in their maiestie. When they meane to speake with any person publikely, they are alwaies carried by men in a sumptuous chaire of Siluer or Christal, garnished with diuers sortes of precious stones.

The maner of saluting their kings. And if you will speake with the king at your first approching neere to him, you must kneele downe on both your knees, and then arise againe and come somewhat neerer him, within your length, thē kneele downe againe as you did before. Then take of the earth or grasse between both your hands, kissing the backside of each of them, and put the earth or grasse on the crowne of your head, and so come, & kisse the kings feete. Which circumstances being performed, you may then arise and stand vp, and talke with him.

How to know the noble men. The Noble men and such as be in special fauour with the King, do commonly weare feathers in the haire of their heads for the most part, of a Byrde, as bigge as a goose of russet collour. And this is the best marke that this Ingram can giue to know him by.

Pearle. There is in some of those Countries great aboundance of pearle, for in euery cottage he found pearle, in some houses a quart, in some a pottle, in some a pecke, more or lesse, where he did see some as great as a beane. And Richard Browne one of his companions, found one of these great pearles in one of their Canoes or boats, which pearle he gaue to Mounsier Campain, who tooke them aboard his ship, and brought them to Newhauen in France,

Bracelets of Gold. All the people generally do weare Manilios or Bracelets, as big as a mans finger, vpon each

of

of their armes, and the like on the ſmall of eche of their legs, whereof commonly one is golde and two ſiluer.

And many of the women alſo doe weare plates of golde, couering their bodies in maner of a payre of curets, and many bracelets and chaines of great pearle. Curets of golde.

The people commonly are of good fauour, feuter & ſhape of body, of growth aboute fiue foote high, ſomewhat thicke, with their faces and ſkins of colour like an olieke, and toward the North ſomewhat tawme, but ſome of them are painted with diuers colours, they are very ſwift of foote, the haire of their heads is ſhauen in ſundry ſpots, and the reſt of their head is traced. The fauour and ſhape of the people.

In the South partes of theſe countreys they go all naked, ſauing that the Noble mens priuities are couered with the necke of a goorde, and the womens priuities with the hayre or leafe of the palme tree. But in the North partes they are clothed with beaſtes ſkins, the hayrie ſide being next to their bodies in winter. Naked people

They are ſo brutiſh & beaſtly, that they wil not forbeare the vſe of their wiues in open preſence. Brutiſh behauiour.

They are naturally very courteous, if you do not abuſe them, either in their perſons or goods, but vſe them courteouſly. The killing or taking of their beaſts, birds, fiſhes, or fruites cannot offende them, except it be of their cattell which they keepe about their houſes, as Kine, Guinie hennes, or ſuch like. People courteous.

If any of them doe holde vp both their hands at length together, and kiſſe the backes of them on both ſides, then you may vndoubtedly truſt them, for it is the greateſt token of friendſhip that may be. A ſure token of friendſhip.

If any of them ſhal come vnto you with a horſetaile in his hand, then you may aſſure your ſelfe that hee is a Meſſenger from the King, and to him you may ſafely commit your perſon, or go to the king, or any where els, or by him ſend any thing or meſſage to the king. For theſe men are alwayes either Enſigne bearers in the warres, or the kings meſſengers, who wil neuer betray you. Meſſengers from the king

If you will haue any of the people come aborde your ſhip, hang out ſome white cloth vpon a ſtaffe, for that is a ſigne of amitie. To allure the people to ſpeach.

If you will bargaine for ware with them, leaue the thing that you will ſell vpon the ground, and go from it a prettie way of: then wil they come and take it, and ſet downe ſuch wares as they will giue for it in the place: And if you thinke it not ſufficient, leaue the wares with ſignes that you like it not, and they will bring more, vntill either they or you be ſatiſfied, or will giue no more. Otherwiſe you may hang your wares vpon a long poles end, and ſo put more or leſſe on it, vntill you haue agreed on the bargaine. The maner of trafique and dealing with them.

When they goe to the warres, they march in battell aray two and three in a ranck. Howe they march in battell.

Their Trumpets they doe make of certaine beaſts teeth, they haue a kinde of Drum which they make of beaſtes ſkins, they make ſhields and Targets of the ſkins of beaſtes, compaſſed with willowe twigs, and being dried, they are ſtrong and defenſible. Their weapons and inſtruments for warre.

Their weapons are dartes, headed with yron, the heads are two fingers broad, and halfe a foot long, which are faſtened within a ſocket.

They haue alſo ſhort bowes, ſtrung with the barke trees, being halfe an inch broad, & the arrowes are of bone, a yarde long, nocked and headed with ſiluer & bone, and their arrowes are of ſmall force within a ſtones caſt of them, and you may put them by with a ſtaffe a pretie way off.

They haue ſhort broad ſwordes of blacke yron of the length of a yarde, or very neere an elle, bearing edges thicker then backs of kniues, ſomewhat like the foyles in our fence ſchooles.

They haue crooked kniues of yron, ſomewhat like a woodknife, or hanger, wherewith they will carue excellently both in wood and bone.

Their Enſigne is a horſe taile, with glaſſe or Chriſtall in ſome of them being dyed in ſundry colours, as red, yellow, greene, &c.

The people in thoſe Countreys are profeſſed enemies to the Canibals or men eaters: The Canibals doe moſt inhabite betweene Norumbega, & Bariniah, they haue teeth like dogs teeth, and thereby you may know them. In the warres they doe pitch their campe as neere as they may vnto ſome wood of Palme tree, which yeelde them meate, drinke, and preſent remedy againſt poyſoned arrowes. Canibals.

Their buildings are weake and of ſmall force, their houſes are made round like Doue houſes, and they doe dwell together in Townes and Villages. And ſome of them haue banqueting houſes in the top of them, made like the louuer of a hall, builded with pillars of maſſie ſiluer, and chriſtall, framed ſquare: whereof many of them are as big as a boyes leg of fifteene yeeres of age, and ſome leſſe. Their houſes and buildings

This Ingram did alſo ſee diuers Townes and Villages, as Gunda, a Towne a flight Townes and Villages.

ſhoote in length.

Ochala, a great Towne a mile long.

Balma, a rich Citie, a mile and a halfe long.

Bega, a Countrey, and Towne of that name, three quarters of a mile long, where are good ſtore of Oxe hides.

Saguanah, a Towne almoſt a mile in length.

Bariniah, a Citie a mile and a quarter long: Alſo there is a Riuer and a Towne of that name, but leſſe then the firſt aboue named.

Guinda, a ſmall Towne and a Riuer, both of that name. And this is the moſt Northerly part, that this Ingram was at.

There are beſides thoſe Townes aforenamed, many other great Townes which this Ingram paſſed by, commonly diſtant fiue or eight miles one from the other, which haue diuers ſmall Villages within eight or ten miles from them.

Veſſels of maſſie ſiluer, for common vſes.

They haue in euery houſe ſcoupes, buckets, and diuers other veſſels of maſſie ſiluer, wherewith they doe throwe out water and duſt, and otherwiſe doe imploy them to their neceſſary vſes in their houſes: All which this Ingram did ſee common and vſuall in ſome of theſe Countreys, eſpecially where he found the great Pearles.

Golde in the heads of Riuers.

There are alſo great riuers, at the heads whereof, this Ingram & his companions did find ſundry pieces of golde, ſome as big as a mans fiſt, the earth being waſhed away with the water.

Rocks of chriſtall.

And in other places, they did ſee great rockes of Chriſtal, which grewe at the heads of great and many Riuers, being in quantitie to loade ſhippes.

Fine Furres.

There are alſo in thoſe partes, plentie of fine Furres, vnknowen to this Ingram, dreſſed after the maner of the Countrey.

Sweete turfe to burne.

The people there do burne a kind of white Turfe or earth, which they dig out of the mariſhes, a fadome deepe in the ground. It burneth very cleare, and ſmelleth as ſweete as muſke, and that earth is as wholeſome, ſweete, and comfortable, to ſmell vnto, as any Pomander. They do make their fire of this earth for the ſweetnes thereof, hauing great aboundance of wood.

Their maner of kindling fire

When they want fire, they take briers, and rub them very hard together betweene their fiſts, and ſo with hard and often rubbing they kindle and make fire.

Iron and Minerall ſalt.

They haue great plentie of Iron, and there is alſo great plentie of minerall ſalt, in the mariſh ground which looketh reddiſh, a thing neceſſary for the great fiſhings neere the ſea ſhore, which are there aboundant, and the fiſh very large and huge.

The fertilitie of the ſoyle.

The ground & Countrey is moſt excellent, fertile and pleaſant, & ſpecially towards the Riuer of May. For the graſſe of ẏ reſt is not ſo greene, as it is in theſe parts, for the other is burnt away with the heate of the Sunne. And as all the Countrey is good and moſt delicate, hauing great

Plaines.

plaines, as large & as fayre in many places as may be ſeene, being as plaine as a board: And then

Great woods. Palmes.

great & huge woods of ſundry kind of trees, as cedar, Lignum vitę, Bombaſſe, plants & buſſhes, bark that biteth like Pepper, (of which kind, young M. Winter brought home part from ẏ ſtraight of Magelane) with the fruitfull Palme tree, & great plentie of other ſweete trees to this Ingram

Cloſes and paſtures.

vnknowen. And after that plaines againe, and in other places great cloſes of paſture, enuironed with moſt delicate trees, in ſtead of hedges: they being as it were ſet by the hands of men: Yet the beſt graſſe for the moſt part is in the high Countries, ſomewhat farre from the Sea ſide, and great Riuers, by reaſon that the lowe grounds there be ſo ranke, that the graſſe groweth faſter then it can be eaten, whereby the olde graſſe lieth withered thicke, and the newe graſſe growing through it. Whereas in the vpper partes, the graſſe and ground is moſt excellent and greene. The ground not being ouercharged with any olde withered graſſe, as is afore ſpecified.

The Palme tree.

The Palme tree aforeſayd carieth layres on the leaues thereof, which reach to the ground, Whereof the Indians doe make ropes and cords for their Cotten beds, and doe vſe the ſame to many other purpoſes.

Wine of the Palme.

The which Tree, if you pricke with your knife, about two foote from the roote, it will yeelde a Wine in colour like whey, but in taſte ſtrong and ſomewhat like Baſtard, which is moſt excellent drinke. But it wil diſtemper both your head and body, if you drinke too much thereof, as our ſtrong Wines wil doe in theſe partes.

Meate of the Palme.

The branches of ẏ top of ẏ tree, are moſt excellent meat raw, after you haue pared away ẏ bark.

Oyle againſt poyſoned arrowes.

Alſo there is a red oyle that commeth out of ẏ roote of this tree, which is moſt excellent againſt poiſoned arrowes & weapons: for by it they doe recouer themſelues of their poyſoned wounds.

The Plantine with his fruits

There is a tree called a Plantine, with a fruite growing on it like a pudding, which is moſt excellent meate rawe.

They

They haue also a red berry like a Pescod, called Guyathos, two or three inches long, which groweth on short bushes full of pricks like the Sloe or Thorne tree, and the fruite eateth like a greene Raisin, but sharper somewhat: They stampe this berry and make Wine thereof, which they keepe in vessels made of wood.

They haue also in many places, Vines which beare Grapes as big as a mans thumbe. Vines with great Grapes.

There is also great plentie of herbes, and of all kinde of flowers, as Roses, and Gillieflowers, like ours in England, and many others which he knewe not. Herbes and flowers.

Also, they haue a kinde of Graine, the eare whereof is as big as the wrist of a mans arme: the Graine is like a flat pease, it maketh very good bread and white. Graine.

They doe also make bread of the roote called Cassaua, which they doe drie, and beate it as small as they can, and temper it with water, and so bake it in cakes on a stone. Bread of a Cassada.

There is also great plenty of Buffes, Beares, Horses, Kine, Woolues, Foxes, Deare, Goats, Sheepe, Hares, and Conies: Also other cattell like ours, to this Examinate vnknowen, the most part being wilde: the Hides and skinnes of them are good Marchandize. There is very great store of those Buffes, which are beasts as big as two Oxen, in length almost twentie foot, hauing long eares like a Blood hound, with long haires about their eares, their hornes be crooked like Rams hornes, their eyes blacke, their haires long, blacke, rough, & shagged as a Goat: The Hides of these beasts are solde very deare, this Beast doeth keepe companie onely by couples, male and female, & doeth alwayes fight with others of the same kinde when they do meete. There is also great plentie of Deare both red, white, and speckled. This last sort this Examinate knoweth not. There is also great plentie of another kinde of Sheepe which carie a kinde of course wooll: This Sheepe is very good meate, although the flesh be very red. They are exceeding fatte, and of nature loth to rise when they are laid, which is alwayes from fiue a clocke at night, vntill fiue a clocke in the morning: betweene which time you may easily kill them, but after they be on foote they are very wilde, & rest not in one place, but liue together in heards, in some 500. as it happeneth, more or lesse: And these red Sheepe are most about the Bay of Saint Marie, as this Examinate gesseth. There are Beares both blacke and white. There are Woolues. The Foxes haue their skins more grisled then ours in England. There are Conies both white and red, and grey in euery place great plentie. Beasts of sundry kindes. Vacca gibbosa, supposed a Buffe. Deare. Sheepe bearing wooll the flesh red.

This Examinate did also see in those Countries a Monstrous beast twise as big as an Horse, and in proportion like to an Horse, both in maine, hoofe, haire, and neighing, sauing it was small towards the hinder partes like a Grey hound. These Beasts hath two teeth or hornes of a foote long growing straight foorth by their nosethrilles: they are naturall enemies to the Horse. A strange Beast.

Hee did also see in that Countrey both Elephants and Dunces. Hee did also see one other strange Beast bigger then a Beare, he had neither head nor necke: his eyes and mouth were in his breast. This beast is very vgly to beholde, and cowardly of kinde. It beareth a very fine skin like a Rat, full of siluer haires. Elephants and Dunces. A strange shapen Beast.

There are in those Countries abundance of Russet Parrots, but very fewe greene. There are also Birds of all sortes as we haue, and many strange Birds to this Examinate vnknowen. There are great plenty of Guinie hennes which are tame Birds, and proper to the Inhabitants, as big as Geese, very blacke of colour, hauing feathers like Downe. There is also a Bird called a Flamingo, whose feathers are very red, and is bigger then a Goose, billed like a Shouell, and is very good meate. There is also another kinde of Foule in that Countrey which hunteth the Riuers neere vnto the Ilands: They are of the shape and bignesse of a Goose but their wings are couered with small yelowe feathers, and cannot flie: You may driue them before you like sheepe: They are exceeding fatte and very delicate meate, they haue white heads, and therefore the Countrey men call them Penguins (which seemeth to be a Welsh name.) And they haue also in vse diuers other Welsh words, a matter worthy the noting. There is also a very strange Bird, thrise as big as an Eagle, very beautifull to beholde, his feathers are more orient then a Peacockes feathers, his eyes are glistering as an Hawkes eyes, but as great as a mans eyes, his head and thigh as big as a mans head and thigh: It hath a crest and tuffe of feathers of sundry colours on the top of the head like a Lapwing hanging backwards: His beake and talents in proportion like Egles, but very huge and large. Russet Parrots. Birds like ours. Guinie hens. A red Bird. Penguins. A great strage Bird.

Touching Tempests and other strange monstrous things in those partes, this Examinate sayth, that he hath seene it Lighten and Thunder in sommer season by the space of foure & twentie houres together: the cause whereof he iudgeth to be the heate of the Climate. Tempests.

He farther saith, that there is a Cloud sometime of the yeere seene in the ayre, which commonly turneth to great Tempests. And that sometimes of the yeere there are great windes in maner Furicanos. Turnados.

of

of Whirlewindes.

Their maner of Religion. Touching their Religion, he saith that they honor for their God a Deuil, which they call Colluchio, who speaketh vnto them sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Dogge, and sometimes in the likenesse of a blacke Calfe.

And some doe honor the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres.

Adulterie punished with death. He saith ẏ the people in those Countries are allowed many Wiues, some fiue, some tenne, & a king sometimes an hundred: And ẏ Adulterie is very seuerely punished in maner following, that is to say: The woman taken in adulterie, must with her owne hands cut ẏ throte of the Adulterer, and the next of his kindred doth likewise cut ẏ throte of the Adulteresse. And being asked in what maner they take their executions, he saith: That they are brought to execution by certaine Magistrates, who do deliuer vnto ẏ woman the knife, wherewith she cutteth ẏ throte of the Adulterer.

Then appeareth their Colluchio or Deuil, in the likenesse aforesaid, and speaketh vnto them, and to that Deuil the parties brought to execution doe great reuerence, and with many prayers to it doe take their death.

Their maner of Burials. He saith that such persons as are put to death in such sort, haue not any of their friends buried with them: but such as die naturally, haue alwayes buried quicke with them one of their dearest friendes to keepe them companie, and to prouide necessaries and victuall for them, who doe willingly cõsent thereto, being thereto perswaded by their Colluchio or Deuil, whõ they do worship.

The Deuil fled away at the name of the holy Trinitie. He saith further, that he & his two fellowes, namely, Richard Browne, and Richard Twide, went into a poore mans house, & there they did see the said Colluchio or Deuil, with very great eyes like a blacke Calfe: Vpon the sight whereof, Browne saide, There is the Deuil, and thereupon he blessed himselfe: In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost. And Twide said very vehemently, I defie thee and all thy workes. And presently the Colluchio shrancke away in a stealing maner forth of the doores, and was seene no more vnto them.

Great Riuers. Also they passed ouer many great Riuers in those Countries, in Canoes or Boates: some foure, some sixe, some eight, some tenne miles ouer: whereof one was so large, that they could scarse crosse the same in foure and twentie houres.

Musicall instruments. Also he saith, that in the same Countrie, the people haue instruments of Musicke made of a piece of a Cane, almost a foote long, being open at both endes: which sitting downe, they smite vpon their thighes and one of their handes, making a pleasant kind of sound.

And they do vse an other kind of instrument like a Taber, couered with a white skinne somewhat like Parchment.

This Examinate can very well describe their gestures, dauncing, and songs.

After long trauaile, the aforesaide Dauid Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twide, came to the head of a riuer called Garinda, which is 60. Leagues West frõ Cape Briton: where they vnderstood by the people of that Countrey of ẏ arriuall of a Christian. Whereupon they made their repaire to the Sea side, and there found a French Captaine named Monsieur Champaigne, who tooke them into his Shippe and brought them vnto Newhauen, & from thence they were transported into England, Anno. Dom. 1569.

Siluer in exchange of trifles. This Monsieur Campaigne, with diuers of his companie was brought into ẏ Village of Bariniah, about twentie miles vp into the Countrie by ẏ said Examinate and his two Companions, by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of diuers sortes of fine furres, & of great redde leaues of trees almost a yard long, & about a foote broade, which he thinketh are good for dying.

Also the said Monsieur Champaigne, had there for exchange of trifling wares, a good quantitie of rude, and wrought siluer.

He saith further, that diuers of the said Frenchmen which were in the said Shippe called the Gargarine, are yet liuing in Homflewe vpon the coast of France, as he thinketh, for he did speake with some of them within these three yeeres.

About a fortnight after their comming from Newhauen into England, this saide Examinate and his two companions came to maister John Hawkins, who had set them on shore vpon the Baie of Mexico, and vnto eche of them he gaue a reward.

Richard Browne his companion was slaine about fiue yeeres past in the Elizabeth of maister Cockins of London: And Richard Twide his other cõpanion died at Ratcliffe in John Sherewoods house there, about three yeeres past.

The language of some of the Countreis.
- Gwando. Is a worde of Salutation, as among vs: Good morrow, Good euen, God saue you or such like.
- Caricona. A King.
- Caraccona. A Lord.

Fona.

Fona. Bread.
Carmugnar. The Priuities.
Kerucca. The Sunne.

Alſo the ſayd Dauid Ingram trauelling towardes the North, fonnd the maine ſea vpon the Northſide of America, and trauailed in the ſight thereof the ſpace of two whole dayes, where the people ſignified vnto him, that they had ſeene ſhippes on that coaſt, and did draw vpon the ground the ſhape and figure of ſhippes, and of their ſailes and flagges. Which thing eſpecially proueth the paſſage of the Northweſt, and is agreeable to the experience of Vaſques de Coronado, which found a ſhippe of China or Cataia vpon the Northweſt of America. The maine Sea on the North parte of America.

Alſo the ſayd examinate ſayth, that there is an Iland called Corraſau, and there are in it fiue or ſix thouſand Indians at the leaſt, and all thoſe are gouerned by one onely Negro, who is but a ſlaue to a Spaniard. And moreouer the Spanyardes will ſend but one of their ſlaues with an hundred or two hundred of the Indians, when they goe to gather golde in the Riuers deſcending from the mountaines. And when they ſhal be abſent by the ſpace of twentie or thirty dayes at the leaſt, euery one of the Indians will neuertheleſſe obey all the Slaues commaundements with as great reuerence, as if he were their naturall King, although there be neuer a Chriſtian neere them by the ſpace of an hundred or two hundred miles: which argueth the great obedience of thoſe people, and how eaſily they may be gouerned when they be once conquered. Corraſau Iland.

A diſcourſe written by one Miles Phillips Engliſhman, one of *the company put a ſhore in the VVeſt Indies by M. Iohn Hawkins in the* yeere 1568. contayning many ſpeciall things of that countrie and of the Spaniſh gouernement, but ſpecially of their cruelties vſed to our Engliſhmen, and amongſt the reſt to himſelfe for the ſpace of 15. or 16. yeeres together, vntill by good and happy meanes he was deliuered from their bloody hands and returned to his owne countrie. Anno. 1582.

The firſt Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed the day and time of our departure from of the coaſt of England, with the number, and names of the ſhippes, their Captaines and Maſters, and of our traffique and dealing vpon the coaſt of Africa.

VPon munday being the ſecond of October, 1567. the weather being reaſonable fayre, our Generall M. Iohn Hawkins, hauing commaunded all his captaines and maſters to be in a readineſſe to make ſayle with him, hee himſelfe being imbarked in the Ieſus, whereof was appointed for Maſter, Robert Barret, hoyſed ſayle, and departed from Plymmoth vpon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa, & America, being accompanied with fiue other ſayle of ſhippes, as namely the Mynion, wherein went for Captaine Maſter Iohn Hampton, and Iohn Garret Maſter. The William and Iohn, wherein was Captaine Thomas Bolton, and James Raunce Maſter. The Iudith, in whome was Captaine M. Francis Drake now knight, and the Angel whoſe Maſter, as alſo the Captaine and Maſter of the Swallow I now remember not. And ſo ſayling in companie together vpon our voyage vntill the tenth of the ſame moneth, an extreame ſtorme then tooke vs neere vnto cape Finiſter, which dured for the ſpace of foure dayes, and ſo ſeparated our ſhippes, that wee had loſt one another, and our Generall finding the Ieſus to be but in yll caſe, was in minde to giue ouer the voyage, and to returne home. Howbeit the eleuenth of the ſame moneth the ſeas waxing calme, and the winde comming fayre, he altered his purpoſe, and helde on the former entended voyage: And ſo comming to the Iſlande of Gomera being one of the Ilands of the Canaries, where according to an order before appoynted, we met with all our ſhippes which were before diſperſed, wee then tooke in freſh water and departed from thence the fourth of Nouember, and holding on our courſe, vpon the eightenth day of the ſame moneth we came to an anker vpon the coaſte of Africa, at cape Verde in twelue fadome water, and here our Generall landed certaine of our men,

This fleete conſiſteth of 6. ſhippes.
1 The Ieſus
2 The Mynion.
3 The William and John.
4 The Iudith.
5 The Angel.
6 The Swallowe.

men, to the number of 160 or there about, seeking to take some Negroes. And they going vp in to the country for the space of six miles, were incountred with a great number of the Negroes: who with their inuenomed arrowes did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were inforced to retyre to the shippes, in which conflict they recouered but a fewe Negroes, and of these our men which were hurt with their envenomed arrowes, there died to the number of 7. or 8. in very strange maner, with their mouths shut, so that we were forced to put sticks & other things into their mouths to keepe them open; & so afterward sailing the time vpon the coast of Guinea, vntill the twelft of Januarie, we obteined by that time the number of 150 Negroes. And being ready to depart from the sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an Ambassadour to our Generall, from a King of the Negroes, which was oppressed with other Kings his bordering neighbours, desiring our Generall to graunt him succour and ayde against those his enemies, which our Generall graunted vnto, and went himselfe in person a land, with the number of 200 of our men or thereabouts, and the sayde King which had requested our ayde, did ioyne his force with ours, so that thereby our Generall assaulted, and set fyre vpon a towne of the sayd King his enemies, in which there was at the least the number of 8 or 10 thousand Negroes, and they perceiuing that they were not able to make any resistance sought by flight to saue themselues, in which their flight there were taken prisoners to the number of 8 or 900. which our Generall ought to haue had for his share: howbeit the Negro King which requested our ayde falsifying his worde and promise, secretly in the night conueyed himselfe away with as many prisoners as hee had in his custodie: but our Generall notwithstanding finding himselfe to haue nowe very neere the number of 500 Negroes thought it best without longer abode to depart with them, and such marchandize as he had from the coast of Africa towardes the west Indies, and therefore commanded with all diligence to take in fresh water and fewel, and so with speede to prepare to depart. Howbeit before we departed from thence, in a stormе that we had, we lost one of our ships namelie the William and Iohn, of which ship and of her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

The 2. Chapter.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arriuall in the West Indies, also of our trade, and traffike there, and also of the great crueltie that the Spaniards vsed towards vs, by the Vice-Roy his direction, and appointment, falsifying his faith and promise giuen, and seeking to haue intrapped vs.

ALl things being made in a readinesse, at our Generall his appointment, vpon the third day of Februarie, 1568. we departed from the coast of Affrica, hauing the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard, and sayling so for the space of 25. dayes, vpon the 27. of March, 1568. we came in sight of an Iland, called Dominica, vpon the coast of America in the West Indies, situated in 14. degrees of latitude, and 222. of longitude: from thence our Generall coasted from place to place, euer making traffike with the Spaniards, and Indians as he might, which was somewhat hardly obtayned, for that the king had straightly charged all his gouernours in those partes not to trade with any: yet notwithstanding, during the moneths of Aprill, and May, our Generall had reasonable trade and traffike, and curteous entertainement in sundry places, as at Margarite, Coraisao, and els where, til we came to Cape de la vela, & Rio de Hacha, (a place from whence all the pearles doe come:) the gouernour there would not by any meanes permit vs to haue any trade or traffike, nor yet suffer vs to take in fresh water: By meanes whereof our Generall for the auoyding of famine & thirst about the beginning of June, was enforced to lande two hundreth of our men, and so by maine force and strength to obtaine that which by no faire meanes he coulde procure: And so recouering the Towne with the losse of two of our men, there was a secrete and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes to the number of two hundreth and vpwards, and of our other marchandize also. From thence we departed for Carthagena, where the Gouernour was so straight, that we coulde not obteine any traffike there, and so for that our trade was neere finished, our Generall thought it best to depart from thence the rather for the auoiding of certaine dangerous stormes called the Huricanos, which accustomed to beginne there about that time of the yeere, and so the 24. of July 1568. wee departed from thence directing our course North, leauing the Ilands of Cuba vpon our right hand, to the East ward of vs, and so sayling towarde Florida, vpon the 12 of August, an extreme tempest arose, which dured for the space of eight dayes, in which our ships were most dangerously tossed & beaten hither, & thither,

so

ſo that wee were in continuall feare to bee drowned by reaſon of the ſhallowneſſe of the coaſte, and in the ende we were conſtrayned to flee for ſuccour to the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, or Vera Cruz, ſcituated in 19 degrees of latitude, and in 200. ſeuentie nine degrees of longitude which is the porte that ſerueth for the citie of Mexico: in our ſeeking to recouer this porte our Generall met by the way, three ſmall ſhippes that caryed paſſengers, which hee tooke with him, and ſo the ſixtenth of September, 1568 wee entred the ſayde port of S. Iohn de Vllua. The Spaniards there ſuppoſing vs to haue bene the King of Spaynes fleete, the chiefe officers of the countrey there abouts came preſently aborde our Generall, where perceiuing themſelues to haue made an vnwiſe aduenture, they were in great feare to haue bene taken and ſtayed: howbeit our Generall did vſe them all very curteouſly: in the ſayd porte there were twelue ſhippes, which by report had in them in treaſure to the valew of 200 thouſand pound, all which being in our Generall his power and at his deuotion, he did freely ſet at libertie, as alſo the paſſengers which he had before ſtayed, not taking from any of them all the valewe of one groate: onely he ſtayed two men of credite and account, the one named Don Laurenzo de Alua, and the other Don Pedro de Reuera, and preſently our Generall ſent to the Vizroye to Mexico which was threeſcore leagues of, certifying him of our arriuall there by force of weather, deſiring that foraſmuch as our Queene his Soueraigne, was the King of Spayne his louing ſiſter and friend, that therefore he would, conſidering our neceſſities and wants, furniſh vs with victuals for our Naule, and quietly to ſuffer vs to repaire and amend our ſhippes. And furthermore that at the ariuall of the Spaniſh fleete which was there dayly expected and looked for, to the ende that there might no quarrell ariſe betweene them, and our Generall and his companye for the breach of amitie, hee humbly requeſted of his excellencie, that there might in this behalfe ſome ſpeciall order bee taken. This meſſage was ſent away the 16 of September, 1568. it being the very day of our arriuall there. The next morning being the ſeuentenih of the ſame moneth, we deſcryed 13 ſayle of great ſhippes: and after that our Generall vnderſtood, that it was the king of Spaynes Fleete then looked for, hee preſently ſent to aduertiſe the Generall hereof, of our being in the ſayde porte, and giuing him further to vnderſtande, that before hee ſhoulde enter there into that harbour, it was requiſite that there ſhoulde paſſe betweene the two Generals ſome orders and conditions to bee obſerued on either part, for the better contriuing of peace betweene them and theirs, according to our Generals requeſt made vnto the Viceroye. And at this inſtant our Generall was in a great perplexitie of minde, conſidering with himſelfe that if he ſhould keepe out that fleete from entring into the porte, a thing which he was very wel able to doe with the helpe of God, then ſhould that fleete be in danger of preſent ſhipwracke and loſſe of all their ſubſtance, which amounted vnto the valewe of one myllion and 800 thouſande crownes. Againe he ſaw that if he ſuffered them to enter, hee was aſſured that they would practiſe by all maner of meanes to betray him and his, and on the other ſide the hauen was ſo litle, that the other fleete entring, the ſhippes were to ride one hard aborde of another: alſo hee ſawe that if their fleete ſhould periſh by his keeping of them out, as of neceſſitie they muſt if he ſhould haue done ſo, then ſtoode he in great feare of the Queene our Soueraignes diſpleaſure in ſo waighty a cauſe, therefore did hee chooſe the leſt euill, which was to ſuffer them to enter vnder aſſurance, and ſo to ſtande vpon his garde, and to defende himſelfe and his from their treaſons which we were wel aſſured they would practiſe, and ſo the meſſenger being returned from Don Martine de Henriques, the new Viceroy, who came in the ſame Fleete, and had ſufficient authoritie to commaund in al cales both by ſea and by land in this prouince of Mexico or new Spaine, did certifie our General, that for the better maintenance of amitie betweene the king of Spaine and our Soueraigne, all our requeſts ſhould bee both fauourably graunted, and faithfully performed: ſignifying further that he heard and vnderſtood of the honeſt and friendly dealing of our Generall, toward the King of Spaynes ſubiects in all places where he had bene, as alſo in the ſayde porte: ſo that to be briefe our requeſts were articled, and ſet downe in writing. viz.

1 The firſt was that wee might haue victuals for our money, and licenſe to ſell as much wares, as might ſuffice to furniſh our wants.

2 The ſecond, that we might be ſuffered peaceably to repayre our ſhippes.

3 The third that the Iland might bee in our poſſeſſion during the time of our abode there, In which Iland our Generall for the better ſafetie of him and his, had alreadie planted and placed certaine ordinance which were eleuen peeces of braſſe, therefore hee required that the ſame might ſo continew, and that no Spaniard ſhould come to land in the ſayde Iland, hauing or wearing any kinde of weapon about him.

4 The fourth and the laſt, that for the better and more ſure performance and maintenance of peace

4. Articles concluded vpon, betwixt the Engliſh and the Spaniards: although the treacherous Spaniards kept none of them.

peace, and of all the conditions, there might twelue gentilmen of credite be deliuered of either part as hostages. These conditions were concluded and agreed vpon in writing by the viceroy and signed with his hande, and sealed with his seale, and tenne hostages vpon either part were receiued. And further it was concluded that the two Generals should meete, and giue faith eche to other for the performance of the promises. All which being done, the same was proclaymed by the sound of a trumpet, and commaundement was giuen that none of either part should violate or breake the peace vpon payne of death: thus at the end of three dayes all was concluded, and the fleete entred the port, the ships saluting one another as the manner of the sea doth require: the morow after being Friday we laboured on al sides in placing the English ships by themselues, and the Spanish ships by them selues, the captaines and inferiour persons of either part, offering, and shewing great curtesie one to another, and promising great amitie vpon all sides. Howbeit as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards ment nothing lesse vpon their parts. For the Viceroye, and gouernour thereabout, had secretly at land assembled to the number of 1000 chosen men, and well appoynted, meaning the next thursday being the 24 of September at dinner time to assault vs, and set vpon vs on all sides. But before I goe any further, I think it not amisse briefely to discribe the maner of the Iland as it then was, and the force & strength, that it is now of. For the Spaniards since the time of our Generals being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, haue vpon the same Iland built a faire castle, and bulwarke very well fortified: this porte was then at our being there, a litle Iland of stones, not past three foote aboue water in the highest place, and not past a bow shotte ouer any way at the most, and it standeth from the mayne land, two bowshootes or more: and there is not in all this coast any other place for ships safely to ariue at: also the North windes in this coast are of great violence and force, and vnlesse the shippes bee safely moored in, with their ankers fastened in this Iland, there is no remedie, but present destruction and shipwracke. All this our generall wisely foreseeing, did prouide that hee would haue the sayde Iland in his custodie, or els the Spaniardes might at their pleasure, haue but cut our cables, and so with the first Northwinde that blewe wee had had our passport, for our shippes had gone a shore. But to returne to the matter. The time approching that their treason must bee put in practise, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof beganne to shewe it selfe, as shifting of weapon from shippe to shippe, and planting, and bending their ordinance against our men that warded vpon the lande, with great repayre of people: which apparant shewes of breache of the Viceroyes fayth, caused our Generall to sende one to the Viceroye, to enquire of him what was ment thereby, which presently sent and gaue order, that the ordinance afforesayde, and other things of suspicion shoulde bee remooued, returning answere to our Generall in the fayth of a Viceroye, that hee woulde bee our defense, and safetie from all villanous treacherye: this was vpon Thursday in the morning. Our Generall not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conuaied a great number of men aboorde a great hulke or ship of theyrs of 900 tunne, which shippe rode hard by the Mynion, hee sent againe to the Viceroy Robert Barret the master of the Iesus, a man that coulde speake the Spanish tongue very well, and required that those men might bee vnshipt againe, which were in that great hulke. The Viceroy then perceiuing that their treason was throughly espied, stayed our Master, and sounded the trumpet, and gaue order that his people should vpon all sides charge vpon our men, which warded on shore, and else where, which strooke such a mase, and sudden feare among vs, that many gaue place, and sought to recouer our ships for the safetie of themselues. The Spaniards which secretly were hid in ambush at lande were quikly conuaied ouer to the Iland in their long boates, and so comming to the Iland, they slewe all our men that they coulde meete with, without any mercie. The Mynion which had somewhat before prepared her selfe to auoyde the danger, haled away and abode the first brunt, of the 300 men that were in the great hulke: then they sought to fall aboorde the Iesus, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slayne: but yet our men defended themselues, and kept them out: so the Iesus also gotte loose, and ioyning with the Mynion, the fight waxed whot vpon all sides: but they hauing wonne and got our ordinance on shore, did greatly annoy vs. In this fight, there were two great ships of the Spaniards sunke, and one burnt, so that with their shippes they were not able to harme vs, but from the shore they beat vs cruelly with our owne ordinance, in such sort that the Iesus was very sore spoyled, and suddenly the Spaniards hauing fired two great shippes of their owne, they came directly against vs, which bred among our men a marueilous feare. Howbeit the Mynion which had made her sayles ready, shifted for her selfe, without consent of the Generall, captaine or master, so that very hardly our Generall could be receiued into the Mynion: the most of our men that were in the Iesus shifted for themselues

The valew of a Spanish Viceroy his fayth.

The villanous treacherie of the Spaniards & their cruelty.

ſelues, and followed the Minion in the boate, and thoſe which that ſmall boate was not able to receiue, were moſt cruelly ſlaine by the Spanyards. Of our ſhippes none eſcaped ſauing the Minion and the Judith: and all ſuch of our men as were not in them were inforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spanyards. For it is a certaine trueth, that whereas they had taken certaine of our men at ſhoare, they tooke and hung them vp by the armes vpon high poſtes vntill the bloud burſt out of their fingers ends: of which men ſo vſed, there is one Copſtowe, and certaine others yet aliue, who through the mercifull prouidence of the almighty, were long ſince arriued heere at home in England, carrying ſtill about with them (and ſhall to their graues) the markes and tokens of thoſe theyr inhumane and more then barbarous cruell dealing.

The third Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed, how that after we were eſcaped from the Spanyards, we were like to periſh with famine at the Sea, and how our Generall, for the auoiding thereof was conſtrained to put halfe of his men on land, and what miſeryes wee after that ſuſtayned amongſt the Sauage people, and how we fell againe into the hands of the Spanyards.

After that the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, had thus contrary to his faith and promiſe, moſt cruelly dealt with our Generall maiſter Hawkins, at S. Iohn de Vllua, where moſt of his men were by the Spanyards ſlaine and drowned, and all his ſhippes ſunke and burnt, ſauing the Minion, and the Judith which was a ſmall barke of fiftie tunne, wherein was then captaine, maiſter Francis Drake, aforeſaid: the ſame night the ſaid barke loſt vs, we being in great neceſſitie, and inforced to remoue with the Minion two bowſhoote from the Spaniſh fleete, where we ankered all that night: and the next morning we weyed anker, and recouered an Iſland a mile from the Spanyards, where a ſtorme tooke vs with a North winde, in which we were greatly diſtreſſed, hauing but two cables, and two ankers left: for in the conflict before, we had loſt three cables and two ankers. The morrow after, the ſtorme being ceaſed, and the weather fayre, wee weyed, and ſet ſaile, being many men in number, and but ſmall ſtore of victualles to ſuffice vs for any long time: by meanes whereof wee were in diſpayre and feare that wee ſhould periſh through famine, ſo that ſome were in minde to yeelde themſelues to the mercie of the Spanyardes, other ſome to the Sauages or Infidels, and wandering thus certayne dayes in theſe vnknowne Seas, hunger conſtrained vs to eate hides, cattes and dogges, mice, rattes, parats and munkyes: to be ſhort, our hunger was ſo great, that wee thought it ſauourie and ſweete, whatſoeuer we could get to eate.

And on the eight of October we came to lande againe, in the bottome of the bay of Mexico, where we hoped to haue found ſome inhabitants, that we might haue had ſome reliefe of victualles, and a place where to repayre our ſhippe, which was ſo greatly bruiſed, that wee were ſcarſe able with our weary armes to keepe foorth the water: being thus oppreſſed with famine on the one ſide, and danger of drowning on the other, not knowing where to finde relieſe, we began to be in woonderfull deſpayre, and we were of many mindes, amongſt whome there were a great many that did deſire our Generall to ſet them on lande, making theyr choyſe rather to ſubmit themſelues to the mercie of the Sauages or Infidels then longer to hazard themſelues at Sea, where they very well ſaw, that if they ſhould all remayne together, if they periſhed not by drowning, yet hunger woulde inforce them in the ende to eate one another: to which requeſt our Generall did very willingly agree, conſidering with himſelfe that it was neceſſary for him to leſſen his number, both for the ſafetie of himſelfe and the reſt: and thereupon being reſolued to ſet halfe his people on ſhoare that hee had then left aliue, it was a woorke to ſee howe ſuddenlie mens mindes were altered, for they which a little before deſired to be ſet on land, were nowe of another minde, and requeſted rather to ſtay: by meanes whereof our Generall was inforced, for the more contentation of all mens mindes, and to take away all occaſions of offence, to take this order: Firſt hee made choyſe of ſuche perſons of ſeruice and account, as were needefull to ſtay, and that being done, of thoſe which were willing to goe he appointed ſuch as hee thought might be beſt ſpared, and preſently appointed that by the boate they ſhould be ſet on ſhoare, our Generall promiſing vs that the next yeere he woulde eyther come himſelfe, or elſe ſende to fetche vs home. Heere agayne it woulde haue

caused any stony heart to haue relented to heare the pitifull mone that many did make, and how loth they were to depart: the weather was then somewhat stormie and tempestuous, and therefore we were to passe with great danger, yet notwithstanding there was no remedy, but we that were appointed to goe away, must of necessitie doe so. Howbeit those that went in the first boate were safelie set a shoare, but of them which went in the second boate, of which number I my selfe was one, the seas wrought so high, that we could not attayne to the shoare, and therefore we were constrayned through the cruell dealing of John Hampton captaine of the Minion, and John Sanders boatswaine of the Jesus, and Thomas Pollard his mate, to leape out of the boate into the maine Sea, hauing more then a mile to shoare, and so to shift for our selues, and either to sincke or swimme. And of those that so were (as it were) thrown out, and compelled to leape into the Sea, there were two drowned, which were of captaine Blands men.

In the euening of the same day, it being Sunday the eight of October, 1568, when we were all come to shoare, we found fresh water, whereof some of our men drunke so much, that they had almost cast themselues away, for we could scarse get life in them for the space of two or three hours after: other some were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruite which wee found on lande, hauing a stone in it much like an almond (which fruite is called Capule) that they were all in very ill case, so that we were in a maner all of vs both feeble, faint and weake.

The next morning it being Tuesday, the ninth of October, we thought it best to trauell along by the Sea coast, to seeke out some place of habitation: whether they were Christians or Sauages, we were indifferent, so that wee might haue wherewithall to sustaine our hungrie bodyes, and so departing from an hill where wee had rested all night, not hauing any dry threed about vs, for those that were not wet being throwne into the Sea, were throughly wet with raine, for all the night it rained cruelly: As we went from the hill, and were come into the plaine, we were greatly troubled to passe for the grasse and woods that grew there higher then any man. On the left hand we had the Sea, and vpon the right hand great woods, so that of necessitie we must needes passe on our way Westward, through those marshes, and going thus, suddenly we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kinde of people, which are in a maner as Canibals, although they do not feed vpon mans flesh as Canibals do.

Chichemici a warlike and cruell people.

These people are called Chichemici, and they vse to weare their haire long, euen downe to their knees, they doe also colour their faces greene, yellow, red and blew, which maketh them to seeme very ougly and terrible to beholde. These people doe keepe warres against the Spanyards, of whome they haue beene oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spanyards there is no mercy. They perceiuing vs at our first comming on land, supposed vs to haue beene their enemies, the bordering Spanyards, and hauing by their forerunners descryed what number wee were, and how feeble and weake without armour or weapon, they suddenly according to their accustomed maner, when they encounter with any people in warlike sort, raysed a terrible and huge crie, and so came running fiercely vpon vs, shooting off their arrowes as thicke as haile, vnto whose mercy we were constrained to yeeld, not hauing amongst vs any kinde of armour, nor yet weapon, sauing one caliuer, and two olde rustie swoordes, whereby to make any resistance, or to saue our selues: which when they perceiued, that we sought not any other then fauour and mercy at their hands, and that we were not their enemies the Spanyards, they had compassion on vs, and came and caused vs all to sit downe: and when they had a while surueyed, and taken a perfect view of vs, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst vs, and those they did strippe starke naked, and tooke their clothes away with them, but they that were apparelled in blacke they did not meddle withall, and so went their wayes, and left vs, without doing vs any further hurt, onely in the first brunt they killed eight of our men. And at our departure, they perceiuing in what weake case we were, pointed vs with their hands which way we should goe to come to a towne of the Spanyards, which as we afterwards perceiued, was not past ten leagues from thence, vsing these words: Tampeco, tampeco Christiano, tampeco Christiano, which is as much (we thinke) as to say in English, Go that way, and you shall finde the Christians. The weapons that they vse are no other but bowes and arrowes, and their aime is so good, that they very seldome misse to hit any thing that they shoot at. Shortly after they had left vs stript (as afore said) we thought it best to diuide our selues into two companies, and so being separated, halfe of vs went vnder the leading of one Anthony Godard, who is yet a man aliue, and dwelleth at this instant in the towne of Plimmouth, whom before we chose to be captaine ouer vs all, and those which went vnder his leading, of which number I Miles Phillips was one, trauelled Westward that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed vs to go. The other halfe went vnder the leading

of

of one John Hooper, whome they did choose for their captaine, and with the company that went with him, Dauid Ingram was one, and they tooke their way and trauelled Northward, and shortly after, within the space of two dayes, they were againe incountred with the sauage people, and their captaine Hooper and two more of his company were slaine: then againe they diuided themselues, and some held on their way still Northward, and other some, knowing that we were gone Westward, sought to meet with vs againe, as in truth there was about the number of fiue & twentie or sixe and twentie of them that mette with vs in the space of foure dayes againe, and then we began to reckon amongst our selues, how many we were that were set on shoare, and we found the number to be an hundred & foureteene, whereof two were drowned in the Sea, and eight were slaine at the first incounter, so that there remained an hundred and foure, of which fiue and twentie went Westward with vs, and two and fiftie to the North with Hooper and Ingram: and as Ingram since hath often tolde me, there were not past three of their company slaine, and there were but sixe and twenty of them that came againe to vs, so that of the company that went Northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainely heard of, the number of three and twentie men. And verely I doe thinke that there are of them yet aliue, and marryed in the sayd countrey, at Sibola, as hereafter I purpose (God willing) to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make me so to thinke of thē that were lacking, which were Dauid Ingram, Twide, Browne, and sundry others, whose names we could not remember. And being thus met againe together, we trauelled on still Westward, sometime through such thicke woods, that we were inforced with codgels to breake away the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies: other some times we should trauell through the plaines, in such high grasse that we could scarse see one another, and as we passed in some places, we should haue of our men slaine, and fall downe suddenly, being stricken by the Indians, which stood behinde trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by, for we went scatteringly in seeking of fruites to relieue our selues. Wee were also oftentimes greatly annoyed with a kinde of flie, which in the Indian tongue is called Tequani, and the Spanyards called them Musketas. There are also in the sayd countrey a number of other kinde of flies, but none so noysome as these Tequanies be: you shall hardly see them they be so small, for they are scarse so bigge as a gnat: they will sucke ones blood maruellously, and if you kill them while they are sucking, they are so venemous that the place will swell extremely, euen as one that is stoong with a waspe or bee: but if you let them sucke their fill, and to goe away of themselues, then they doe you no other hurt, but leaue behinde them a redde spotte somewhat bigger then a fleabiting. At the first we were terriblie troubled with these kinde of flies, not knowing their quallities, and resistance we coulde make none against them, being naked: as for colde we feared not any, the countrey there is alwayes so warme. And as we trauelled thus for the space of tenne or twelue dayes, our captaine did oftentimes cause certaine to goe vp into the toppes of high trees, to see if they could descrie any towne or place of inhabitants, but they coulde not perceiue any, and vsing often the same order to climbe vp into high trees, at the length they descryed a great riuer that fell from the Northwest in the maine Sea, and presently after, we heard an harquebusse shotte off, which did greatly incourage vs, for thereby we knew that we were neere to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to finde some succour and comfort, and within the space of one houre after, as we trauelled, we heard a cocke crowe, which was also no small ioy vnto vs, and so we came to the North side of the riuer of Panuco, where the Spanyards haue certaine Salines, at which place it was that the harquebusse was shot off, which before we heard: to which place we went not directly, but missing thereof, we left it about a bowshoote vpon our left hand: of this riuer we dranke very greedilie, for we had not mette with any water in sixe dayes before, and as we were heere by the riuer side resting our selues, and longing to come to the place where the cocke did crowe, and where the harquebusse was shot off, we perceiued many Spanyardes vpon the other side of the riuer, riding vp and downe on horsseback, and they perceiuing vs, did suppose that wee had beene of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichemici, the riuer was not past halfe a bowe shoot ouer: and presently one of the Spanyards tooke an Indian boate called a Canoa, and so came ouer, being rowed by two Indians, and hauing taken the view of vs, did presently rowe ouer backe againe to the Spanyards, who without any delay made out about the number of twentie horsssemen, and imbarking themselues in the Canoas, they led their horsses by the reines swimming ouer after them, and being come ouer to that side of the riuer where wee were, they sadled their horsses, and being mounted vpon them with their launces charged, they came very fiercely, running at vs. Our captaine Anthony Godard seeing them come in that order, did persuade vs to submitte and yeelde our selues vnto them, for beeing naked, as wee at this time were, and without weapon, we

Dauid Ingrā.

could not make any resistance, whose bidding wee obeyed, and vpon the yeelding of our selues, they perceiued vs to be Christians, and did call for more Canoas, and carryed vs ouer by foure and foure in a boate, and being come on the other side, they vnderstanding by our captaine how long we had beene without meate, imparted betweene two and two a loafe of bread made of that countrey wheate, which the Spanyardes call Mayse, of the bignesse of one of our halpennie loaues, which bread is named in the Indian tongue Clashacally. This bread was very sweet and pleasant vnto vs, for wee had not eaten any in a long time before, and what is it that hunger doth not make to haue a sauory and a delicate taste: and hauing thus imparted the bread amongst vs, those which were men they sent afore to the Towne, hauing also many Indians inhabitants of that place to garde them: they which were young, as boyes, and some such also as were feeble, they tooke vp vpon their horses, behinde them, and so carryed vs to the Towne where they dwelt, which was very neere distant a mile from the place where we came ouer.

This Towne is well situated, and well replenished with all kindes of fruites, as Orinages, Limmons, Pomgranets, Apricoks, and Peaches, and sundry others, and is inhabited with a great number of tame Indians, or Mexicans, and had in it also at that time about the number of two hundred Spanyards, men, women, and children, besides Negroes. Of their Salines, which lie vpon the West side of the riuer, more then a mile distant from thence, they make a great profite, for it is an excellent good merchandize there: the Indians doe buy much thereof, and carrie it vp into the Countrey, and there sell it to their owne Countrey people, in doubling the price. Also much of the Salt made in this place, is transported from thence by Sea to sundry other places, as to Cuba, S. Iohn de Vllua, and the other Portes of Tamiago, and Tamachos, which are two barred Hauens West and by South aboue threescore leagues from S. Iohn de Vllua. When we were all come to the Towne, the Gouernour there shewed himselfe very seuere vnto vs, and threatened to hang vs all: and then he demanded what money wee had, which in truth was very little, for the Indians which we first met withall, had in a maner taken all from vs, and of that which they left, the Spanyardes which brought vs ouer, tooke away a good part also: howbeit, from Anthony Godard the Gouernour heere had a chaine of golde, which was giuen vnto him at Carthagena, by the Gouernour there: and from others he had some small store of money: so that we accounted that amongst vs all he had the number of fiue hundred Pezoes, besides the chaine of golde.

And hauing thus satisfied himselfe, when he had taken all that we had, he caused vs to be put into a little house much like a Hogstie, where we were almost smoothered: and before we were thus shutte vp into that little coate, they gaue vs some of the Countrey wheat, called Mayse, sodden, which they feed their Hogges withall. But many of our men which had beene hurt by the Indians at our first comming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grieuous, desired to haue the helpe of their Surgions to cure their wounds. The Gouernour, and most of them all answered, that we should haue none other Surgion but the hangman, which should sufficiently heale vs of all our griefes: and thus reuiling vs, and calling vs English dogges, and Lutheran heretikes, we remayned the space of three dayes in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of vs, waiting euery houre to be bereaued of our liues.

The fourth Chapter.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in Panuco, and in what feare of death we were there, and how we were carryed to Mexico to the Vice Roy, and of our imprisonment there and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties wee receiued during that time, and how in the end we were by proclamation giuen to serue as slaues to sundrie Gentlemen Spanyardes.

VPon the fourth day after our comming thither, and there remayning in a perplexitie, looking euery houre when we should suffer death, there came a great number of Indians and Spanyardes weaponed to fetch vs out of the house, and amongst them we espyed one that brought a great many of newe halters, at the sight whereof wee were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently haue suffered death, and so crying and calling to God for mercy and for forgiuenesse of our sinnes, we prepared our selues, making vs ready to die, yet in the end, as the sequell shewed, their meaning was not so: for when we were come out of the house, with those halters they bound our armes behinde vs, and so

ſo coupling vs two and two together, they commanded vs to march on through the Towne, and ſo alongſt the country from place to place toward the citie of Mexico, which is diſtant from Panuco Weſt and by South the ſpace of threeſcore leagues, hauing onely but two Spanyards to conduct vs, they being accompanyed with a great number of Indians warding on either ſide with bowes and arrowes, leaſt we ſhould eſcape from them. And trauelling in this order, vpon the ſecond day at night we came vnto a Towne which the Indians call Nohele, and the Spanyardes call it Santa Maria: in which Towne there is a houſe of White fryers, which did very courteouſlie vſe vs, and gaue vs hote meat, as mutton and broth, and garments alſo to couer our ſelues withall, made of white bayes: we fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruite, called Nochole, which fruite is long and ſmall, much like in faſhion to a little Cowcumber. Our greedie feeding cauſed vs to fall ſicke of hote burning agues. And heere at this place one Thomas Baker one of our men died of a hurt: for he had beene before ſhot in with an arrowe into the throat at the firſt incounter.

The next morrow about ten of the clocke, we departed from thence, bound two & two together, and garded as before, and ſo trauelled on our way toward Mexico, till we came to a towne within fortie leagues of Mexico, named Meſticlan, where is a houſe of Blacke fryers: and in this towne there are about the number of three hundred Spanyards, both men, women, and children. The fryers ſent vs meat from the houſe ready dreſſed, and the fryers, and men and women, vſed vs very courteouſly, and gaue vs ſome ſhirts and other ſuch things as we lacked. Heere our men were very ſicke of their agues, and with eating of another fruite called in the Indian tongue, Guiaccos, which fruite did binde vs ſo ſore, that for the ſpace of tenne or twelue dayes we could not eaſe our ſelues. The next morning we departed from thence with our two Spanyards & Indian gard, as aforeſaid. Of theſe two Spanyards the one was an aged man, who all the way did very courteouſly intreat vs, and would carefully goe before to prouide for vs both meat and things neceſſary to the vttermoſt of his power: the other was a young man, who all the way trauelled with vs, and neuer departed from vs, who was a very cruell caitiffe, and he carryed a iauelin in his hand, and ſometimes when as our men with very feeblenеſſe and faintneſſe were not able to goe ſo faſt as he required them, he would take his iauelin in both his hands, and ſtricke them with the ſame betweene the necke and the ſhoulders ſo violently, that hee would ſtrike them downe, then would he cry, and ſay: Marches, marches Engliſes perros, Luterianos, enemicos de Dios: which is as much to ſay in Engliſh; March, march on you Engliſh dogges, Lutherans, enemies to God. And the next day we came to a towne called Pachuca, and there are two places of that name: as this towne of Pachuca, and the mines of Pachuca, which are mines of ſiluer, and are about ſixe leagues diſtant from this towne of Pachuca towardes the Northweſt.

Heere at this towne the good olde man our Gouernour ſuffered vs to ſtay two dayes and two nightes, hauing compaſſion of our ſicke and weake men, full ſore againſt the minde of the young man his companion. From thence we tooke our iourney, and trauelled foure or fiue dayes by little villages, and Stantias, which are Farmes or Dairie houſes of the Spanyardes, and euer as we had neede, the good olde man would ſtill prouide vs ſufficient of meates, fruites, and water to ſuſtaine vs. At the end of which fiue dayes wee came to a towne within fiue leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoghliclan, where we alſo ſtayed one whole day and two nightes, where was a fayre houſe of Gray fryers, howbeit, we ſawe none of them. Heere we were tolde by the Spanyards in the Towne, that we had not paſt fifteene Engliſh miles from thence to Mexico, whereof we were all very ioyfull and glad, hoping that when we came thither, we ſhould either be relieued, and ſet free out of bondes, or els be quickely diſpatched out of our liues: for ſeeing our ſelues thus carryed bound from place to place, although ſome vſed vs courteouſly, yet could wee neuer ioy, nor be merry till we might perceiue our ſelues ſet free from that bondage, either by death or otherwiſe.

The next morning we departed from thence on our iourney towardes Mexico, and ſo trauelled till we came within two leagues of it, where there was built by the Spanyards a very fayre church, called our Lady church, in which there is an image of our Lady of ſiluer and gilt, being as high, & as large as a tall woman, in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of ſiluer as there be dayes in the yeere, which vpon high dayes are all lighted. Whenſoeuer any Spanyards paſſe by this church, although they be on horſſebacke, they will alight, and come into the church, & kneele before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all euill: ſo that whether he be horſman or footman he will not paſſe by, but firſt goe into the church, and pray as aforeſaid, which if they doe not, they thinke and beleeue that they ſhall neuer proſper, which image they call in the Spaniſh tongue, Noſtra ſignora de Guadalupe. At this place there are certaine

colde baths, which arise, springing vp as though the water did seethe: the water whereof is somewhat hackish in taste, but very good for any that haue any sore or wound, to wash themselues therewith, for as they say, it healeth many: and euery yeere once vpon our Lady day the people vse to repayre thither to offer, and to pray in that Church before the image, and they say that our Lady of Guadalupe doeth worke a number of miracles. About this Church there is not any towne of Spanyards that is inhabited, but certaine Indians doe dwell there in houses of their owne countrey building.

Heere wee were met with a great number of Spanyards on horsseback, which came from Mexico to see vs, both gentlemen, and men of occupations, and they came as people to see a woonder: wee were still called vpon to march on, and so about foure of the clocke in the afternoone of the said day we entred into the citie of Mexico, by the way or street called La calia Sancta Catherina: and wee staied not in any place till wee came to the house or pallace of the Vice Roy, Don Martin Henriques, which standeth in the middest of the city, hard by the market place, called La plaça dell Marquese. Wee had not staied any long time at this place, but there was brought vs by the Spanyards from the market place great store of meat, sufficient to haue satisfied fiue times so many as we were: some also gaue vs hats, and some gaue vs money: in which place we staied for the space of two houres, and from thence wee were conueyed by water in to large Canoas to an hospitall where as certaine of our men were lodged, which were taken before the fight at S. Iohn de Vllua: wee should haue gone to our Ladies hospitall, but that there were also so many of our men taken before at that fight that there was no roome for vs. After our comming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco died within the space of fouretene dayes: soone after which time we were taken forth from that place, and put altogether into our Ladyes hospitall, in which place wee were courteously vsed, and visited oftentimes by vertuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the citie, who brought vs diuers things to comfort vs withall, as succats and marmilads, and such other thinges, and would also many times giue vs many things, and that very liberally. In which hospitall we remayned for the space of sixe moneths, vntill we were all whole and sound of body, and then wee were appointed by the Vice Roy to be carryed vnto the towne of Tescuko, which is from Mexico Southwest distant eight leagues: in which towne there are certaine houses of correction and punishment for ill people called Obraches, like to Bridewell heere in London: into which place diuers Indians are solde for slaues, some for ten yeeres, and some for twelue. It was no small griefe vnto vs when wee vnderstood that we should be carryed thither, and to be vsed as slaues, wee had rather be put to death: howbeit there was no remedy, but we were carryed to the prison of Tescuko, where we were not put to any labour, but were very straitly kept, and almost famished, yet by the good prouidence of our mercifull God, we happened there to meete with one Robert Sweeting, who was the sonne of an English man borne of a Spanish woman: this man could speake very good English, and by his meanes wee were holpen very much with victualles from the Indians, as mutton, hennes, and bread. And if we had not beene so relieued, we had surely perished: and yet all the prouision that we had gotten that way was but slender. And continuing thus straightly kept in prison there for the space of two moneths, at the length wee agreed amongst our selues to breake foorth of prison, come of it what would, for wee were minded rather to suffer death then longer to liue in that miserable state.

And so hauing escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to flie for the safetie of our selues, the night was darke, and it rayned terribly, and not hauing any guide, we went we knew not whither, and in the morning, at the appearing of the day, wee perceiued our selues to be come hard to the citie of Mexico, which is foure & twentie English miles from Tescuko. The day being come we were espyed by the Spanyards, and pursued, and taken, and brought before the Vice Roy and head iustices, who threatned to hang vs for breaking of the kings prison. Yet in the end they sent vs into a garden belonging to the Vice Roy, and comming thither, wee found there our English gentlemen which were deliuered as hostages when as our generall was betrayed at S. Iohn de Vllua, as is aforesayd, and with them we also found Robert Barret, the Maister of the Iesus, in which place we remayned labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of foure moneths, hauing but two sheepe a day allowed to suffice vs all, being very neere a hundred men, and for bread, wee had euery man two loaues a day, of the quantity of one halfepennie loafe. At the end of which foure moneths, they hauing remooued our gentlemen hostages, and the Maister of the Iesus to a prison in the Vice Roy his owne house, did cause it to be proclamed, that what gentleman Spanyard soeuer was willing, or would haue any English man to serue him, and be bound to keepe him forth comming, to appeare before the Iustices within one moneth after notice giuen, that they should repayre to the said garden, and there take their choice: which

proclamation

proclamation was no ſooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amaine, ſo that happie was he that could ſooneſt get one of vs.

The 5. Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed in what good ſort, and how wealthily we liued with our maſters vntill the comming of the Inquiſition, when as agayne our ſorowes began a freſh: Of our impriſonment in the holy houſe, and of the ſeuere iudgement and ſentences giuen againſt vs, and with what rigour and crueltie the ſame were executed.

THe gentlemẽ that thus tooke vs for their ſeruants or ſlaues, did new apparel vs throughout, with whom we abode, doing ſuch ſeruice as they appointed vs vnto, which was for the moſt part to attend vpon them at the table, and to bee as their chamberlaines, and to waite vpon them when they went abroade, which they greatly accounted of: for in that countrey no Spaniard will ſerue one another, but they are all of them attended and ſerued by Indians weekely, and by Negroes which be their ſlaues during their life. In this ſort we remained and ſerued in the ſaid citie of Mexico, and thereabouts for the ſpace of a yeere and ſomewhat longer. Afterwards many of vs were by our maſters appointed to go to ſundry of their Mines where they had to doe, and to bee as ouerſeers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there. In which Mines many of vs did profite and gaine greatly: for firſt we were allowed three hundred Pezoes a man for a yeere, which is three ſcore pound ſterling, and beſides that the Indians and Negroes which wrought vnder our charge, vpon our well vſing and intreating of them, would at times as vpon Saturdayes whẽ they had left worke, labour for vs, & blow as much ſilver as ſhould be worth vnto vs 3. marks or thereabouts, euery marke being worth 6. Pezoes, & a halfe of their mony, which 19. Pezoes & a half, is worth 4. li. 10. s. of our mony. Sundrie weeks we did gaine ſo much by this meanes beſides our wages, that many of vs became very rich, and were wooorth three thouſand or foure thouſand Pezoes, for wee liued and gained thus in thoſe Mines ſome three or foure yeeres. As concerning thoſe Gentlemen which were deliuered as hoſtages, and that were kept in priſon, in the Uiceroy his houſe, after that we were gone from out the garden to ſerue ſundry Gentlemen as aforeſaid, they remained priſoners in the ſayde houſe for the ſpace of foure moneths after their comming thither, at the ende whereof the Fleete beyng readie to depart from S. Iohn de Vllua, to goe for Spaine, the ſaid Gentlemen were ſent away into Spaine with the fleete, where as I haue heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruell handling of the Spaniards in the Inquiſition houſe, as thoſe which haue bene deliuered home after they had ſuffered the perſecution of that houſe can more perfectly declare. Robert Barret alſo the maſter of the Jeſus, was ſent away with the fleete into Spaine the next yeere following, where afterwards he ſuffered perſecution in the Inquiſition, and at the laſt was condemned to bee burnt, and with him three or foure more of our men, of whom one was named Gregorie, and another Iohn Bowne, whom I knew, for they were of our Generall his Muſitians, but the names of the reſt that ſuffered with them I know not.

Now after that ſixe yeeres were fully expired ſince our firſt comming into the Indies, in which time we had bene impriſoned and ſerued in the ſaid countreys as is before truely declared, In the yeere of our Lord one thouſand fiue hundred ſeuentie foure, the Inquiſition beganne to be eſtabliſhed in the Indies, very much againſt the mindes of many of the Spaniards themſelues: for neuer vntill this time ſince their firſt conquering and planting in the Indies, were they ſubiect to that bloodie and cruell Inquiſition. The chiefe Inquiſitor was named Don Pedro Moya de Contreres, and Iohn de Bouilla his companion, and Iohn Sanchis the Fiſchall, and Pedro de la Rios, the Secretarie: they being come and ſetled, and placed in a very faire houſe neere vnto the white Friers, conſidering with themſelues that they muſt make an entrance and beginning of that their moſt deteſtable Inquiſition here in Mexico, to the terrour of the whole country, thought it beſt to call vs that were Engliſhmen firſt in queſtion, and ſo much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence, that many of vs were become very rich, as hath bene alreadie declared, and therefore we were a very good bootie and praie to the Inquiſitors: ſo that now again began our ſorowes a freſh, for we were ſent for, and ſought out in all places of the countrey, and proclamation made vpon paine of looſing of goods, and excommunication, that no man ſhould hide or keepe ſecret any Engliſhman or any part of their goods. By meanes whereof we were all ſoone apprehended in all places, and all our goods ſeized and taken for the Inquiſitors vſe, and ſo from

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all partes of the countrey we were conueied and sent as prisoners to the citie of Mexico, and there committed to prison in sundry darke dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light, & were neuer pall two together in one place, so that we sawe not one another, neither could one of vs tell what was become of an other. Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a peere and a halfe, and others for some lesse time, for they came to prison euer as they were apprehended. During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning we were often called before the Inquisitors alone, and there seuerely examined of our faith, and commanded to say the Pater noster, the Aue Maria, and the Creed in Latin, which God knoweth a great number of vs could not say, otherwise then in the English tongue. And hauing the said Robert Sweeting who was our friend at Tescuco alwayes present with thē for an interpreter, he made report for vs, þ in our owne country speach, we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in Latin. Then did they proceed to demaund of vs vpon our othes what we did beleeue of the Sacrament, & whether there did remaine any bread or wine after the words of consecration, yea or no, and whether we did not beleeue that the host of bread which the priest did hold vp ouer his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body & bloud of our Sauiour Christ, yea or no: To which if we answered not yea, then was there no way but death. Then they would demaund of vs what we did remember of our selues, what opinions we had held, or had bin taught to hold contrary to the same whiles we were in England: to which we for the safetie of our liues were cōstrained to say, that we neuer did beleeue, nor had bene taught otherwise then as before we had sayd. Then would they charge vs that we did not tel them the trueth, that they knew to the contrary, and therfore we should call our selues to remembrance, & make them a better answer at the next time, or els we should be rackt, and made to confesse the trueth whether we would or no. And so comming againe before them the next time, we were still demaunded of our beliefe whiles we were in England, and how we had bene taught, & also what we thought or did know of such of our owne company as they did name vnto vs, so that we could neuer be free from such demands, and at other times they would promise vs, that if we would tell them trueth, then should we haue fauour & be set at libertie, although we very wel knew their faire speaches were but means to intrap vs, to the hazard and losse of our liues: howbeit God so mercifully wrought for vs by a secret meanes that wee had, that we kept vs still to our first answer, & would stil say that we had told the trueth vnto them, and knew no more by our selues nor any other of our fellowes then as we had declared, and that for our sinnes and offences in England against God and our Ladie, or any of his blessed saintes, we were heartily sory for the same, and did crie God mercy, and besought the Inquisitors for Gods sake, considering that we came into those countries by force of weather, and against our wils, and that neuer in all our liues we had either spoken or done any thing contrary to their lawes, that therefore they would haue mercy vpon vs, yet all this would not serue: for still from time to time we were called vpon to confesse, and about the space of 3. moneths before, they proceeded to their seuere iudgement, we were all rackt, and some enforced to vtter that against themselues, which afterwards cost them their liues. And thus hauing gotten from our own mouthes matter sufficient for thē to proceed in iudgement against vs, they caused a large scaffold to be made in the middest of the market place in Mexico right ouer against the head church, & 14. or 15. dayes before the day of their iudgement, with the sound of a trumpet, and the noise of their Attabalies, which are a kind of drummes, they did assemble the people in all partes of the citie, before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed, that whosoeuer would vpon such a day repaire to the market place, they should heare the sentence of the holy Inquisition against the English heretikes, Lutheranes, and also see the same put in execution. Which being done, and the time approching of this cruell iudgement, the night before they came to the prison where we were, with certaine officers of that holy hellish house, bringing with them certain fooles coats which they had prepared for vs, being called in their language S. Benitos, which coats were made of yealow cotton & red crosses vpon them, both before & behind: they were so busied in putting on their coates about vs, and in bringing vs out into a large yard, and placing and pointing vs in what order we should go to the scaffold or place of iudgement, vpon the morow, that they did not once suffer vs to sleepe all that night long. The next morning being come, there was giuen to euery one of vs for our breakfast a cuppe of wine, and a slice of bread fried in honie, and so about eight of the clocke in the morning, wee set forth of the prison, euery man alone in his yealow coate, and a rope about his necke, and a great greene Waxe candle in his hand vnlighted, hauing a Spaniard appointed to go vpon eyther side of euery one of vs: and so marching in this order and maner toward the Scaffold in the Market place, which was a bowe shoote distant or thereaboutes, wee found a great assemblie of people all the way, and such throng, that certayne of the Inquisitors officers on horsebacke were constrained to make way,

and

and so comming to the Scaffold, wee went vp by a paire of staires, and found seates readie made and prepared for vs to sit downe on, euery man in order as he should be called to receiue his iudgement. We being thus set downe as we were appointed, presently the Inquisitors came vp another paire of staires, and the Uicerop and all the chiefe Justices with them. When they were set downe and placed vnder the cloth of estate agreeing to their degrees and calling, then came vp also a great number of Friers, white, blacke and gray, about the number of 300. persons, they being set in the places for them appointed. Then was there a solemne Oyes made, and silence commanded, and then presently began their seuere and cruell iudgement.

The cruell iudgements of the Spanish Inquisitors vpō our poore countrymen.

The first man that was called was one Roger the chiefe Armourer of the Jesus, and hee had iudgement to haue three hundred stripes on horsebacke, and after condemned to the gallies as a slaue for 10. yeeres.

After him was called John Gray, John Browne, John Rider, John Moone, James Collier, and one Thomas Browne: these were adiudged to haue 200. stripes on horsebacke, and after to be committed to the Gallies for the space of 8. yeeres.

Then was called John Keies, and was adiudged to haue 100. stripes on horsebacke, and condemned to serue in the gallies for the space of 6. yeeres.

Then were seuerally called the number of 53. one after another, and euery man had his seuerall iudgement, some to haue 200. stripes on horsebacke, and some 100. and condemned for slaues to the gallies, some for 6. yeeres, some for 8. and some for 10.

And then was I Miles Philips called, and was adiudged to serue in a monasterie for 5. yeeres, without any stripes, and to weare a fooles coate, or S. Benito, during all that time.

Then were called John Storie, Richard Williams, Dauid Alexander, Robert Cooke, Paul Horsewell and Thomas Hull: these sixe were condemned to serue in monasteries without stripes, some for 3. yeeres and some for foure, and to weare the S. Benito during all the said time. Which being done, and it now drawing towards night, George Riuelie, Peter Womfrie, and Cornelius the Irishman, were called, and had their iudgement to be burnt to ashes, and so were presently sent away to the place of execution in the market place but a litle from the scaffold, where they were quickly burnt and consumed. And as for vs that had receiued our iudgement, being 68. in number, we were caried backe that night to prison againe. And the next day in ꝑ morning being good Friday, the yeere of our Lord 1575. we were all brought into a court of ꝑ Inquisitors pallace, where we found a horse in a readinesse for euery one of our men which were condemned to haue stripes, and to be committed to the gallies, which were in number 60. and so they being inforced to mount vp on horsebacke naked from the middle vpward, were caried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chiefe and principall streetes of the Citie, and had the number of stripes to euery one of them appointed, most cruelly layd vpon their naked bodies with long whips by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof: & before our men there went a couple of criers which cried as they went, Behold these English dogs, Lutherans, enemies to God, and all the way as they went, there were some of the Inquisitors themselues, and of the familiars of that rakehell order, that cried to the executioners, Strike, lay on those English heretikes, Lutheranes, Gods enemies: and so this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the citie, and they returned to the Inquisitors house, with their backes all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps, they were then taken from their horses, & caried againe to prison, where they remained vntill they were sent into Spaine to the gallies, there to receiue the rest of their martyrdome, and I and the 6. other with me which had iudgement, and were condemned amongst the rest to serue an apprentiship in the monasteries, were taken presently & sent to certaine religious houses appointed for the purpose.

The 6. Chapter.

Wherein is shewed how we were vsed in the religious houses, and that when the time was expired, that wee were adiudged to serue in them, there came newes to Mexico of M. Francis Drakes being in the South Sea, & what preparation was made to take him, and how I seeking to escape, was againe taken and put in prison at Vera Cruz, and how againe I made mine escape from thence.

I Miles Phillips and William Lowe, were appointed to the blacke Friers, where I was appointed to be an ouerseer of Indian workemen, who wrought there in building of a new church: amongst which Indians I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly, and had great familiaritie with many of them, whom I found to bee a curteous

curteous and louing kind of people, ingenious, and of great vnderstanding, and they hate & abhorre the Spaniards with all their hearts, they haue vsed such horrible cruelties against them, and doe still keepe them in such subiection and seruitude, that they and the Negroes also doe daily lie in waite to practise their deliueraunce out of that thraldome and bondage, that the Spaniards doe keepe them in. William Lowe he was appointed to serue the Cooke in the kitchin, Richard Williams and Dauid Alexander were appointed to the gray Friers, Iohn Story and Robert Cooke to the white Friers: Paule Horsewell the Secretarie tooke to be his seruant: Thomas Hul was sent to a monasterie of priests, where afterward he died. Thus we serued out the yeeres that wee were condemned for, with the vse of our fooles coates, and we must needes confesse that the Friers did vse vs very curteously: for euery one of vs had his chamber with bedding and diet, & all things cleane and neat: yea many of the Spaniards and Friers themselues doe vtterly abhorre and mislike of that cruell Inquisition, and would as they durst bewaile our miseries, and comfort vs the best they could, although they stood in such feare of that diuelish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hand know what the right doeth. Now after that the time was expired for which we were condemned to serue in those religious houses, wee were then brought againe before the chiefe Inquisitor, and had all our fooles coates pulled off and hanged vp in the head church, called Ecclesia Maiore, and euery mans name and iudgement written thereupon with this addition, An heretike Lutheran reconciled. And there are also all their coats hanged vp, which were condemned to the gallies, with their names and iudgements, and vnderneath his coat, Heretike Lutheran reconciled. And also the coats and names of the three that were burned, whereupon were written, An obstinate heretike Lutheran burnt. Then were we suffred to goe vp and downe the countrey, and to place our selues as we could, and yet not so free, but that we very well knew that there was good espiall alwayes, attending vs and all our actions, so that wee durst not once to speake or looke awrie. Dauid Alexander and Robert Cooke they returned to serue the Inquisitor, who shortly after maried them both to two of his Negro women: Richard Williams maried a rich widow of Biskaie with 4000. Pezoes: Paule Horsewell is maried to a Mestisa, as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians, and this woman which Paule Horsewel hath maried, is sayd to be the daughter of one that came in with Hernando Cortes the Conquerour, who had with her in mariage foure thousand Pezoes, and a faire house: Iohn Storie hee is maried to a Negro woman: William Lowe had leaue and licence to goe into Spaine where hee is now married: for mine owne part I could neuer throughly settle my selfe to marrie in that countrey, although many faire offers were made vnto mee of such as were of great abilitie and wealth, but I could haue no liking to liue in that place, where I must euery where see and know such horrible idolatrie committed, and durst not once for my life speake against it: and therefore I had alwayes a longing and desire to this my natiue countrey: and, to returne and serue againe in the Mines where I might haue gathered great riches and wealth, I very well saw that at one time or another I should fall againe into the danger of that diuelish Inquisition, and so be stript of all, with losse of life also, and therefore I made my choise rather to learne to weaue Grogranes and Taffataes, and so compounding with a Silke weauer, I bound my selfe for 3. yeeres to serue him, and gaue him 150. Pezoes to teach me the science, otherwise he would not haue taught me vnder seuen yeeres prentiship, and by this meanes I liued the more quiet, and free from suspicion. Howbeit I should many times bee charged by familiars of that diuelish house, that I had a meaning to runne away into England, and to bee an heretike Lutherane againe: To whom I would answere that they had no neede to suspect any such thing in mee, for that they knew all very well that it was impossible for mee to escape by any maner of meanes: yet notwithstanding I was called before the Inquisitor, and demaunded why I did not marrie: I answered that I had bound my selfe at an occupation. Well sayd the Inquisitor, I know thou meanest to runne away, and therefore I charge thee here vpon payne of burning as an heretike relapsed, that thou depart not out of this citie, nor come neere to the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, nor to any other porte, To the which I answered, that I would willingly obey. Yea sayd he, see thou doe so and thy fellowes also, they shall haue the like charge.

So I remained at my science the full time, and learned the Arte, at the end whereof there came newes to Mexico that there were certaine Englishmen landed with a great power at the port of Acapulco, vpon the South sea, & that they were comming to Mexico to take the spoile therof, which wrought a maruelous great feare amongst them, & many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselues, their wiues & children: vpon which hurlie burlie the Viceroy caused a generall muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to the number of 7000. and odde housholders of Spaniards in ỹ citie & suburbs, & of single men vnmaried, the number of 3000. and

of

of Meſtizoes, which are counted to be the ſonnes of Spaniards borne of Indian women twentie thouſand perſons, and then was Paule Horſewell and I Miles Phillips ſent for before the Uiceroy, and were examined if we did know an Engliſh man named Francis Drake, which was brother to Captaine Hawkins: to which we anſwered, that Captaine Hawkins had not any brother but one, which was a man of the age of three ſcore yeeres or thereabouts, and was now gouernour of Plimmouth in England. And then he demaunded of vs if we knew one Francis Drake, and we anſwered, no.

While theſe things were in doing, there came newes that all the Engliſhmen were gone, yet was there eight hundred men made out vnder the leading of ſeuerall captaines, whereof two hundred were ſent to the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, vpon the North Sea vnder the conduct of Don Luys Suares, two hundred were ſent to Guatimala in the South ſea, who had for their captaine Iohn Cortes, two hundred more were ſent to Guatulco, a port of the South ſea, ouer whom went for captaine Don Pedro de Roblis, and two hundred more were ſent to Acapulco, the port where it was ſayd that Captaine Drake had bene. And they had for Captaine doctor Roblis Alcalde de Corte, with whom I Miles Philips went as interpreter, hauing licence giuen by the Inquiſitors. When we were come to Acapulco, we found that Captaine Drake was departed from thence, more then a moneth before we came thither. But yet our captaine Alcalde de Corte there preſently embarked himſelfe in a ſmall ſhip of three ſcore tunne or thereabout, hauing alſo in companie with him two other ſmall barkes, and not paſt two hundred men in all, with whom I went as interpreter in his owne ſhip, which God knoweth was but weake and ill appointed, ſo that for certaine, if we had met with captaine Drake, he might eaſily haue taken vs all: Wee being imbarked kept our courſe and ranne Southward towards Panama, keeping ſtill as nigh the ſhore as we could, and leauing the land vpon our left hand, and hauing coaſted thus for the ſpace of eighteene or twentie dayes, and were more to the South then Guatimala, wee met at laſt with other ſhips which came from Panama, of whom we were certainly informed that he was cleane gone off the coaſt more then a moneth before: and ſo we returned backe to Acapulco againe, and there landed, our Captaine being thereunto forced, becauſe his men were very ſore ſea ſicke: All the while that I was at Sea with them, I was a glad man, for I hoped that if we met with maſter Drake, we ſhould all be taken, ſo that then I ſhould haue bene freed out of that danger and miſerie wherein I liued, and ſhould returne to mine owne countrey of England againe. But miſſing thereof, when I ſawe there was no remedie but that wee muſt needes come on land againe, litle doeth any man know the ſorow and griefe that inwardly I felt, although outwardly I was conſtrained to make faire weather of it. And ſo being landed, the next morow after, we began our iourney towards Mexico, and paſt theſe townes of name in our way, as firſt the towne of Tuatepec, 50. leagues from Mexico, from thence to Waſhaca, 40. leagues from Mexico: from thence to Tepiaca 24. leagues from Mexico, and from thence to Lo pueblo de los Angelos, where is a high hill which caſteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18. leagues in maner directly Weſt from Mexico, from thence we went to Stapelapa, 8. leagues from Mexico, and there our captaine and moſt of his men tooke boate, and came to Mexico againe, hauing bene foorth about the ſpace of ſeuen weekes or thereabouts. Our captaine made report to the Uiceroy what he had done, and how farre he had trauelled, and that for certaine he was informed that captaine Drake was not to bee heard of. To which the Uiceroy replied and ſaid, Surely we ſhall haue him ſhortly come into our hands driuen a land through neceſſitie in ſome one place or other, for he being now in theſe ſeas of Sur, it is not poſſible for him to get out of them againe, ſo that if he periſh not at ſea, yet hunger will force him to land. And then againe I was commanded by the Uiceroy that I ſhould not depart the citie of Mexico, but alwayes be at my maſters houſe in a readineſſe at an howers warning, when ſoeuer I ſhould be called: for that notwithſtanding within one moneth after certaine Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18. leagues from Mexico, to ſend away certaine hides and Cuchionelio, that that they had there at their Stantiaes or dairie houſes, and my maſter hauing leaue of the Secretarie for me to goe with them, I tooke my iourney with them being very well horſed and appointed, and comming thither and paſſing the time there at Mecamena certaine dayes till we had perfect intelligence that the fleete was ready to depart, I not being paſt 3. dayes iourney from the porte of S. Iohn de Vllua, thought it to be the meeteſt time for me to make an eſcape, and I was the bolder, preſuming vpon my Spaniſh tongue, which I ſpake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with my ſelfe, that when I came to S. Iohn de Vllua, I would get to bee entertained as a ſouldiour, and ſo goe home into Spaine in the ſame Fleete, and therefore ſecretly one euening late, the moone ſhining faire, I conueied my ſelfe away, and riding ſo for the ſpace of two nights and two dayes, ſometimes in, and ſometimes out, reſting very little all that time, vpon the ſecond day at night

The Spaniſh Uiceroy prophecieth, but falſly.

night I came to the towne of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, where the ships rode, but only 8. leagues, and here purposing to rest my selfe a day or two, I was no sooner alighted, but within the space of one halfe hower after, I was by ill hap arested, and brought before Iustices there, being taken and suspected to be a gentlemans sonne of Mexico, that was runne away from his father, who in trueth was the man they sought for: So I being arrested, and brought before the Iustices, there was a great hurlie burlie about the matter, euery man charging me that I was the sonne of such a man dwelling in Mexico, which I flatly denied, affirming that I knew not the man, yet would they not beleeue me, but urged still vpon me that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conueied away to prison. And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my griefe, it chaunced that at that very instant there was a poore man in the preasse that was come to towne to sell hennes, who told the Iustices that they did me wrong, and that in trueth hee knew very well that I was an Englishman and no Spaniard. They then demaunded of him how hee knew that, and threatened him that he sayd so, for that hee was my companion, and sought to conuey mee away from my father, so that he also was threatened to be laid in prison with mee: he for the discharge of himselfe stood stiflie in it, that I was an Englishman, and one of captaine Hawkins men, and that hee had knowen me weare the S. Benito in the blacke Friers at Mexico, for three or foure whole yeeres together: which when they heard they forsooke him, and began to examine me a new whether that speach of his were true, yea or no, which when they perceiued that I could not denie, and perceiuing that I was run from Mexico, and came thither of purpose to conney my selfe away with the fleete, I was presently committed to prison with a sorowful heart, often wishing my selfe that that man which knew me had at that time bene further off, howbeit he in sinceritie had compassion of my distressed state, thinking by his speach, and knowing of me, to haue set me free frō that present danger which he saw me in: howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, & to the hazard of my life, yet there was no remedie but patience perforce: and I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great paire of bolts clapt on my legs, and thus I remained in that prison for the space of 3. weeks, where were also many other prisoners which were thither committed for sundry crimes, and condemned to the gallies. During which time of imprisonment there, I found amōgst those my prison fellows some that had knowen me before in Mexico, and truely they had compassion of me, and would spare of their victuals & any thing els that they had to do me good, amongst whom there was one of them that told me that he vnderstood by a secret friend of his which often came to the prison to him, that I should be shortly sent back againe to Mexico by wagon, so soone as the fleete was gone from S. Iohn de Vllua, for Spaine. This poore man my prison fellow of himselfe, & without any request made by me, caused his said friend which came often vnto him to the grate of the prison to bring him wine & victuals to buie for him two knives which had files in their backs, which files were so well made that they would serue & suffice any prisoner to file off his irons, and of those knives or files he brought one to me, & told me that he had caused it to be made for me, & let me haue it at ỹ very price it cost him, which was 2. Pezoes, the value of 8. s. of our mony, which knife when I had it, I was a ioyfull man, and conueied the same into the foote of my boot, vpon the inside of my left leg, and so within 3. or 4. dayes after that I had thus receiued my knife, I was suddenly called for, & brought before the head Iustice which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be striken off and sent to a Smiths in ỹ towne, where was a new paire of bolts made readie for me of another fashion, which had a broad iron barre cōming between ỹ shackles, & caused my hands to be made fast with a paire of manacles, and so was I presently laid into a wagon all alone, which was there ready to depart with sundry other wagons to the number of 60. towards Mexico, and they all were laden with sundry merchandize which came in the fleete out of Spaine.

The wagon that I was in was formost of all the companie, and as wee trauelled I being alone in the wagon, began to trie if I could plucke my handes out of the manacles, and as God would although it were somewhat painfull for mee, yet my handes were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in againe, and euer as we went, when the wagons made most noyse, and the men busiest, I would be working to file off my boltes, and trauelling thus for the space of eight leagues from Vera Cruz, wee came to an high hill, at the entring vp of which (as God would) one of the wheeles of the wagon wherein I was, brake, so that by that meanes the other wagons went a fore, and the wagon man that had charge of me set an Indian Carpenter a worke to mend the wheele: and here at this place they baited at an ostrie that a Negro woman keepes, and at this place for that the going vp of the hill is very steepe, for the space of two leagues and better, they doe alwayes accustome to take the moiles of 3. or 4. wagons, and to place them all together for the drawing vp of one wagon, & so to come downe againe, and fetch vp others in that order.

All

All which came very wel to paſſe: for as it drew towards night whē moſt of the Wagoners were gone to draw vp their wagons, in this ſort I being alone had quickly filed off my bolts, & ſo eſpying my time in the darke of the euening before they returned downe the hill againe, I conueyed my ſelfe into the woods there adioyning, carying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biſkets, and two ſmall cheeſes. And being come into the woods I threw my yrons into a thicke buſh, and then couered them with moſſe and other things, and then ſhifted for my ſelfe as I might all that night. And thus by the good prouidence of Almightie God, I was freed from mine yrons all ſauing the coller, that was about my necke, and ſo got my libertie the ſecond time.

The 7. Chapter.

Wherein is ſhewed how I eſcaped to Guatimala, vpon the South ſea, and from thence to the port of Cauallios, where I got paſſage to goe into Spaine, and of our arriuall at the Hauana, and our comming to Spaine, where I was againe like to haue bene committed priſoner, and how through the great mercie of God I eſcaped, and came home in ſafetie into England, in Februarie 1582.

THe next morning (day light being come) I perceiued by the Sunne riſing what way to take to eſcape their handes, for when I fledde, I tooke the way into the woods vpon the left hande: and hauing left that way that went to Mexico vpon my right hand, I thought to keepe my courſe as the woods and mountaines lay, ſtill direct South as neere as I coulde: by meanes whereof I was ſure to conuey my ſelfe farre ynough from that way that went to Mexico. And as I was thus going on in the woods, I ſaw many great fires made to the North not paſt a league from the mountaine where I was, and trauailing thus in my bootes with mine yron coller about my necke, and my bread and cheeſe, the very ſame forenoone I met with a companie of Indians which were hunting of deare for their ſuſtenance, to whome I ſpake in the Mexicane tongue, and tolde them howe that I had of a long time bene kept in priſon by the cruel Spaniards, and did deſire them to helpe me file off mine yron coller, which they willingly did, reioycing greatly with mee, that I was thus eſcaped out of the Spaniards handes. Then I deſired that I might haue one of them to guide me out of thoſe deſart mountaines towardes the South, which they alſo moſt willingly did: and ſo they brought me to an Indian towne 8. leagues diſtant from thence named Shalapa, where I ſtayed 3. dayes, for that I was ſomewhat ſickely. At which towne (with the golde that I had quilted in my dublet,) I bought me an horſe of one of the Indians, which coſt me 6. Peſoes, and ſo trauailing South, within the ſpace of 2. leagues I happened to ouertake a gray Frier, one that I had bene familiar withall in Mexico, whome then I knewe to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the crueltie vſed againſt vs by the Inquiſitors, and truely hee vſed me very courteouſly: and I hauing confidence in him did indeede tell him, that I was minded to aduenture to ſee if I could get out of the ſaid countrey, if I could finde ſhipping, and did therefore pray him of his ayde, direction, and aduice herein, which hee faithfully did, not onely in directing me which was my ſafeſt way to trauaile, but he alſo of himſelfe kept me company for the ſpace of three dayes, and euer as we came to the Indians houſes (who vſed and intertained vs well) he gathered among them in money to the value of 20. Peſoes, which at my departure from him hee freely gaue vnto me. So came I to the citie of Guatimala vpon the South ſea, which is diſtant from Mexico, about 250. leagues, where I ſtayed 6. dayes, for that my horſe was weake. And from thence I trauailed ſtill South and by Eaſt ſeuen dayes iourney, paſſing by certaine Indian townes, vntill I came to an Indian towne diſtant from Mexico, direct South 309. leagues. And here at this towne enquiring to goe to the port Cauallos in the Northeaſt ſea, It was anſwered that in trauailing thither I ſhould not come to any towne in 10. or 12. dayes iourney: ſo here I hired two Indians to be my guide, and I bought hennes, and bread to ſerue vs ſo long time, and tooke with vs things to kindle fire euery night, becauſe of wilde beaſtes, and to dreſſe our meate: and euery night when wee reſted, my Indian guides would make two great fires, betweene the which we placed our ſelues, and my horſe. And in the night time we ſhould here the Lions roare, with Tygers, Dunces, and other beaſtes, and ſome of them we ſhould ſee in the night, which had eyes ſhining like fire. And trauayling thus for the ſpace of twelue dayes wee came at laſt to the port of Cauallos vpon the Eaſt ſea, diſtant from Guatimala South and by Eaſt, two hundreth leagues, and from Mexico 450. or thereabouts. This is a good harborowe for ſhippes, and is without either caſtle or bulwarke. I hauing diſpatched away my guids, went downe to the hauen, where I ſaw certaine ſhips loden chiefly with Canary wines, where I ſpake with one of the

Maisters, who asked me what Countrey man I was, and I told him that I was borne in Granado, & he said, that then I was his countreyman. I required him that I might passe home with him in his ship paying for my passage: And he said yea, so that I had a safe conduct, or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incurre no danger; for said he, it may be that you haue killed some man, or be indebted, and would therfore runne away: To that I answered that there was not any such cause. Wel, in the end we grew to a price, that for 60. pezoes, he would carry me into Spaine: a glad man was I at this good hap, and I quickly sold my horse, & made my prouision of hennes and bread to serue me in my passage; And thus within 2. dayes after we set saile, and neuer staied vntill wee came to the Hauana, which is distant from port de Cauallios by sea 500. leagues: where we foũd the whole fleete of Spaine, which was bounde home from the Indies. And here I was hired for a souldier to serue in the Admiral ship of the same fleete, wherein the General himself went. There landed while I was here 4. ships out of Spaine, being all ful of souldiers and ordinance, of which nomber there were 200. men landed here & 4. great brasse pieces of ordinance, although the castle were before sufficiently prouided: 200. men more were sent to Campeche, & certaine ordinance: 200. to Florida with ordinance, And 100. lastly to S. Iohn de Vllua. As for ordinance there they haue sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the Iesus, and those others which we had planted in the place, where the Vice Roy betrayed M. Hawkins our general, as hath bene declared. The sending of those souldiers to euery of those portes, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandement from the king of Spaine, who wrote also by them to the generall of his fleete, giuing him in charge so to doe, as also directing him what course he should keepe in his comming home into Spaine, charging him at any hand not to come nigh to the yles of Azores, but to keepe his course more to the Northwarde, aduertising him withall, what nomber and power of French ships of warre, and other, Don Anthony had at that time at the Terçera, & yles aforesaid: which the general of the fleete well considering, and what great store of riches he had to bring home with him into Spaine, did in all very duetifully obserue and obey: for in trueth he had in his said fleete 37. saile of ships, and in euery of them there was as good as 30. pipes of siluer one with another, besides great store of gold, Cochenelio, sugers, hides, and Cana Fistula, with other Apothecarie drugs. This our general, who was called Don Pedro de Gusman, did prouidently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if neede should be to the vttermost of his power, and commanded vpon paine of death, that neither passenger nor souldier should come aboord without his sword and harquebusse, with shot and powder, to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleete of Don Anthony, if they should hap to meete with them, or any of them: and euer as the weather was faire, the said general would himself go aboord from one ship to another, to see that euery man had his full prouision according to the commandement giuen. Yet to speake truely what I thinke, two good tall ships of warre would haue made a foule spoile amongst them. For in all this fleete there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed, sauing onely the Admiral, and Vice Admiral: And againe ouer and besides the weakenes and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deepely laden, that they had not bene able (if they had bene charged) to haue held out any long fight. Wel, thus we set saile, & had a very il passage home, ỹ weather was so contrary. We kept our course in maner Northeast, and brought our selues to the height of 42. degrees of latitude, to be sure not to meete with Don Anthony his fleete, and were vpon our voyage from the 4. of June, vntil the 10. of September, & neuer saw land til we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by S. Lucar. And there was an order taken that none should go on shoare vntil he had licence: as for me, I was knowne by one in the ship, who told the Master that I was an Englishman, which (as God would) was my good hap to heare: for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be merry, & pleasant that we were all come so wel in safetie. Presently after, licence came that we should goe on shoare, and I prested to be gone with the first: howbeit, the M. came vnto me and said, Sirra, you must goe with me to Siuil by water: I knew his meaning wel inough, & that he ment there to offer me vp as a sacrifice to ỹ Holy house. For the ignorant zeale of a nomber of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they thinke, that they haue done God good seruice, when they haue brought a Lutheran heretique to the fire to be burnt: For so do they accompt of vs. Well, I perceiuing all this, tooke vpon me not to suspect any thing, but was stil iocund and mery: howbeit, I knew it stoode me vpon to shift for my selfe. And so wayting my time when the Master was in his cabbin asleepe, I conueyed my selfe secretly downe by the shrowds into the ship boate, and made no stay but cut the rope wherewithal she was moared, and so by the cable haled on shoare, where I lept on land & let the boate go whither it would. Thus by the helpe of God I escaped that day, & then neuer staied at S. Lucar, but went all night by the way which I had seene other take toward Siuil: so that the

next

next morning I came to Siuill, and ſought me out a worke maſter, that I might fall to my ſcience, which was weauing of taffataes, and being intertained I ſet my ſelf cloſe to my worke, and durſt not for my life once to ſtirre abroad for feare of being knowen, and being thus at my worke, within 4. dayes after I heard one of my felowes ſay, that he heard there was great inquirie made for an Engliſhman that came home in the fleete: what an heretique Lutheran (quoth I) was it, I would to God I might knowe him, ſurely I would preſent him to the Holy houſe. And thus I kept ſtill within doores at my worke, and fained my ſelfe not well at eaſe, & that I would labor as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the ſpace of 3. moneths I called for my wages, and bought me all things newe, different from the apparel that I did weare at ſea, and yet durſt not be ouerbolde to walke abroad: and after vnderſtanding that there were certaine Engliſh ſhips at S. Lucar bound for England, I tooke a boate and went aboord one of them, and deſired the Maſter that I might haue paſſage with him to goe into England, and told him ſecretly that I was one of thoſe which Captaine Hawkins did ſet on ſhoare in the Indies: he very courteouſly prayed mee to haue him excuſed, for he durſt not meddle with me, & prayed mee therefore to returne from whence I came. Which when I perceiued, with a ſorowful heart God knoweth I tooke my leaue of him, not without watrie cheeks. And then I went to S. Mary port, which is 3. leagues from S. Lucar, where I put my ſelf to be a ſouldier to go in the k. of Spaines Gallies, which were bound for Maiorca, and comming thither in the end of ỹ Chriſtmas holydayes, I found there 2. Engliſh ſhips, the one of London, and the other of the Weſt countrey, which were ready fraighted and ſtayed but for a faire wind. To the M. of the one, which was of the Weſt countrey went I, and told him that I had bene 2. yeeres in Spaine to learne the language, and that I was nowe deſirous to go home and ſee my friends, for that I lacked maintenance: and ſo hauing agreed with him for my paſſage I tooke ſhipping. And thus through the prouidence of Almightie God, after 16. yeres abſence, hauing ſuſtained many and ſundry great troubles and miſeries, as by this diſcourſe appeareth, I came home to this my natiue countrey of England, in the yeere 1582. in the the moneth of Februarie in the ſhippe called the Landret, and arriued at Poole.

The voyage of Robert Tomſon marchant, into Noua Hiſpania *in the yere 1555. with diuers obſeruations concerning the* ſtate of the Countrey: And certaine accidents touching himſelfe.

RObert Tomſon borne in the towne of Andouer in Hampſhire, begun his trauaile out of England in An. 1553. in the moneth of March, who departing out of ỹ citie of Briſtol in a good ſhip called the Barke yong, in companie of other marchants of the ſaide citie, within 8. dayes after arriued at Lisbone in Portingal, where the ſaid Robert Tomſon remained 15. dayes, at the end of which he ſhipped himſelfe for Spaine in the ſaid ſhippe, and within 4. dayes arriued in the bay of Cadiz in Andaluſia, which is vnder the kingdome of Spaine, and from thence trauailed vp to the Citie of Siuil by land, which is 20. leagues, and there he repaired to one Iohn Fields houſe an Engliſh marchant, who had dwelt in ỹ ſaid citie of Siuil 18. or 20. yeeres maried with wife and children: In whoſe houſe the ſaid Tomſon remained by the ſpace of one whole yeere or there about, for 2. cauſes: The one to learne the Caſtilian tongue, The other to ſee the orders of the countrey, and the cuſtomes of the people. At the ende of which time hauing ſeene the fleetes of ſhips come out of the Indies to that citie, with ſuch great quantitie of golde and ſiluer, pearles, precious ſtones, ſuger, hides, ginger, and diuers other riche commodities, hee did determine with himſelfe to ſeeke meanes & opportunitie to paſſe ouer to ſee that rich countrey from whence ſuch great quantitie of rich cõmodities came. And it fel out that within ſhort time after the ſaid I. Field (where the ſaid Tomſon was lodged) did determine to paſſe ouer into the Weſt Indies himſelf, with his wife, children & familie, and at the requeſt of the ſaid Tomſon, he purchaſed a licenſe of the King to paſſe into the Indies, for himſelfe, his wife & children, & among them alſo for the ſaid Tomſon to paſſe with them: ſo that preſently they made preparation of victual & other neceſſary prouiſion for the voyage. But the ſhips which were prepared to performe the voyage being all ready to depart, vpon certaine conſiderations by the kings commandement were ſtayed & arreſted til further ſhould be knowen of the kings pleaſure. Whereupon the ſaid Iohn Field, with R. Tomſon and his company being departed out of Siuil & come downe to S. Lucar 15. leagues off, and ſeeing the ſtay made vpon the ſhips of the ſaid fleete, & being not aſſured when they would depart, determined to ſhippe themſelues for the yles of the Canaries, which is 250. leagues from S. Lucar, and there to ſtay till the ſaid fleete ſhould come thither: for that is continually their port to make ſtay at fiue or eight dayes, to take freſh water, bread, fleſh, and other neceſſaries.

So that in the moneth of Februarie in An. 1555. the said Rob. Tomson with the said Iohn Field and his company, shipped themselues out of the towne of S. Lucar in a caruel of the citie of Cadiz, and within 6. dayes they arriued at the port of the Grand Canaria, where at our cõming the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure with lowd voyces, in so much that the Castle which stoode fast by began to shoote at vs, and shot 6. or 8. shot at vs, and strooke downe our maine maste, before we could hoise out our boate to go on land, to know what the cause of the shooting was, seeing that we were Spanish ships, and comming into his countrey. So that being on land & complayning of the wrong and damage done vnto vs: they answered, that they had thought wee had bene French rouers, that had come into the said port, to do some harme to the shippes that were there. For that 8. dayes past, there went out of the said port a caruel much like vnto ours, laden with sugers and other marchandise for Spaine, and on the other side of the point of the said Iland, met with a Frenchman of warre, who tooke the said caruel, & vnladed out of her into the said French ship, both men & goods. And being demaunded of ẏ said Spaniards what other ships remained in the port whence they came, They answered that there remained diuers other ships, and one laden with sugars (as they were) & ready to depart for Spaine, vpõ the which newes the Frenchmen put 30. tall men of their ship wel appointed, into the said caruel that they had taken, and sent her backe againe to the said port from whence she had departed the day before. And somewhat late towards the euening came into the port, not shewing past 3. or 4. men, and so came to an ancre hard by the other ships ẏ were in the said port, & being seene by the castle & by the said ships, they made no reckoning of her, because they knew her, and thinking that she had found contrary winds at the sea, or had forgot some thing behinde them, they had returned backe againe for the same, & so made no accompt of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port: So that about midnight the said caruel with the Frenchmen in her, went aboord the other ship that lay hard by laden with sugars, and droue the Spaniards that were in her vnder hatches, and presently let slip her cables and ancres, and set saile and caried her cleane away, & after this sort deceiued them: And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoote at vs as they did. This being past, the next day after our arriual in the said port, we did vnbarke our selues and went on lande vp to the citie or head towne of the great Canaria, where we remained 18. or 20. dayes: and there found certaine Englishmen marchants seruants of one Anthony Hickman & Edward Castelin, marchants of the citie of London, that lay there in traffique, of whome wee receiued great courtesie and much good cheere. After the which 20. dayes being past, in the which we had seene the countrey, the people, and the disposition thereof, wee departed from thence, and passed to the next yle of the Canaries 18. leages off, called Teneriffe, & being come on land, went vp to the citie called the La Laguna, where we remained 7. moneths, attending the comming of the whole fleete: which in the ende came, and there hauing taken that which they had neede off, we shipped our selues in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the said fleete, which was belonging to an Englishman maried in the citie of Cales in Spaine, whose name was Iohn Sweeting, and came in the saide ship for captaine also an Englishman maried in Cadiz, & sonne in law to the saide Iohn Sweeting, whose name was Leonard Chilton, and also came in the saide ship another Englishman which had bene a marchant of the citie of Exeter, one of 50. peeres or there about, whose name was Raph Sarre. So that wee departed from the said Ilands in the moneth of October the foresaid yeere 8. ships in our companie, and so directed our course towards the bay of newe Spaine, and by the way towardes the Iland of S. Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola. So that within 42. dayes after wee departed from the yles of Canaries, we arriued with our ship at the port of S. Domingo, & went in ouer the barre where our ship knocked her keele at her entrie: and there our ship rid before ẏ towne, where we went on land and refreshed our selues 16. dayes, where we found no bread made of wheat, but bisket brought out of Spaine, and out of the bay of Mexico: for the countrey it selfe doeth yeeld no kinde of graine to make bread withall. But the bread they make there is certaine cakes made of rootes, called Cassaua, which is something substantiall, but it hath but an vnsauery taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beefe and mutton they haue great store: for there are men that haue 10000. head of caetel, of oxen, bulls and kine, which they do keepe onely for the hides, for the quantitie of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundreth part. Hogs flesh is there good store, very sweete & sauery, and so holsome, that they giue it to sicke folkes to eat in stead of hennes and capons: although they haue good store of poultrie of that sort, as also of Guinycocks & Guiny hens. At the time of our being there, the citie of S. Domingo was not of aboue 500. housholds of Spaniards, but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs there were more. The countrey is most part of the yere very hot, & very ful of a kind of flies or gnats with long bils, which do pricke & molest the people very much in the night when they are asleepe, in pricking their faces & hands, and other

parts

parts of their bodies ẏ lie vncouered, & make them to ſwel wõderfully. Alſo there is another kinde of ſmal worme which creepeth into the ſoles of mens feete & eſpecially of ẏ blacke Moores & children which vſe to go barefoot, and maketh their feete to grow as big as a mans head, & doth ſo ake that it would make one run mad. They haue no remedy for the ſame, but to open ẏ fleſh ſometimes 3. or 4. inches & ſo digge them out. The countrey yeeldeth great ſtore of ſuger, hides of oxen, buls and kine, ginger, Cana fiſtula & Salſa perillia: mines of ſiluer & gold there are none, but in ſome riuers there is found ſome ſmal quantitie of gold. The principal coine that they do trafique withall in that place, is black money made of copper & braſſe: and this they ſay they do vſe not for that they lacke money of golde and ſiluer to trade withall out of the other partes of India, but becauſe if they ſhould haue good money, the marchants that deale with them in trade, would cary away their gold & ſiluer, and let the countrey commodities lie ſtil. And thus much for S. Domingo. So wee were comming frõ the yles of Canaries to S. Domingo, and there ſtaying vntil the month of December, which was 3. moneths. About the beginning of January we departed thence towards the bay of Mexico and new Spaine, towarde which we ſet our courſe, and ſo ſayled 24. dayes till we came within 15. leagues of S. Iohn de Vllua, which was the port of Mexico of our right diſcharge: And being ſo neere our ſaid port, there roſe a ſtorme of Northerly winds, which came off from Terra Florida, which cauſed vs to caſt about into the ſea againe, for feare leaſt that night we ſhould be caſt vpon the ſhoare before day did breake, & ſo put our ſelues in danger of caſting away: the winde and ſea grew ſo foule and ſtrong, that within 2. houres after the ſtorme began, 8. ſhips that were together were ſo diſperſed, that we could not ſee one another. One of the ſhippes of our company being of the burthen of 500. tunne called ẏ hulke of Carion, would not caſt about to ſea as we did, but went that night with the land, thinking in the morning to purchaſe the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, but miſſing the port went with the ſhoare & was caſt away. There were drowned of that ſhip 75. perſons, men women and children, and 64. were ſaued that could ſwimme, and had meanes to ſaue themſelues: among thoſe that periſhed in that ſhip, was a gentleman who had bin preſent the yere before in S. Domingo, his wife and 4. daughters with the reſt of his ſeruants and houſhold. We with ẏ other 7. ſhips caſt about into the ſea, the ſtorme during 10. dayes with great might, boyſterous winds, fogs & raine: our ſhip being old & weake was ſo toſſed, that ſhe opened at the ſterne a fathom vnder water, & the beſt remedy we had was to ſtop it wt beds & pilobiers, and for feare of ſinking we threw & lightned into the ſea al the goods we had or cold come by: but that would not ſerue. Then we cut our maine maſt & threwe all our ordinance into the ſea ſauing one piece, which early in a morning when we thought we ſhould haue ſunke, we ſhot off, & as pleaſed God there was one of the ſhips of our company nere vnto vs, which we ſaw not by meanes of the great fogge, which hearing the ſound of the piece, & vnderſtanding ſome of the company to be in great extremitie, began to make towards vs, & when they came within hearing of vs, we deſired them for ẏ loue of God to help to ſaue vs, for that we were al like to periſh. They willed vs to hoiſe our foreſaile as much as we could & make towards them, for they would doe their beſt to ſaue vs, and ſo we did: And we had no ſooner hoiſed our foreſaile, but there came a gale of winde & a piece of ſea, ſtrooke in the foreſaile, and caried ſaile and maſte all ouerboord, ſo that then wee thought there was no hope of life. And then we beganne to imbrace one another, euery man his friende, euery wife her huſbande, and the children their fathers and mothers, committing our ſoules to Almightie God, thinking neuer to eſcape aliue: yet it pleaſed God in the time of moſt neede when all hope was paſt, to aide vs with his helping hand, & cauſed the wind a litle to ceaſe, ſo that within 2. houres after, the other ſhip was able to come aboord vs, & tooke into her with her boate man, woman & childe, naked without hoſe or ſhoe vpon many of our feete. I do remember that the laſt perſon that came out of the ſhip into the boate, was a woman blacke Moore, who leaping out of the ſhip into the boat with a yong ſucking child in her armes, lept to ſhort and fel into the ſea and was a good while vnder the water before the boat could come to reſcue her, and with the ſpreding of her clothes roſe aboue water againe, and was caught by the coat & pulled into the boat hauing ſtil her childe vnder her arme, both of them halfe drowned, and yet her naturall loue towards her childe would not let her let the childe goe. And when ſhee came aboorde the boate, ſhee helde her childe ſo faſt vnder her arme ſtil, that two men were ſcant able to get it out. So we departed out of our ſhippe and left it in the ſea: it was worth foure hundreth thouſande ducats, ſhippe and goods when we left it. And within three dayes after wee arriued at our port of S. Iohn de Vllua in Newe Spaine. I doe remember that in the great and boyſterous ſtorme of this foule weather, in the night, there came vpon the toppe of our maine yarde and maine maſte, a certaine little light, much like vnto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the Corpos ſancto, and ſaide it was ſaint Elmo, whome they take to be the aduocate of Sailers. At the which

light the Spaniards fell downe vpon their knees and worshipped it, and praying God and saint Elmo to cease the torment, and saue them from the perill that they were in, with promising him that at their comming on lande, they would repaire vnto his Chappell, and there cause Masses to be saide, and other ceremonies to bee done. The Friers cast reliques into the sea, to cause the sea to be stil, and likewise saide Gospels, with other crossings and ceremonies vpon the sea to make the storme to cease: which (as they said) did much good to weaken the furie of the storme. But I could not perceiue it, nor gaue no credite to it, till it pleased God to sende vs the remedie and deliuered vs from the rage of the same, His Name be praised therefore. This light continued, aboorde our shippe about 3. houres, flying from maste to maste, and from toppe to toppe: and sometime it woulde bee in two or three places at once. I informed my selfe of learned men afterward what that light should be, and they saide, that it was but a congelation of the winde and vapours of the sea congealed with the extremitie of the weather, and so flying in the winde, many times doeth chance to hit in the masts and shrowdes of the shippes that are at sea in foule weather. And in trueth I do take it to be so: for that I haue seene the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this men may see how the Papists are giuen to beleeue and worship such vaine things and toyes, as God, to whome all honour doth appertaine, and in their neede and necessities doe lett to call vpon the liuing God, who is the giuer all good things.

The 16. of Aprill in An. 1556. we arriued at the port of S. Iohn de Vllua in newe Spaine, very naked & distressed of apparel, & all other thiugs, by meanes of the losse of our foresaid ship & goods, and from thence we went to the new towne called Vera cruz, 5. leagues from the said port of S. Ioh. de Vllua, marching stil by ỹ sea side, where we found lying vpon the sands great quantitie of mightie great trees with rootes & al, some of them of 4. 5. & 6. cart load by our estimation, which as the people told vs, were in the great stormy weather which we dured at sea, rooted out of ỹ groũd in Terra Florida, right against that place, which is 300. leagues ouer by sea, and brought thither. So that we came to the said towne of Vera cruz, where we remained a moneth: and there the said Iohn Field chanced to meet with an old friend of his acquaintance in Spaine, called Gonçalo Ruiz de Cordoua, a very riche man of the saide towne of Vera cruz: who hearing of his cõming thither with his wife & family, and of his misfortune by sea, came vnto him & receiued him and al his household into his house, & kept vs there a whole moneth, making vs very good cheere, & giuing vs good interteinment, & also gaue vs that were in al 8. persons of the said I. Fields house, double apparel new out of the shop of very good cloth, coates, cloakes, hose, shirts, smocks, gownes for the women, hose, shoes, and al other necessary apparel, and for our way vp to the citie of Mexico, horse, moyles, & men, & money in our purses for the expences by the way, which by our accompt might amount vnto the summe of 400. crownes. So that after we were entred 2. dayes iourney into the countrey, I the said Robert Tomson fel sicke of an ague, so that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse, but was faine to be caried vpon Indians backs, from thence to Mexico. And when we came within half a dayes iourney of the citie of Mexico, the said I. Field also fel sicke, and within 3. dayes after we arriued at the said citie, he died: And presently sickened one of his children, and 2. more of his household people, and within 8. dayes died. So that within 10. dayes after we arriued at the citie of Mexico, of 8. persons that were of vs, of ỹ said company, there remained but 4. of vs aliue, & I the said Tomson at the point of death of the sicknes that I got vpon the way, which cõtinued with me the space of 6. moneths. At the end of which time it pleased almighty God to restore me my health againe, although weake & greatly disabled. And being some thing strong, I procured to seeke meanes to liue, & to seeke a way how to profit my self in ỹ countrey, seeing it had pleased God to send vs thither in safetie. Then by friẽdship of one Th. Blake a Scotish man borne, who had dwelt & had bene maried in the said citie aboue 20. yeeres before I came to the saide Citie, I was preferred to the seruice of a gentleman a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and one of the first conquerers of the saide citie, whose name was Gonçalo Serezo, with whom I dwelt 12. moneths & a half. At the end of which I was maliciously accused by the holy house for matters of religion, & so apprehended and caried to prison, where I lay close prisoner 7. moneths, without speaking to any creature, but to ỹ Iailer that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meate & drinke. In the meane time was brought into the said prison one Augustin Boacio an Italian of Genoua also for matters of religion, who was taken at Sacatecas 80. leagues to the Southeastward of the citie of Mexico: At the ende of the sayde seuen moneths, wee were both caried to the high Church of Mexico, to doe open penance vpon an high Scaffolde, made before the high Altar, vpon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great nomber of people, who were at the least fiue or sixe thousande. For there were that came one hundreth mile off, to see the sayde Auto (as they call it:) for that there were neuer none before, that had done the like in the

saide

ſaide Countrey, nor could not tell what Lutheranes were, nor what it meant: for they neuer heard of any ſuch thing before. We were brought into the Church, euery one with a S. Benito vpon his backe, which is halfe a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a mans head in the midſt, and caſt ouer a mans heade: both flaps hange one before, and an other behinde, and in the middeſt of euery flap, a S. Andrewes croſſe, made of red cloth, ſowed on vpon the ſame, and that is called S. Benito. The common people, before they ſawe the penitents come into the Church, were giuen to vnderſtand, that we were Heretikes, Infidels, and people that did deſpiſe God, and his workes, and that we had bene more like deuils then men, and thought we had had the fauour of ſome monſters, or Heathen people. And when they ſaw vs come into the Church in our plaiers coates, the women & children began to cry out, and made ſuch a noiſe, that it was ſtrange to ſee and heare, ſaying, that they neuer ſaw goodlier men in all their liues, and that it was not poſſible that there could be in vs ſo much euil, as was reported of vs, and that we were more like Angels among men, then ſuch perſons of ſuch euil religion as by the prieſts and Friers we were reported to be, and that it was great pitie that we ſhould be ſo vſed for ſo ſmal an offence. So that being brought into the ſaide high Church, and ſet vpon the ſcaffold which was made before the high altar, in the preſence of al the people, vntil high Maſſe was done, and the ſermon made by a Frier, concerning our matter, and putting vs in all the diſgrace they could, to cauſe the people not to take ſo much compaſſion vpon vs, for that we were Heretikes, and people that were ſeduced of the deuill, and forſaken the faith of the Catholike Church of Rome, with diuers other reprochful words, which were too long to recite in this place. High Maſſe & ſermon being done, our offences, as they called them, were recited, euery man what he had ſaid and don, and preſently was the ſentence pronounced againſt vs. That was, that the ſaid Auguſtine Boacio was condemned to weare his S. Benito all the daies of his life, and put into perpetual priſon, where he ſhoulde fulfil the ſame, and all his goods confiſcated and loſt. And I the ſaid Tomſon to weare the S. Benito for 3. yeeres, and then to be ſet at libertie. And for the accompliſhing of this ſentence or condemnation, we muſt be preſently ſent downe from Mexico, to Vera Cruz, and from thence to S. Iohn de Vllua, and there to be ſhipped for Spaine, which was 65. leagues by land, with ſtrait commandement, that vpon paine of 1000. duckets, the Maſters euery one ſhould looke ſtraitly vnto vs, and carry vs to Spaine, and deliuer vs vnto the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, that they ſhould put vs in the places, where we ſhould fulfil our penances that the Archbiſhop of Mexico had enioyned vnto vs, by his ſentence there giuen. For performance of the which, we were ſent downe from Mexico, to the ſea ſide, which was 65. leagues, with fetters vpon our feete, and there delinered to the Maſters of the ſhips, to be caried for Spaine, as before is ſaid. And it was ſo, that the Italian fearing, that if he had preſented himſelfe in Spaine before the Inquiſitors, that they woulde haue burned him, to preuent that danger, when we were comming homeward, & were arriued at the Iſland of Tercera, one of the Iſles of the Azores: the firſt night that we came into the ſaid port to an anker, about midnight he found the meanes to get him naked out of the ſhip into the ſea, and ſwamme naked a ſhoare, and ſo preſently got him to the further ſide of the Iſland, where he found a litle Caruel ready to depart for Portingall, in the which he came to Lisbone, and paſſed into France, and ſo into England, where he ended his life in the Citie of London. And I for my part kept ſtill aboord the ſhip, and came into Spaine, and was delinered to the Inquiſitors of the Holy houſe of Siuill, where they kept me in cloſe priſon, til I had fulfilled the 3. yeeres of my penance. Which time being expired, I was freely put out of priſon, and ſet at libertie: and being in the citie of Siuil a cather of one Hugh Typton, an Engliſh merchant of great doing, by the ſpace of one yeere, it fortuned that there came out of the Citie of Mexico, a Spaniard, called Iohn de la Barrera, that had bene long time in the Indias, and had got great ſummes of gold and ſiluer, and with one only daughter ſhipped himſelfe for to come for Spaine, and by the way chanced to die, and gaue all that he had vnto his onely daughter, whoſe name was Marie de la Barrera, and being arriued at the Citie of Siuil, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to me 2500. pounds in bars of golde and ſiluer, beſides iewels of great price. This I thought good to ſpeake of, to ſhewe the goodnes of God to all them that put their truſt in him, that I being brought out of the Indias, in ſuch great miſerie and infamie to the world, ſhould be prouided at Gods hande in one moment, of more then in all my life before, I could attaine vnto by my owne labour. After we departed from Mexico, our S. Benitoes were ſet vp in the high Church of the ſaid Citie, with our names written in the ſame, according to their vſe & cuſtome, which is and wil be a monument and a remembrance of vs, as long as the Romiſh Church doth raigne in that Countrey. The ſame haue bene ſeene ſince by one Iohn Chilton, and diuers others of our nation, which were left in that Countrey long ſince, by ſir Iohn Hawkins. And becauſe it ſhalbe known wherefore it was that I was ſo puniſhed by the Clergies hand, as

before

before is mentioned, I will in briefe wordes declare the same.

It is so, that being in Mexico, at the table, among many principal people at dinner, they began to inquire of me being an Englishman, whether it were true, that in England they had ouerthrowen all their Churches, and houses of religion, and that all the images of the saints of heauen that were in them, were thrown downe and broken, and burned, and in some places stoned high waies with them, and denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome, as they had beene certified out of Spaine, by their friends. To whom I made answere, that it was so, that in deede they had in England put downe all the Religious houses of Friers, and Monkes, that were in England, and the images that were in their churches, & other places, were taken away, & vsed there no more: for that (as they say) ỹ making of them, and putting of them where they were adored, was cleane contrary to the expresse commandement of Almightie God, Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any grauen image, &c. & that for ỹ cause they thought it not lawful that they should stand in the church, which is the house of adoration. One that was at the declaring of these wordes, who was my Master, Gonsalo Ceresо answered and said, if it were against the commandement of God, to haue images in the churches, that then he had spent a great deale of money in vaine, for that 2. yeeres past, he had made in ỹ monastery of Santo Domingo, in ỹ said city of Mexico, an image of our Lady of pure siluer & gold, with pearles & pretious stones, which cost him 7000, & odde pesos, & euery peso is 6. s. 8. d. of our money, which in deede was true, for that I haue seene it many times my selfe where it stands. At the table was an other gentleman, who presuming to defend the cause, more then any other that was there, said, that they knew wel ynough that they were made but of stocks & stones, & that to them was no worship giuen, but that there was a certaine veneration due vnto them, after they were set vp in the church, & that they were set there to a good intent: the one, for that they were bookes for the simple people, to make them vnderstand the glory of the saints that were in heauen, & a shape of them, to put vs in remembrance to cal vpon them, to be our intercessors vnto God for vs, for that we are such miserable sinners, that we are not worthy to appeare before God, & that vsing deuotion to saints in heauen, they may obtaine at Gods hands the sooner, the thing that wee demand of him. As for example, said he, imagin that a subiect hath offended his king vpon ỹ earth, in any kind of respect, is it for the partie to go boldly to the king in person, & to demand pardon for his offẽces? no saith he, ỹ presumption were to great, & possibly he might be repulsed, & haue a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seeke some priuate man nere the King in his Court, & make him acquainted with his matter, and let him be a Mediator to his Maiestie, for him, & for the matter he hath to do with him, and so might he the better come to his purpose, & obtaine the thing which he doeth demande: euen so saith he, it is with God & his saintes in heauen, for we are wretched sinners, and not worthy to appeare, nor present our selues before the Maiestie of God, to demand of him the thing that we haue neede of: therefore thou hast neede to be deuout, and haue deuotion to the mother of God, and the saints of heauen, to be intercessors to God for thee, & so maist thou the better obtaine of God the thing that thou doest demand. To this I answered, & saide, sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the king, how necessarie they were, I would but aske you this question. Set the case that this king you speake of, if he be so merciful, as, when he knoweth that one, or any of his subiects hath offended him, he send for him to his owne towne, or to his owne house, or place, & say vnto him, come hither, I knowe that thou hast offended many lawes, if thou doest know therof, & doest repent thee of the same, with full intent to offend no more, I wil forgiue thy trespasse, & remember it no more: said I, if this be done by the kings owne person, what then hath this man neede to go seeke friendship at any of the kings priuat seruants handes, but goe to the principal, seeing that he is readier to forgiue thee, then thou art to demand forgiuenes at his hands. Euen so is it with our gratious God, who calleth & crieth out vnto vs throughout all the world, by the mouth of his Prophets, Apostles, & by his own mouth, saith, Come vnto me all ye that labour, & are ouer laden, & I wil refresh you, besides 1000. other offers & proffers which he doth make vnto vs in his holy Scriptures. What then haue we need of the saints helpe that are in heauen, wheras the Lord himself doth so freely offer himselfe vnto vs? At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, & said, that by that reason, I would giue to vnderstand, that the inuocation of saints was to be disanulled, & by the lawes of God not commanded. I answered, that they were not my words, but the words of God himself: looke into the scriptures your self, & you shal so find it. The talke was perceaued to be preiudiciall to the Romish doctrine, & therfore it was commanded to be no more entreated of, & al remained vnthought vpon, had it not bene for a villanous Portingal that was in the company, who said, Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas: who the next day, without imparting any thing to any body, went to the Bishop of Mexico, and his Prouisor, & saide, that in a place where he had bene the day before, was

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an Engliſhman, who had ſaid, that there was no neede of ſaints in ỹ church, nor of any inuocation of Saints, vpon whoſe denomination I was apprehended for the ſame words here rehearſed, and none other thing, and thereupon was vſed, as before is written.

Now to ſpeake ſomewhat of the deſcription of the countrey, you ſhal vnderſtand, that the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, is a very litle Iſland low by the water ſide, the broadeſt or longeſt part thereof not aboue a bowe ſhoote ouer, and ſtandeth within two furlongs of the firme land. In my time there was but one houſe, and a litle Chappell to ſay Maſſe in, in all the Iſland: the ſide to the land wards, is made by mans hands, with free ſtone and grauel, and is 4. fathom deepe downe right, wherfore the great ſhips that come in there, doe ride ſo neere the ſhoare of the Iſland, that you may come and goe aland vpon their beake noſes. They vſe to put great chaines of yron in at their halſers, and an anker to the landward, and all litle ynough to more well their ſhippes for feare of the northerly winds, which come off the coaſt of Florida, that ſomtimes haue caried ſhips, and houſes, & all away to the ſhoare. The king was wont to haue 20. great mightie Negroes, who did ſerue for nothing elſe, but onely to repaire the ſaid Iſland, where the foule weather doth hurt it. The Countrey al there about, is very plaine ground, & a mile from the ſea ſide a great wildernes, with great quantitie of red Deere in the ſame, ſo that when the marriners of the ſhips are diſpoſed, they go vp into the wildernes, & do kil of the ſame, and bring them aboord to eate, for their recreation.

From this port to the next towne, which is called Vera Cruz, are 5. leagues almoſt by the Sea ſide, til you come within one league of the place, and then you turne vp towards the land, into a wood, till you come to a litle riuer hard by the ſaid townes ſide, which ſometimes of the yeere is dry without water. The towne of Vera Cruz in my time, had not paſt 300. houſholds, and ſerued but for the folke of the ſhips, to buy and bring their goods aland, and deliuer it to their owners, as alſo the owners and their factors to receaue their goods of the Maſters of the ſhips. This towne ſtandeth alſo in a very plaine on the one ſide the riuer, and the other ſide is enuironed with much ſand blowen from the ſea ſide with the tempeſt of weather, many times comming vpon that coaſt. This towne alſo is ſubiect to great ſickneſs, & in my time many of the marriners & officers of the ſhips did die with thoſe diſeaſes, there accuſtomed, & eſpecially thoſe that were not vſed to the Country, nor knew the danger thereof, but would commonly go in the ſunne in the heat of the day, & did eat fruite of the Countrey, with much diſorder, & eſpecially gaue themſelues to womens company at their firſt comming: whereupon they were caſt into a burning ague, of the which fewe eſcaped.

Halfe a daies iourney from Vera Cruz, towards Mexico, is a lodging of 5. or 6. houſes, called the Rinconado, which is a place, where is a great pinacle made of lime & ſtone, faſt by a riuer ſide, where the Indians were wont to do their ſacrifices vnto their gods, which is a plaine & low ground betwixt that and Vera Cruz, and alſo ſubiect to ſickneſs: but afterward, halfe a daies iourney that you do begin to enter into the high land, you ſhal find as faire, good, and ſweete Countrey, as any in the world, & the farther you go, the goodlier and ſweeter the countrey is, til you come to Pueblo de los Angelos, which may be ſome 43. leagues from Vera Cruz, which was in my time a towne of 600. houſholds, or thereabout, ſtanding in a goodly ſoile. Betweene Vera Cruz & that, you ſhall come thorough many townes of the Indians, & villages, & many goodly fields of medow grounds, Riuers of freſh waters, foreſts, & great woods, very pleaſant to behold. From Pueblo de los Angelos, to Mexico, is 22. leagues of very faire way, & countrey, as before is declared. Mexico was a city in my time, of not aboue 1500. houſholds of Spaniards inhabiting there, but of India people in the Suburbs of the ſaid City, dwelt aboue 300000. as it was thought, and many more. This Citie of Mexico, is 65. leagues from the North ſea, and 75. leagues from the ſouth ſea, ſo that it ſtandeth in the midſt of the maine land, betwixt the one ſea & the other. It is ſituated in the middeſt of a lake of ſtanding water, & enuironed round about with the ſame, ſauing in many places, going out of the city, are many broad waies through the ſaid lake or water. This lake and city is enuironed alſo with great mountaines round about, which are in compaſſe aboue 30. leagues. & the ſaid city & lake of ſtanding water, doth ſtand in a great plaine in the midſt of it. This lake of ſtanding water doth proceede from the ſhedding of the raine, that falleth vpon the ſaid mountaines, & ſo gather themſelues together in this place. All the whole proportion of this city doth ſtand in a very plaine ground, & in the midſt of the ſaid city, is a ſquare place of a good bow ſhoote ouer from ſide to ſide: & in the midſt of the ſaid place, is the high church, very faire & wel builded al through, at that time not halfe finiſhed, & round about the ſaid place, are many faire houſes built: on the one ſide, are the houſes where Mutezuma the great king of Mexico that was, dwelt, & nowe there lie alwaies the Viceroyes that the king of Spaine ſendeth thither euery 3. yeeres. And in my time was there for Vicerop a gentleman of Caſtil, called Don Luis de Velaſco. And on the other ſide of ỹ ſaid place, ouer againſt the ſame, is the Biſhops houſe, very faire built, and many other houſes of goodly buil-

ding:

ding. And hard by the same, are also other very faire houses, built by the Marques de Valle, otherwise called Hernando Cortes, who was he that first conquered the said Citie and Countrey, who after the said conquest which he made with great labour and trauell of his person, and danger of his life, and beeing growen great in the Countrey, the King of Spaine sent for him, saying that he had some particular matters to impart vnto him. And when hee came home, he could not be suffered to returne backe againe, as the King before had promised him. With the which, for sorrowe that hee tooke, hee died, and this hee had for the reward of his good seruice. The said Citie of Mexico, hath the streetes made very broad, and right, that a man being in the high place, at the one ende of the streete, may see at the least a good mile forward, and in all the one part of the streetes of the North part of their Citie, there runneth a pretie lake of very cleere water, that euery man may put into his house, as much as he wil, without the cost of any thing, but of the letting in. Also there is a great caue, or ditch of water, that commeth through the Citie, euen vnto the high place, where come euery morning at the breake of the day, 20. or 30. Canoas, or troughes of the Indians, which bring in them all manner of prouision for the Citie, which is made, and groweth in the Countrey, which is a very good commodity for the Inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said Citie, of Beefe, Mutton, and Hennes, Capons, Quailes, Guinye Cocks, and such like, all are very good cheape: to say, the whole quarter of an Oxe, as much as a slaue can carry away from the Butchers, for 5. tompnes, that is, 5. Roials of plate, which is iust 2. shillings and 6. pence, and a fat Sheepe at the Butchers, for 3. Roials, which is 18. pence, and no more. Bread is as good cheape as in Spaine, and all other kind of fruites, as Apples, Peares, Pomegranats, and Quinces, at a reasonable rate. The citie goeth wonderfully forwards in building of Frieries and Nunneries, and Chappels, and is like in time to come, to be the most populous Citie in the world, as it may be supposed. The weather is there alwaies very temperate, the day differeth but one howre of length all the yeere longe. The fieldes and the woods alwaies greene. The woods full of Popiniayes, and many other kind of birdes, that make such an harmonie of singing, and crying, that any man will reioyce to heare it. In the fieldes are such odoriferous smels of flowers and hearbs, that it giueth great content to the senses. About the Citie of Mexico 2. 3. or 4. leagues off, are diuers townes of Indians, some of 4000. or 6000. housholds, which doe stand in such a goodly soile, that if Christians had the inhabitation thereof, it would be put to a further benefite. In my time were dwelling and aliue in Mexico, many ancient men, that were of the Conquerors at the first conquest, with Hernando Cortes: for then it was about 36. yeeres agoe, that the said Countrey was conquered. About Mexico, there are diuers Mynes of siluer, and also in other places there about, but the principall Mynes that are in all New Spaine, are in Sacatecas, 80. leagues from Mexico, and the Mynes of S. Martines, 30. leagues, both to the eastward of Mexico, where is great store of gold and siluer. Also there is a place, called the Misteca, 50. leagues to the northwest, which doth yeeld great store of very good silke, and cochinelio. Wine and oile there is none growing in the Countrey, but what commeth out of Spaine. Also there are many goodly fruites in that Countrey, whereof wee haue none such, as Plantanos, Guyaues, Sapotes, Tunes, and in the wilderues great store of black cheries, & other wholsome fruites. The Cochinelle is not a worme, or a Flye, as some say it is, but a berrie that groweth vpon certaine bushes in the wilde fielde, which is gathered in time of the yeere, when it is ripe. Also the Indico that doth come from thence to die blew, is a certaine hearbe that groweth in the wild fieldes, and is gathered at one time of the yeere, and burnt, and of the ashes thereof, with other confections put thereunto, the said Indico is made. Balme, salsa perilla, Cana fistula, suger, Oxe hides, and many other good & seruiceable things the Countrey doth yeeld, which are yeerely brought into Spaine, and there sold and distributed to many nations.

Robert Tomson.

A notable discourse of Master Iohn Chilton, touching the people, *manners, Mynes, Cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of the* west Indias, seene and noted by himselfe in the time of his trauails, continued in those partes, the space of 17. or 18. yeeres.

IN the yeere of our Lord, 1561. in the moneth of July, I Iohn Chilton, went out of of this Citie of London into Spaine, where I remained for the space of 7. yeeres, and from thence I sailed into Noua Hispania, and so trauelled there, and by the south sea, vnto Peru, the space of 17. or 18. yeres: & after ẏ time expired, I returned into Spaine, and so in the yeere, 1586. in the moneth of July, I arriued at the foresaide Citie of London, where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my trauell in those yeeres, I haue set downe,

downe, as followeth.

In the yeere 1568. in the moneth of March, being deſirous to ſee the world, I embarked my ſelfe in the Baye of Cales in Andaluzia, in a ſhip bound for the Iſles of Canaries, where ſhe tooke in her lading, and ſet foorth from thence for the voyage, in the moneth of June, the ſame yeere. Within a moneth after, we fell with the Iſle of S. Domingo, and from thence directly to Noua Hiſpania, and came into the port of S. Iohn de Vllua, which is a litle Iſland, ſtanding in the ſea, about 2. miles from the land, where the king maintaineth about 50. ſouldiers, and captaines, that keepe the Forts, and about 150. Negroes, who all the yeere long are occupied in carrying of ſtones for building, and other vſes, and to helpe to make faſt the ſhips that come in there, with their cables. There are built two bulwarkes at each ende of a wall, that ſtandeth likewiſe in the ſaid Iſland, where the ſhips vſe to ride, made faſt to ỹ ſaid wal, with their cables ſo neere, that a man may leape a ſhoare. From this port I iourneied by land to a towne called Vera Cruz, ſtanding by a riuers ſide, where all the factors of the Spaniſh merchants dwell, which receaue the goods of ſuch ſhips as come thither, and alſo lade the ſame with ſuch treaſure, and merchandize, as they returne backe into Spaine. They are in number about 400. who onely remaine there, during the time that the Spaniſh fleete diſchargeth, and is loden againe, which is from the ende of Auguſt, to the beginning of Aprill following. And then for the vnwholeſomnes of the place, they depart thence, 16. miles further vp within the Countrey, to a towne called Xalapa, a very healthful ſoile. There is neuer any woman deliuered of child in this port, for ſo ſoone as they perceiue themſelues conceiued with child, they get them into the Countrey, to auoid the perill of the infected aire, although they vſe euery morning to driue thorough the towne aboue 2000. head of cattell, to take away the ill vapours of the earth. From Xalapa 7. leagues, I came to another place, named Perota, wherein are certaine houſes builded of ſtraw, called by the name of Ventz, the Inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accuſtome to harbour ſuch trauellers, as are occaſioned to iourney that way vp into the land. It ſtandeth in a great wood of Pine, & Cedar trees, the ſoile being very cold, by reaſon of ſtore of ſnow, which lieth on the mountaines there, al the yeere long. There are in that place, an infinit number of Deere, of bignes like vnto great mules, hauing alſo hornes of great length. From Perota, 9. leagues, I came to the fontes of Ozumba, which fontes are ſprings of water, iſſuing out of certaine rockes, into the middeſt of the high waies, where likewiſe are certaine rainges, and houſes, for the vſes before mentioned. Eight leagues off from this place, I came to the Citie of the Angels, ſo called by that name, of the Spaniards, which inhabite there, to the number of 1000. beſides a great number of Indians. This Citie ſtandeth in very plaine fieldes, hauing neere adioyning to it, many ſumptuous Cities, as namely the Citie of Tlaxcalla, a Citie of two hundreth thouſand Indians, Tributaries to the King, although he exacteth no other tribute of them, then a handfull of wheate a peece, which amounteth to 13. thouſand Pauneges, yeerely, as hath appeared by the Kings bookes of accompt. And the reaſon why he contenteth himſelfe with this tribute, onely for them, is, becauſe they were the occaſion that he tooke the Citie of Mexico, with whom the Tlaxcallians had warre at the ſame time, when the Spaniards came into the Countrey. The Gouernour of this Citie, is a Spaniard, called among them, the Alcalde Maior, who adminiſtreth chiefeſt cauſes of iuſtice, both vnto the Chriſtians, and Indians, referring ſmaller and lighter vices, as drunkennes, and ſuch like, to the iudgement, and diſcretion of ſuch of the Indians, as are choſen euery yeere to rule amongſt them, called by the name of Alcaldes. Theſe Indians from 14. yeeres olde vpwards, pay vnto the King for their yeerely tribute, one ounce of ſiluer, and an hannege of Maiz, which is valued among them commonly, at 12. Roials of plate. The widowes among them, pay halfe of this. The Indians both of this Citie, and of the reſt, lying about Mexico, goe clothed with mantels of linnen cloth, made of cotton wooll, painted throughout with works of diuers and fine colours. It is diſtant from the Citie of the Angels, 4. leagues to the northward, and 14. from Mexico. There is another Citie a league from it, called Cholula, conſiſting of more then 60. thouſand Indians, tributaries, and there dwelleth not aboue 12. Spaniards there. From it, about two leagues, there is another, called Acaſſingo, of aboue 50000. Indians, and about 8. or 12. Spaniards, which ſtandeth at the foote of the Vulcan of Mexico, on the Eaſt ſide. There are beſides theſe, three other great Cities, the one named Tepiaca, a very famous Citie, Waxazingo, and Tichamachalcho: all theſe in times paſt, belonged to the kingdom of Tlaxcal, and from theſe Cities, they bring all their Cutchanelio into Spaine. The diſtance from the Citie of the Angels, to the Citie of Mexico, is 20. leagues. This Citie Mexico, is the Citie of greateſt fame in all the Indias, hauing goodly, and coſtly houſes in it, builded all of lime and ſtone, and ſeuen ſtreetes in length, and ſeuen in breadth, with riuers running thorough euery ſecond ſtreete, by which they bring their proviſion in Canoas. It is ſituated at the foote of certaine hils, which containe in compaſſe

Vulcan is a hill that continually burneth with fire.

Cutchanelio.

passe by estimation, aboue 20. leagues, compalling the said Citie on the one side, and a lake which is 14. leagues about on the other side. Upon which lake, there are built many notable and sumptuous Cities, as the City of Tescuco, where the Spaniards built 6. frigats, at that time when they conquered Mexico, and where also Fernando Cortes made his abode 5. or 6. moneths, in curing of the sicknes of his people, which they had taken at their comming into the countrey. There dwel in this Citie, about 60000. Indians, which pay tribute to the king. In this Citie the said Fernando built the finest Church that euer was built in the Indias, the name whereof is S. Peters. After I had continued 6. yeeres in this Citie, being desirous to see further the Countreis, I imploied that which I had, and tooke my voyage towards the prouinces of the California, in the which was discouered a certaine Countrey, by a Byskaine, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his Countrey, New Biskaye, where I sold my merchandize for exchange of siluer, for there were there certaine rich Mynes discouered by the aforesaid Biskaine. Going from Mexico, I directed my voyage toward the southwest, to certaine Mynes, called Tamascal Tepec, and so trauelled forwarde, the space of 20. daies, through desert places vnhabited, till I came to the valley of S. Bartholomew, which ioyneth to the prouince of New Biskaye. In all these places the Indians for the most part goe naked, and are wild people. Their common armour is bowes, and arrowes, they vse to eate vp such Christians as they come by. At my returne to Mexico, I came along by the coast of the South sea, thorough the prouince of Sacatula, from thence into the prouince of Coloa, where I imploied the siluer that I had, in a certaine graine, growing like an Almond, called amongst the Indians, Cacao, which in Noua Hispania is currant for money, to buy things of small value, as fruits, &c. for that they haue no small money there, and in which also they pay the King his tribute. They grinde this graine to a powder, and mingle it with water, and so is made both bread, and drinke vnto them, which is a prouision of great profite, and good strength. From hence departing, I came to another prouince, named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Nauidad, which is 66. leagues from Mexico, in which port arriue alwaies in the moneth of Aprill, all the ships that came out of the South sea, from China, and the Philippinæ, and there they laie their merchandize a shoare. The most part wherof, is mantels made of cotton wool, waxe, and fine platters gilded, made of earth, and much gold. The next summer following, being in the yeere 1570. (which was the first yeere that the Popes Buls were brought into the Indias) I vndertooke another voyage towards the prouince of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdome of Guatimala, whether I carried diuers merchandize of Spaine, all by land, on Mules backes. The way thitherward from Mexico, is to the Citie of the Angels, and from thence to another Citie of Christians, 80. leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about 50. Spaniards, and many Indians. All the Indians of this prouince, pay their tribute in mantels of cotton wooll, and Cochonelio, whereof there groweth aboundance throughout this Countrey. Neere to this place there lieth a port in the South sea, called Aquatulca, in the which there dwelleth not aboue 3. or 4. Spaniards, with certaine Negroes, which the King maintaineth there: in which place, Sir Francis Drake arriued, in the yeere, 1579. in the moneth of Aprill, where I lost with his being there, aboue 1000. duckets, which he tooke away, with much other goods of other merchants of Mexico, from one Francisco Gomes Rangifa, factor there for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the south sea: for from this port they vse to imbarke all their goods that goe for Peru, & to ỹ kingdom of Hunduras. From Guaxaca, I came to a towne named Nixapa, which standeth vpon certaine very high hils, in the prouince of Sapotecas, wherin inhabite about the number of 20. Spaniards, by the king of Spaines commandement to keepe that Countrey in peace, for ỹ the Indians are very rebellious: & for this purpose, he bestoweth on them the townes & cities that be within that prouince. From hence I went to a Citie, called Tecoantepec, which is the farthest towne to the Eastward in al Noua Hispania, which sometimes did belonge to the Marques De Valle, and because it is a very fit port, standing in the south sea, the king of Spaine, vpon a rebelion made by the said Marques against him, tooke it from him, and doth now possesse it as his owne. Here in ỹ yeere 1572. I saw a peece of Ordinance of brasse, called a Demy culuerin, which came out of a ship, called the Iesus of Lubecke, which Captaine Hawkins left in S. Iohn de Vllua, being in fight with the Spaniards, in the yeere, 1568. which peece they afterwardes caried 100. leagues by land, ouer mighty mountains to the said city, to be embarked there for the Philippinas. Leauing Tecoantepec, I went still along by the South sea, about 150. leagues in the desolate prouince of Soconusco, in which prouince there groweth Cacao, which the Christians carry from thence into Noua Hispania, for that it will not growe in any colde Countrey. The Indians of this Countrey, paye the King their tribute in Cacao, giuing him 400. Cargas, and euery Carge is 24000. Almonds, which Carge is worth in Mexico 30. peeces of roials of plate. They are

New Biskay.

The hauen where the ships of China & the Philippines arriue.

Aquatulca.

men

men of great riches, and withall very prowd, and in all this prouince throughout, there dwell not 20. chriſtians. I trauailed through another prouince called Suchetepec: & thence to ỳ prouince of Guaſacapan: in both which prouinces are very fewe people, the biggeſt towne therin hauing not aboue 200. Indians, the chiefeſt marchandize there is Cacao, and hence I went to the City of Guatimala, which is the chief city of all this kingdom. In this citie do inhabite about 80. Spanyards, & here the king hath his gouernors, & Counſell, to whom all the people of the kingdome repaire for Juſtice. This City ſtandeth from the coaſt of the South ſea, 14. leagues within the land, and is very riche by reaſon of the gold that they fetch out of the coaſt of Veragua. From this Citie to the Eaſtward 60. leagues, lyeth the prouince Sonſonate, where I ſold the marchandize I carryed out of noua Hiſpania. The chiefeſt Citie of this prouince is called S. Saluador, which lyeth 7. leagues from the coaſt of the South ſea, and hath a port lying by the Sea coaſt called Acaxutla, where the ſhips arriue with the marchãdize they bring from noua Hiſpania: & from thẽce lade backe againe the Cacao there dwell here to the number of 60. Spanyards. From Sonſonate I trauailed to Nicoia, which is in the kingdome of Nicaragua, In which Port the king buildeth all the ſhipping that trauel out of the Indies to the Moluccaes. I went forward from thence to Coſtaricca, where the Indians both men and women goe all naked, & the lande lyeth between Panama, and the kingdom of Guatimala: and for that the Indians there liue as warriers, I durſt not paſſe by land, ſo that here in a towne called S. Saluador, I beſtowed that which I carryed, in annele (which is a kinde of thing to dye blew withall) which I carryed with mee to the Port of Cauallos, lying in the kindome of Hunduras, which Port is a mighty huge riuer, and at the comming in of the one ſide of it, there lyeth a Towne of little force without ordinance or any other ſtrength, hauing in it houſes of ſtrawe: at which Towne the Spanyards vſe yeerely in the moneth of Auguſt, to vnlade 4. ſhips, which come out of Spaine laden with riche Marchandize and receiue in againe here their lading of a kind of Marchandize called Annele and Cutchanelio (al, though it be not of ſuch value as that of noua Hiſpania) and ſiluer of the mines of Toma angua, and golde of Nicaragua, and hides, and Salſa perilla, the beſt in all the Indies, al which Marchandize they returne and depart from thence alwaies in the moneth of Aprill following, taking their courſe by the Iland of Iamaica, in which Iland there dwell on the Weſt ſide of it certaine Spanyardes of no great number. From this place they goe to the cape of S. Anthonie, which is the vttermoſt part of the Weſtward of the Iland of Cuba, and from thence to Hauana lying hard by, which is the chiefeſt Port that the king of Spaine hath in all the Countries of the Indies, and of greateſt importance: for all the ſhips, both from Peru, Hunduras, Portoricco, S. Domingo, Iamaica, & all other places in his Indies, arriue there at their returne to Spaine, for that in this Port they take in victuals, and water, and the moſt part of their lading: here they meete from all the foreſaid places alwaies in the beginning of May by the kings commandement: at the entrance of this Port it is ſo narrow, that there can ſcarſe come in two ſhips together, although it be aboue 6. fadome deepe in the narroweſt place of it. In the Northſide of the comming in their ſtandeth a towne, in which there watcheth euery day a man, to deſcrie the Sailes of ſhips, which he can ſee on the Sea, and as many as he diſcouereth ſo many banners he ſetteth vpon the Tower that the people of the towne (which ſtandeth within the Port about a mile from the Towne) may vnderſtand thereof. Vnder this tower there lyeth a ſandy ſhore, where men may eaſely go a land, and by the Tower there runneth a hill along by the waters ſide, which eaſely with ſmall ſtore of ordinance ſubdueth the towne and Port. The Port within is ſo large that there may eaſely ride a M. ſayle of ſhips, without anker or cable, for no winde is able to hurt them. There inhabite with in the towne of Hauana about 300. Spanyardes, and about 60. Souldiers, which the King maintaineth there for the keeping of a certaine Caſtell, which he hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about 12. peeces of ſmall ordinance, and is compaſſed rounde with a ſmall ditch, where through at their pleaſure, they may let in the ſea. About 11. leagues from Hauana, there lyeth another towne called Wanabacoa, in which there is dwelling, about 100. Indians, and from this place, 60. leagues, there lyeth another towne named Bahama, ſcituate on the Northſide of the Iland. The chiefeſt citie of this Iland of Cuba, (which is aboue 200. leagues in length) is alſo called Cuba, where dwelleth a Biſhop, and about 200. Spanyardes, which towne ſtandeth on the Southſide of the Iland, about C leagues from Hauana. All ỳ trade of this Iland is cattel which they kil only for the hyds ỳ are brought thẽce into Spaine: for which end the Spanyards maintaine there many Negroes to kil their cattel, & foſter a great number of hogges, which being killed, and cut into ſmall pieces, they dry in the ſunne, and ſo make it prouiſion for the ſhips, which come for Spaine. Hauing remained in this Iland ii. moneths, I tooke ſhipping in a Frigat, & went ouer to Nombre de Dios, and from thence by land to Panama, which ſtandeth vpon ỳ Southſea.

The diſcription of Hauana at large.

The ſmal force of Hauana.

The commodities of Cuba.

From Nombre de Dios to Panama, it is 17. leagues distant. From which towne there runneth a riuer which is called the riuer of Chagre, which runneth within 5. leagues of Panama, to a place called Cruçes, through which riuer they carry their goods, & disimbarke it at the sayd Cruçes, and from thence it is conueyed on Mules backes to Panama by lande: where they againe imbarke it in certaine small ships in the Southsea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships, I went to Potossi, and from thence by lande to Cusco, and from thence to Paita. Heare I remained the space of seuen moneths, & then returned into the kingdome of Guatimall, and arriued in the prouince of Nicoia, and Nicaragua. From Nicaragua I trauelled by lande to a prouince called Nicamula (which lyeth towarde the North sea in certaine high mountaines) for that I could not passe thorough the kingdome of Guatimal at that time for waters, where with all the lowe Countries of the Prouince of Suconusco, lying by the South sea is drowned, with the raine that falleth aboue in the mountaines enduring alwaies from Aprill to September: which season for that cause they call their winter. From this prouince, I came into another called de Vera Paz, in which the chiefest Citie is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a Bishop, and about fourtie Spaniards. Among the mountaines of this Countrie toward the North Sea, there is a Prouince called La candona, where are Indian men of warre which the king cannot subdue, for that they haue Townes and Fortes in a great lake of water aboue in the saide mountaines, the most part of them go naked, and some weare mantels of Cotten wooll. Distant from this about eightie leagues, I came into another Prouince called the Prouince of Chiapa, wherein the chiefest Citie is called Sacatlan, where there dwelleth a Bishop, and about a hundred Spaniards. In this Countrie there is great store of Cotton wooll, whereof the Indians make fine linnen cloth, which the Christians buye and carie into Noua Hispania. The people of this Prouince pay their tribute to the king all in Cotton wooll and Fethers. Fourteene leagues from this Citie, there is another called Chiapa, where are the finest Gennets in all the Indies, which are caried hence to Mexico, 300. leagues from it. From this Citie I trauayled still through hilles and mountaines, till I came to the ende of this Prouince, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth the hill of wind: for that they say, it is the highest hill that euer was discouered: for from the toppe of it may be discouered both the North, and the South Seas, and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which trauaile ouer it, lie alwayes at the foote of it ouernight, and begin their iourney about midnight, to trauell to the toppe of it before the Sunne rise the next day, because the winde bloweth with such force afterwardes, that it is impossible for any man to goe vp: from the foote of this hill, to Tecoantepec, the first Towne of Noua Hispania, are about fifteene leagues, and so from hence I iourneyed to Mexico. By and by after I came to Mexico (which was in the yeere 1572.) in the companie of another Spaniard, which was my companion in this iourney, we went together toward the Prouince of Panuco, which lieth vpon the coast of the North Seas, and within three dayes iourney we entred a Citie called Mestitlan, where there dwelt twelue Spaniards: the Indian inhabitants there were about thirtie thousand. This Citie standeth vpon certaine high mountaines, which are very thicke planted with Townes very holesome, and fruitfull, hauing plentifull fountaines of water running through them. The hie wayes of these hilles are all set with fruites, and trees of diuers kindes, & most pleasant: in euery Towne as we passed through, the Indians presented vs with victuals. Within twentie leagues of this place, there is another Citie called Clanchinoltitpec, belonging to a Gentleman, where there inhabite about fourtie thousand Indians: and there are among them eight or nine Fryers of the order of Saint Augustine, who haue there a Monasterie. Within three dayes after we departed from this place, and came to a Citie called Guaxpila, where there is another Monasterie of Fryers of the same order: there dwell in this Towne about twelue Spaniards. From this place forwards beginneth a Prouince called Guastecan, which is al plaine grownds without any hils. The first Towne we came vnto is called Tanguialabe, in which there dwell many Indians high of stature, hauing all their bodies painted with blewe, and weare their haire long downe to their knees, tyed as women vse to doe with their hairelaces. When they goe out of their doores, they carrie with them their bowes and arrowes, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those Countries they take neither golde, nor siluer for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and vse it as a principall medicine for certaine wormes which breede in their lippes, and in their gummes. After nine dayes trauell from this place, we came to a Towne called Tampica, which is a port Towne vpon the Sea, wherein there dwell I thinke fourtie Christians, of which number whilest we abode there, the Indians killed fourteene, as they were gathering of Salt, which is all the trade that they haue in this place: it standeth vpon the entrie of the riuer of Panuco, which is a mightie great riuer, and were it not for a sand that lieth

Ecatepec a hill nine leagues high.

Salt a principall marchandize.

at

at the mouth of it, shippes of 500. tunne might goe vp into it aboue three leagues. From hence we went to Panuco 14. leagues from Tampeca, which in times past had bene a goodly Citie, where the king of Spaine had his gouernour: but by reason that the Indians there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a maner waste, conteyning in it not aboue 10. Christians with a Priest: In this towne I fell sicke where I lay 41. dayes, hauing no other sustenance, then fruite and water, which water I sent for aboue 6. leagues of within the countrie. Here I remained til my companion came to me, which had departed from me another way, retayning in my company onely a slaue, which I brought with me from Mexico. And the last day in Easter weeke my companion came to me, finding me in a very weake state, by reason of the vnholsomnes of the place. Notwithstanding my weakenes, I being set on a horse, & an Indian behind me to hold me, we went forward in our voyage all that day till night. The next day in the morning we passed ouer the riuer in a Canoa, and being on the other side, I went my selfe before alone, and by reason there met many wayes, traled by the wilde beastes, I lost my way, and so traueiled through a great wood about two leagues, and at length fell into the hands of certaine wilde Indians, which were there in certaine cottages made of strawe, who seeing me, came out to the number of 20. of them, with their bowes and arrowes, and spake vnto me in their language which I vnderstoode not: and so I made signes vnto them to helpe me from my horse, which they did by commandement of their lord which was there with them, and lighted downe, they carried me vnder one of their cottages, and laid me vpon a mat on the ground: and perceiuing that I could not vnderstand them, they brought vnto me a little Indian wench, of Mexico, of 15. or 16. yeeres of age, whom they commaunded to aske me in her language from whence I came, and for what intent I came among them: for (sayth she) dost thou not know Christian, how that these people will kill and eate thee? to whom I answered, let them doe with me what they will, here nowe I am: she replied, saying, thou mayest thanke God thou art leane, for they feare thou hast the pocks, otherwise they would eate thee. So I presented to the king a little wine which I had with me in a bottel, which he esteemed aboue any treasure, for for wine they will sell their wiues, & children. After wards the wench asked me what I would haue, and whether I would eate any thing: I answered that I desired a litle water to drinke, for that the countrie is very hotte, and she brought me a great Uenice glasse guilded full of water, and marueiling at the glasse, I demanded how they came by it: she told me that the Casique brought it from Shallapa, a great towne distant 30. leagues from this place on the hilles whereas dwelt certaine Christians, and certaine Fryers, of the order of S. Augustine, which this Casique with his people on a night slewe, & burning the Fryers Monasterie, among other things reserued this glasse, and from thence also brought me. Hauing now bene conuersant with them about three or foure houres, they bid her aske me if I would goe my way: I answered her, ỹ I desired nothing els: so ỹ Casique caused two of his Indians to leade me forward in my way, going before me with their bowes & arrowes naked, the space of three leagues, till they brought me into a hie way: & then making a signe vnto me, they signified ỹ on short time I should come to a towne where Christians inhabited, which was called S. Iago de las villas, standing in plaine fields walled about with a mud wall, ỹ number of ỹ Christians ỹ dwelt therein, were not aboue 4. or 5. & twentie, vnto which ỹ king of Spaine giueth Indiãs, & townes to keepe ỹ countries subiect vnto him. Here the Christians haue their mightie mules, which they carry for all the partes of ỹ Indies, & into Peru, for that all their marchandize are caried by this meanes by land. In this towne aforesaid I found my cõpanie which I had lost before, who made no other accoũt of me but that I had bene slaine, & the Christians there likewise marueiled to heare ỹ I came frõ those kinde of Indians aliue, which was a thing neuer seene nor heard of before: for they take a great pride in killing a Christian, & to weare any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their neckes, & so are accounted for valiant men. In this towne I remained 18. dayes, till I recouered my health, & in the meane space there came one Don Franusco de Pago, whom the Uicerop Don Henrico Manriques had sent for captaine generall, to open & discouer a certaine way frõ ỹ sea side to ỹ mines of Sacatecas, which was frõ this place 160. leagues, for to transport their marchãdize by ỹ way, leauing ỹ way by Mexico, which is 7. or 8. moneths trauel. So this captaine tooke me, & my companie with the rest of his souldiers to the number of 40. which he had brought wt him, & 500. Indians which we tooke out of ỹ two townes in this prouince called Tanchipa, & Tamadelipa, al good archers & naked men, & went thence to ỹ riuer de las Palmas of great bignes, parting ỹ kingdome of noua Hispania, & Florida, & going still along by this riuer the space of 3. daies seeking passage to passe ouer, & finding none, we were at length inforced to cut timber to make a Balsa, which when we had made we sate on it, & the Indians swimming in ỹ water, & thrusting it before them to ỹ other side: within 30. daies after trauapling through woods, hils & mountaines, we came to ỹ mines of Sacatecas, which are ỹ richest mines

Don Henrico Manriques Uicerop of Mexico.

Rio de las Palmas.

Or raste.

in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most siluer: In which mines there dwelt aboue 300. Christians, and there our Captaine gaue vs leaue to depart. So we came to the valley of S. Michael towards Mexico, and from thence to Pueblo nouo, & from that place to the prouince of Mecuacan, after which name the chiefest Citie of that place is called, where there dwels a Byshop, and aboue 100. Spanyards in it. It aboundeth with all kinde of Spanish fruites, and hath woods full of nutt trees, and wilde vines: heare are many mines of copper, and great store of cattel: It lyeth 60. leagues from Mexico, whither we came within 4. daies after: the Indiãs of this Countrey are very mighty and bygge men. Afterwards I returned another way to the prouince of Sonsonate by Vera cruz, and so to Rio Aluarado, and from thence to the prouince of Campego, which lyeth on the Southside of the bay of Mexico: The chief towne of this prouince is called Merida, in which is a Bishop and almost C. Spanyardes. The Indians of this prouince pay all their tribute in mantles of cotten wooll and cacao. There is no port in all this prouince for a ship of a C. tunne to ryde in, but onely in the riuer of Tabasco, by which riuer this Citie of Merida standeth. The chiefest marchandize which they lade there in smal Frigats is a certaine wood called Campege, (wherewith they vse to dye) as also hydes and annyle. By this there lyeth the prouince Iuratan neere the Hundura by the North sea coast, where there is also another Byshop, and a towne likewise named Iuacatans where there dwell a fewe Spanyardes. They haue no force at all in all this coast to defende themselues withall, saue onely that the Land is low, and there is no Port to receiue any shipping, vnlesse they be Frigats, which carry from thence to the Port of S. Iohn de Vllua waxe, Cacao, hony, & also mantels of cotten wooll, whereof they make there great store, and of which kinde of Marchandize there is great trade thence to Mexico: of the same also they pay their tribute to the King. The king hath tribute brought him yeerely out of the Indies into Spaine betweene ix. and x. Millions of gold, and siluer: for he receiueth of euery Indian which is subiect vnto him, excepting those which doe belong to the Incommenderos (which are the childrẽ of those Spanyards, who first conquered the land) to whom the king gaue, and graunted the gouernment of the Cities and townes subdued for three liues, twelue royals of plate, and a hannege of Mayis (which is a wheat of the Countrey, v. of them making a quarter of English measure) and of euery widow woman he hath vi. royals and halfe a hannege of Mayis, and so if any Infidell haue xx. children in his house he payeth for euery one of them being aboue xv. yeres old after that rate: this wheat being duely brought to the Gouernour of euery prouince and Citie, is solde in Mexico by the Kinges gouernours there euery yeere: so that the money receiued for it, is put into the kings Treasurie there, and so is yeerely carryed from thence into Spaine. Of the Spanyards which are owners of the mines of gold and siluer, he receiueth the fift part of it, which hee calleth his Quintas, which being taken out of the heape, there is his armes set on it, for otherwise it may not be brought out of the lande into Spaine, vnder paine of death. The marke of siluer which is 8. ounces, when it commeth out of the mines not hauing the Kinges Seale vpon it, is worth forty three royalles of plate, and so it is currant, and when they will bring it for Spayne, they carry it to the Kinges Treasure house, where his Seale is set vpon it, and so it is raysed in valne thereby to threescore and foure royals of plate, and so the king hath for his custome of euery marke of plate twenty and one royals. From the yeere of 70. which was the yeere, that the Popes Buls came into the Indies, as is afore mencioned, he hath receiued both of Indians which are tributaries vnto him, and also of all others belonging to the Incommenderos of euery one being aboue 12. yeeres of age, 4. royals of euery bull. Also they carry other pardons with them into the Indies for such as bee dead, although a 100. yeeres before the Spanyards came into the countrey: which pardons the Fryers in their preachings perswaded the poore Indians to take, telling them that with giuing 4. royals of plate for a Masse, they would deliuer their soules out of purgatory. Of the Christians likewise dwelling there he hath 14. royals for euery Bull, and there be certaine Buls brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serue for pardoning all such faults wherein they haue trespassed either against the king by keeping backe his customes, or one against another by any other iniury, for euery hundred crownes whereof his conscience doth accuse him that hee hath deceiued the king or any other, he must giue 10. for a Bull and so after that rate for euery C which he hath any way stollen, and so is pardoned the fault. The reuenue of his Buls after this maner yeeldeth vnto his Treasurie yeerely aboue three Milions of gold as I haue bene credibly informed: although of late both the Spanyardes, and Indians do refuse to take the Buls, for that they perceiue he doth make a yeerely custome of it: onely the Indians take one pardon for all his household, whereas in former time euery Indian vsed to take one for euery person in his house, and teareth the same into small peeces, and giueth to euery one of his houshoulde a little

Copper mines

The greatnes of the king of Spaines tribute out of the west Indies.

The Quinto.

piece,

piece, ſaying thus, they neede nowe no moze, ſeeing in that which they bought the peere beſoze, they had aboue 10000. peeres pardon. Theſe pieces they ſticke vp in the wall of the houſes where they lie. Both the Chriſtians and Indians are weary with theſe infinite taxes and cuſtomes, which of late he hath impoſed vpon them, moze then in the yeeres beſoze. So as the people of both ſoztes did rebell twiſe in the time that I was among them, and would haue ſet vp an other King of them ſelues: Foz which cauſe the King hath commaunded vpon paine of death, that they ſhould not plant either wine oz oyle there, but ſhould alwayes ſtand in neede of them to be brought out of Spaine, although there would moze growe there in foure yeeres, then there groweth in Spaine in twentie, it is ſo fertile a countrey. And the King to keepe the countrey alwayes in ſubiection, and to his owne vſe, hath ſtraightly prouided by Law, vpon paine of death, and loſſe of goods, that none of theſe countries ſhould traffike with any other nation, although the people themſelues doe much nowe deſire to trade with any other then with them, and would vndoubtedly doe, if they feared not the perill enſuing thereupon.

Rebellions in Noua Hiſpania, by too great exactions.

About Mexico, and other places in Noua Hiſpania, there groweth a certaine plant called Nege, which yeeldeth Wine, vineger, Hony, and black Sugar, and of the leaues of it dzied, they make heimpe, ropes, ſhooes which they vſe, and tyles foz their houſes: and at the ende of euery leafe, there groweth a ſharpe point like an awle, wherewith they vſe to boze oz pearce through any thing.

Thus to make an ende, I haue here ſet downe the ſumme of all the chiefeſt things that I haue obſerued, and noted in my 17. yeeres trauaile in thoſe partes.

The firſt voyage, attempted and ſet foorth by the expert, and valiant Captaine *M. Francis Drake himſelfe, with a ſhip called the Dragon,* and another ſhip, and a Pinneſſe, to Nombre de Dios, and Dariene, about the yeere 1572. Written, and recorded by one Lopez a Spaniard, in this maner folowing: which Spaniard, with the diſcourſe about him, was taken at the Riuer of Plate by the Ships ſet forth by the Right Honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586.

THere was a certaine Engliſh man named Francis Drake, who hauing intelligence howe the Towne of Nombre de Dios in Noua Hiſpania, had but ſmall ſtoze of people remaining there, came on a night, & entred the Pozte with foure Pinneſſes, and landed about 150. men, and leauing 70. men with a trumpet, in a Fozte which was there, with the other 80. he entred the Towne, without doing any harme, till hee came to the market place, and there diſcharged his caliuers, and ſounded a trumpet very loude, and the other which he had left in the Fozte anſwered him after the ſame maner, with the diſcharging their caliuers, and ſounding their trumpets: the people hereupon not thinking of any ſuch matter, were put in great feare, and waking out of their ſleepe fled all into the mountaines, inquiring one of another what the matter ſhould be, remaining as men amazed, not knowing what that vpzoze was which happened ſo ſuddenly in the Towne. But fourteene oz fifteene of them ioyning together with their harquebuſſes, went to the market place to knowe what they were that were in the Towne, and in a cozner of the market place they did diſcouer the Engliſh men, and ſeeing them to be but fewe, diſcharged their caliuers at thoſe Engliſh men: their foztune was ſuch that they killed the Trumpetter, and ſhot one of the pzincipall men thozow the leg, who ſeeing himſelfe hurt, retyzed to the Fozte, where the reſt of their company was left: they which were in the Fozte ſounded their trumpet, and ſeeing that they in the Towne did not anſwere them, and hearing the caliuers, thought that all they in the Towne had bene ſlaine, and thereupon fled to their Pinneſſes: The Engliſh Captaine comming to the Fozte, and not finding his men which he left there, hee and his were in ſo great feare, that leauing their furniture behinde them, and putting off their hoſe, ſwamme, and waded all to their Pinneſſes, and ſo went with their ſhippes againe out of the Pozte.

Thus this Engliſh Captaine called Francis Drake departed from Nombre de Dios, and ſlewe onely one man in the Towne which was looking out of a windowe to ſee what the matter was, and of his men had onely his Trumpetter ſlaine.

But hee being diſcontented with the repulſe which he had receiued there, came to the ſound of Dariene, & hauing conference with certaine Negroes which were fled from their maſters of Panama, and Nombre de Dios, the Negroes did tell him, that certaine Mules came laden with golde and ſiluer from Panama to Nombre de Dios, who in companie of theſe Negroes went thereupon

The valiant exployte of M. Frãcis Drake betwixt Panama and Nombre de Dios.

thereupon on land, and staied in the way where the treasure should come with 100. shot, and so tooke two companies of mules, which came onely with their driuers mistrusting nothing, and he caried away the golde only, for they were not able to carrie the siluer through the mountaines. And two dayes after he came to the house of Crosses, where hee killed sixe or seuen marchants, but found no golde nor siluer but much marchandize: so he fired the house, where was burnt aboue 200000. Duckets in marchandize, and so went to his shippe againe: and within halfe an houre after he was a shipboorde, there came downe to the sands 300. shot of the Spaniards in the sight of his shippes, of purpose to seeke him, but hee cared litle for them being out of their reach, and so departed with his treasure.

M. Francis Drake burnt the house of Crosses.

The voyage of Iohn Oxnam of Plymmouth, to the West India, *and ouer the Straight of Dariene into the South* Sea. Anno 1575. Written by the foresayd Lopez in the same discourse.

THere was another English man, who hearing of the spoyle that Francis Drake had done vpon the coast of Noua Hispania, and of his good aduenture and safe returne home, was thereby prouoked to vndertake the like enterprise, with a ship of 140. tunnes, and 70. men, and came thither, and had also conference with the fore sayde Negroes: and hearing that the golde and siluer which came vpon the Mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios, was nowe conducted with souldiers, he determined to doe that which neuer any man before enterprised: and landed in that place where Francis Drake before had had his conference with the Negroes. This man couered his ship after he had brought her aground with boughes of trees, and hid his great Ordinance in the ground, and so not leauing any man in his shippe, hee tooke two small pieces of ordinance, and his caliuers, and good store of victuals, & so went with the Negroes about twelue leagues into the maine land, to a Riuer that goeth to the South sea, and there hee cut wood and made a Pinnesse, which was 45. foote by the keele, and hauing made this Pinnesse, hee went into the South sea, carying sixe Negroes with him to be his guides, & so went to the Iland of Pearles, which is 25. leagues from Panama, which is in the way that they come from Peru to Panama, and there he was ten dayes without shewing himselfe to any man, to see if he might get any ship that came from Peru: At last, there came a small Barke by, which came from Peru from a place called Quito, which he tooke, and found in her 60. thousand waight of golde, and much victuals. But not contenting himselfe with this prise, hee staied long without sending away his prise or any of the men, and in the ende of sixe dayes after, he tooke another Barke which came from Lima, in which he tooke 100. thousande waight of siluer in barres, with the which hee thought to haue gone, and entred the Riuer, but first hee went into the Ilands to see if he could finde any Pearles: Where he found a fewe, and so returned to his Pinnesse againe, and so sayling to the Riuer from whence he came, and comming neere to the mouth of the sayd Riuer, he sent away the two prises that he tooke, and with his Pinnesse he went vp the Riuer. The Negroes that dwelt in the Iland of Pearls, the same night that he went from them, went in Canoas to Panama, and the Gouernour within two dayes sent foure Barks with 100. men, twentie fiue men in euery one, and Negroes to rowe with the Captaine, Iohn de Ortega, which went to the Iland of Pearles, and there had intelligence, which way the English men were gone, and following of them, hee met by the way the ships which the English men had taken, of whome hee learned, that the English men were gone vp the Riuer, and he going thither, when he came to the mouth of the Riuer, the Captaine of Panama knew not which way to take, because there were three partitions in the Riuer to goe vp in, and being determined to goe vp the greatest of the three Riuers, he sawe comming downe a lesser Riuer many feathers of hennes, which the English men had pulled to eate, and being glad thereof, he went vp that Riuer where he sawe the feathers, and after that he had bene in that Riuer foure dayes, he discried the English mens Pinnesse vpon the sands, and comming to her, there were no more then sixe English men, whereof they killed one, and the other fiue escaped away, and in the Pinnisse hee found nothing but victuals: But this Captaine of Panama not herewith satisfied determined to seeke out the Englishmen by land, and leauing twentie men in his Pinnesses, he with 80. shot went vp the countrey: hee had not gone halfe a league, but hee found a house made of boughs, where they found all the English mens goods, and the gold and siluer also, and carying it backe to their Pinnesses, the Spaniards were determined to goe away, without following the English men any further.

The Iland of Pearles 25. leagues from Panama.

But

But at the ende of three dayes, the Englisſh Captaine came to the Riuer with all his men, and aboue 200. Negroes, and ſet vpon the Spaniards with great furie: But the Spaniards hauing the aduantage of trees which they ſtoode behinde, did eaſely preuaile, and killed eleuen Englisſh men, and fiue Negroes, & tooke other ſeuen Englisſh men aliue, but of the Spaniards, two were ſlaine and fiue ſore hurt. A ſkirmiſh betweene the Englisſh men, and the Spaniards.

Among other things, the Spaniards enquired of the Englisſh men which they tooke, why they went not away in fifteene dayes libertie which they had. They anſwered, that their Captaine had commaunded them to carry all that golde and ſiluer which they had, to the place where they had left their ſhippe, and they had promiſed him to carry it, although they made three or foure iourneys of it, for he promiſed to giue them part of it beſides their wages, but the marriners would haue it by and by, and ſo their Captaine being angry becauſe they would not take his word, fell out with them, and they with him, in ſo much that one of the companie would haue killed the Captaine, ſo that the Captaine would not haue them to carry the treaſure, but ſayd hee would ſeeke Negroes to carry it, and ſo he went, and ſought for Negroes, and bringing thoſe Negroes to cary it, he met with the fiue Englisſh men that he had left in his Pinneſſe which ran from the Spaniards, and the reſt alſo which ran from the houſe, & they tolde him what the Spaniards had done, and then making friendſhip with all his men, he promiſed them halfe of all the treaſure if they got it from the Spaniards, and the Negroes promiſed to helpe him with their bowes and arrowes, and thereupon they came to ſeeke the Spaniards, and now that ſome of his companie were killed and taken, he thought it beſt to returne to his ſhip, & ſo to paſſe backe for England. The Spaniſh Captaine hearing this, hauing buried the dead bodies, & hauing gotten all things into his Barks, and taking the Englisſh men and their Pinnes with him, he returned to Panama: ſo the voyage of that Englisſh man did not proſper with him, as hee thought it would haue done.

Nowe when the foure Barks were come to Panama, they ſent aduiſe alſo to Nombre de Dios, and they of Nombre de Dios, ſent alſo from them other foure Barks (which, as the Spaniards ſay) found the Englisſh ſhip where ſhe was hid, and brought her to Nombre de Dios: and that the Viceroy of Peru, not thinking it good to ſuffer fiftie Englisſh men to remaine in the countrey, ſent a ſeruant of his called Diego de Frees, with 150. ſhot into the mountaines to ſeeke them out, who found them making of certaine canoas to go into the North ſea, and there to take ſome Barke or other: ſome of them were ſicke, and were taken, and the reſt fled with the Negroes, who in the ende betrayed them to the Spaniards, ſo that they were brought to Panama. The Englisſh betrayed to the Spaniards. And the Juſtice of Panama aſked the Englisſh Captaine whether hee had the Queenes licence, or the licence of any other Prince or Lorde for his attempt. And he anſwered he had none, whereupon he and all his company were condemned to dye, and ſo were all executed, ſauing the Captaine, the Maſter, the Pilote, and fiue boyes which were carried to Lima, and there the Captaine was executed with the other two, but the boyes be yet liuing. The death of Iohn Oxnam.

The King of Spaine hauing intelligence of theſe matters, ſent 300. men of warre againſt thoſe Negroes which had aſſiſted thoſe Englisſh men, which before were ſlaues vnto the Spaniards, and, as before is ſayd, fled from their maſters into thoſe mountaines, and ſo ioyned themſelues to the Englisſh men, to the end they might the better reuenge themſelues on the Spaniards.

At the firſt comming of theſe 300. ſouldiers, they tooke many of the Negroes, and executed great iuſtice vpon them: But after a ſeaſon, the Negroes grewe wiſe and wary, and preuented the Spaniards, ſo that none of them could be taken.

The Spaniards of that Countrey marueiled much at this one thing, to ſee that ſince the conquering of this land, there hath bene many French men, that haue come to thoſe Countries, but neuer ſaw Englisſh men there but onely thoſe two of whom I haue ſpoken. And although there haue many French men bene on the coaſt, yet neuer durſt they put foote vpon land, onely thoſe two Englisſh men aduentured it, and did ſuch exploits, as are before remembred.

All theſe things comming to the hearing of the King of Spaine, he prouided two Gallies wel appointed to keepe thoſe coaſts: and the firſt yeere, they tooke ſixe or ſeuen French ſhips. And after that this was knowen, there were no more Englisſh men or French men of warre that durſt aduenture to approch the coaſt, vntill this preſent yeere 1586. that the aforeſayd Francis Drake, with a ſtrong Fleete of 24. ſhippes arriued there, and made ſpoyle of S. Domingo, Carthagena, and S. Auguſtine, things that are knowen to all the world. But it is likely that if the King of Spaine liue, he will in time prouide ſufficient remedy, to keepe his Countries, and ſubiects from the inuaſion of other nations. The Englisſh mens coming to the Indies, cauſed the King of Spaine to build Gallies to keepe the Seas.

A diſcourſe

A discourse written by Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight, to prooue *a Passage by the Northwest to Cathaia, and the East Indies.*

The Table of the matters conteined in euery Chapter of this discourse.

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Capitulo 5.

To prooue that such Indians as haue bene driuen vpon the coasts of Germanie came not thither by the Southeast, and Southwest, nor from any part of Afrike or America.

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To prooue that the Indians aforenamed came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorowe passage nauigable that way.

Capitulo 7.

To prooue that these Indians came by the Northwest, which inuceth a certaintie of this passage by experience.

Capitulo 8.

What seuerall reasons, were alleaged before the Queenes Maiestie, and certaine Lordes of her Highnesse priuie Counsel, by M. Ienkinson a Gentleman of great trauaile and experience, to prooue this passage by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres then alleaged to the same.

Capitulo 9.

Howe that this passage by the Northwest, is more commodious for our traffike, then the other by the Northeast, if there were any such.

Capitulo 10.

What commodities would ensue, this passage being once discouered.

To prooue by authoritie a Passage to be on the North side of A- *merica, to goe to Cathaia, and the East India.*

Chapter 1.

WHen I gaue my selfe to the studie of Geographie, after I had perused and diligently scanned the descriptions of Europe, Asia, and Afrike, and conferred them with the Mappes and Globes both Antique and Moderne: I came in fine to the fourth part of the world, commonly called America, which by all descriptions I found to be an Iland enuironed round about with the Sea, hauing on the Southside of it, the frete, or straight of Magellan, on the West side Mare de sur, which Sea runneth towards the North, separating it from the East partes of Asia, where the Dominions of the Cathaians are. On the East part our West Ocean, and on the North side the Sea that seuereth it from Groneland, thorowe which Northren Seas, the Passage lyeth, which I take nowe in hand to discouer.

Plato in Timæo, and in the Dialogue called Critias, discourseth of an incomparable great Iland, then called Atlantis, being greater then all Affrike, and Asia, which lay Westward from the Straights of Gibralter, nauigable round about: affirming also that the Princes of Atlantis, did aswell enioy ỹ gouernance of all Affrike, & the most part of Europe, as of Atlantis it selfe.

Also to prooue Platoes opinion of this Iland, and the inhabiting of it in auncient time, by them of Europe, to be of the more credite: Marinæus Siculus, in his Chronicle of Spaine, reporteth that there hath bene found by the Spaniards, in the Golde Mines of America, certaine pieces of Money, ingraued with the Image of Augustus Cæsar: which pieces were sent to the Pope, for a testimonie of the matter, by Iohn Rufus, Archbyshop of Consentinum.

Moreouer, this was not only thought of Plato, but by Marsilius Ficinus, an excellent Florentine Philosopher,

Philosopher, Crantor the Græcian, Proclus, also Philo the famous Iewe, (as appeareth in his booke De Mundo, and in the Commentaries vpon Plato) to be ouerflowen, and swallowed vp with water, by reason of a mighty earthquake, and streaming down of the heauenly Fludgates. The like whereof happened vnto some part of Italie, when by the forciblenes of the Sea, called Superum, it cut of Sicilia from the Continent of Calabria, as appeareth in Iustine, in the beginning of his fourth booke. Also there chaunced the like in Zeland a part of Flanders. Proclus pag. 24. Iustine Lib. 4.

And also the cities of Pyrrha, and Antissa, about Meotis palus: and also, the citie Burys, in the Corynthian bosome, commonly called Sinus Corinthiacus, haue bene swallowed vp with the sea, and are not at this day to bee discerned: By which accident, America grew to bee vnknowen of long time, vnto vs of the later ages, and was lately discouered againe, by Americus Vespucius, in the yere of our Lord, 1497. which some say to haue bene first discouered, by Christophorus Columbus a Genuest. Anno. 1492. Plinie.

The same calamitie happened vnto this Isle of Atlantis 600. and odde yeres before Plato his time, which some of the people of the southeast partes of the world accompted as 9000. yeeres: for the manner then was to reken the moone her Period of the Zodiak for a yeere, which is, our vsuall moneth, depending à Luminari minore.

So that in these our dayes there can no other mayne or Islande be found or iudged to bee parcell of this Atlantis, then those Westerne Islands, which beare now the name of America: counteruailing thereby the name of Atlantis, in the knowlcoge of our age.

Then, if when no part of the said Athlantis was oppressed by water, & earthquake, the coasts round about the same were nauigable: a farre greater hope nowe remaineth of the same by the Northwest, seeing the most part of it was, since that time, swallowed vp with water, which could not vtterly take away the old deepes and chanels, but rather, be an occasion of the inlarging of the olde, and also an inforcing of a great many newe: why then shoulde we nowe doubt of our Northwest passage & nauigation from England to India? &c. seeing that Athlantis nowe called America, was euer knowen to be an Island, and in those dayes nauigable round about, which, by accesse of more water coulde not be diminished. A minore a maius.

Also Aristotle in this booke de Mundo, and the learned Germaine, Simon Grynæus in his annotations vpon the same, saith that the whole earth (meaning thereby as manifestly doeth appeare, Asia, Africk, and Europe, being all the countries then knowen) to be but one Island, compassed about with the reach of the Sea Atlantine: which likewise appertaineth America to bee an Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, or the rest.

Also many Auncient writers, as Strabo and others, called both the Ocean sea (which lieth East of India) Atlanticum pelagus, and that Sea also on the West coastes of Spayne and Afrik, Mare Atlanticum: the distance betweene the two coastes, is almost halfe the compasse of the earth. Strabo lib. 15.

So that it is incredible, as by Plato appeareth manifestly, that the East Indian Sea had the name Atlanticum pelagus, of the mountaine Atlas in Africk, or yet the Sea adioyning to Afrik, or yet the Sea adioyning to Afrik had name Oceanus Atlanticus, of the same mountaine: but that those Seas and the mountaine Atlas, were so called of this great Island Atlantis, and that the one and the other, had their names for a memoriall of the mightie prince Atlas, sometime King thereof, who was Iaphet yongest sonne to Noah, in whose time the whole earth was deuided betweene the three brethren, Sem, Cam, and Iaphet. Valerius Anselmus in Catago annorum et principium. fol. 6. Gen. 9. 10.

Wherefore I am of opinion that America by the Northwest, will be founde fauourable to this our enterprise, and am the rather imboldened to beleeue the same, for that I finde it not only confirmed by Plato, Aristotle, and other ancient Philosophers: but also by all the best moderne Geographers, as (Gemma Frisius, Munsterus, Appianus. Hunterus, Gastaldus, Guyceardinus, Michael Tramesinus, Franciscus Demongenitus, Barnardus Puteanus, Andreas Vauasor, Tramontanus, Petrus Martyr, and also Ortelius) who doth coast out in his generall Mappe (set out Anno 1569. all the countreys and capes, on the Northwestside of America, from Hochelega to C. De Paramantia: describing likewise the sea coastes of Cataia and Grondland, towards any part of America, making both Grondland and America, Islands distoyned by a great sea, from any part of Asia.

All which learned men and paineful trauellers haue affirmed, with one consent and voice, that America was an Island: and that there lyeth a great Sea betweene it, Cataia, and Grondland, by the which any man of our countrey, that will giue the attempt, may with smal danger passe to Cataia, the Moluccæ, India, and all other places in the East, in much shorter time, then either the Spaniard, or Portingale doeth, or may doe, from the neerest parte of any of their countreis

treis within Europe.

We ought by reasons right to haue a reuerent opinion of worthy men.

What moued these learned men to affirme thus much, I know not, or to what end so many and sundry trauellers, of both ages, haue allowed the same: But I coniecture that they would neuer haue so constantly affirmed, or notified their opinions therein to the world, if they had not had great good cause, and many probable reasons, to haue lead them thereunto.

Now least you should make final accompt of ancient writers or of their experiences which trauelled long before our times, reckoning their authoritie amongst fables of no importance: I haue for the better assurance of those proofes, set downe some part of a discourse, written in the Saxon tongue, and translated into English by M. Nowel seruant to Maister Secretarie Cecill, wherein there is described a Nauigation, which one Ochther made, in the time of King Alfred, King of Westsaxe Anno. 871. the wordes of which discourse were these: He sailed right North, hauing alwaies the desert land on the Starborde, and on the Larbord the mayne sea, continuing his course, vntill he perceiued that the coast bowed directly towardes the East, or else the Sea opened into the lande he could not tel how far, where he was compelled to stay vntil hee had a westerne winde, or somewhat vpon the North and sayled thence directly East, alongst the coast, so farre as he was able in foure dayes, where he was againe inforced to tary vntill he had a North winde, because the coast there bowed directly towards the South, or at least opened he knew not how far into the land, so that he sayled thence along the coast continually ful South, so far as he could trauel in the space of fiue dayes, where he discouered a mightie riuer, which opened far into the lande, and in the entrie of this riuer he turned backe againe.

Now Lorde Burleigh & high Treasurer of England.

A Nauigation of one Ochther made in king Alfreds time.

A perfect description of our Muscouia voyage.

Whereby it appeareth, that he went the very same way, that we now do yerely trade by S. Nicholas into Muscouia, which way no man in our age knew, for certaintie to be sea, vntil it was since discouered by our English men, in the time of King Edward the sixt: but thought before that time that Groneland had ioyned to Normoria Byarmia, & therefore was accompted a new discouerie, being nothing so in deede, as by this discourse of Ochthers it appeareth.

By Sir Hugh Wyllouhby, knight, Chancellor and Borough.

Neuertheless if any man should haue taken this voiage in hand, by the incouragment of this onely author, he shoulde haue bene thought but simple: considering that this Nauigation was written so many yeres past, in so barbarous a tongue by one onely obsure author, and yet wee in in these our dayes finde by our owne experiences, his former reports to be true.

Howe much more then, ought we to beleeue this passage to Cataia to be, being verified by the opinions of all the best, both Antique, and Moderne Geographers, and plainly set out in the best and most allowed Mappes, Charts, Globes, Cosmographical tables, and discourses of this our age, and by the rest not denyed, but left as a matter doubtfull.

To proue by reason, a passage to be on the Northside *of* America: *to goe to* Cataia, *&c.*

CHAP 2.

Experimented by our english fishers.

FIrst, all seas are mainetained by the abundance of water, so that the neerer the ende, any Riuer, Baye or Hauen is, the shallower it wareth, (although by some Accidental barre, it is sometime found otherwise) But the farther you saile West, from Island, towards the place, where this fretis thought to be, the more deeper are the seas: which giueth vs good hope, of continuance of the same sea, with Mare del Sur, by some frete that lyeth betweene America, Groneland, and Cataia.

2 Also, if that America were not an Islande, but a part of the continent adioyning to Asia, either the people which inhabite Mangia, Anian, and Quinzay, &c. being borderers vpon it, would before this time, haue made some roade into it: hoping to haue found some like commodities to their owne:

Neede makes the old wife to trotte.

3 Or els the Scythians, and Tartarians (which often times heretofore, haue sought far & nere, for new seats, driuen thereunto, through the necessitie of their colde, and miserable countreys) would in all this time, haue found the way to America, and entred the same, had the passages bene neuer so straite, or difficult: the countrie being so temperate, pleasant and fruitful, in comparison of their own. But there was neuer any such people found there, by any of the Spaniards, Portingals, or Frenchmen, who first discouered the Inland of that Countrie: which Spaniards, or Frenchmen, must then of necessitie, haue seene some one Ciuil man in America, considering how ful of ciuil people Asia is: But they neuer sawe so much as one token, or signe, that euer any man of the knowen part of the world, had beene there.

4 Furthermore,

4 Furthermore, it is to be thought, that if by reason of mountaines, or other craggy places, the people neither of Cataia, or Tartarie coulde enter the countrie of America, or they of America, haue entred Asia, if it were so ioyned: yet some one sauage, or wandring beast would in so many yeeres, haue passed into it: but there hath not any time bene found any of the beasts proper to Cataia, or Tartarie &c. in America: nor of those proper to America, in Tartarie, Cataia, &c. or any part of Asia. Which thing proueth America, not only to be one Island, and in no part adioyning to Asia, But also that the people of those Countreys, haue not had any traffyke with eache other.

5 Moreouer at the least some one of those paineful trauellers, which of purpose haue passed the Confines of both countreis, with intent only to discouer, would, as it is most likely haue gone from the one to the other: if there had bene any piece of land, or Isthmos, to haue ioyned them together, or else haue declared some cause to the contrary.

6 But neither Paulus venetus, who lyued, and dwelt a long time, in Cataia, euer came into America, and yet was at the Sea coastes of Mangia, ouer against it, where he was imbarked, and performed a great Nauigation along those Seas: Neither yet Verarzanus, or Franciscus vasques de Coronado, who trauelled the North parte of America by lande, euer found entry from thence by land, to Cataia, or any part of Asia.

7 Also it appeareth to be an Island, insomuch as the Sea runneth by nature circularly, from the East to the West, following the Diurnal motion of Primum Mobile, and carieth with it all inferiour bodies moueable, aswel celestial, as elementall: which motion of the waters, is most euidently seene in the Sea, which lyeth on the Southside of Afrik, where the currant that runneth from the East to the West, is so strong (by reason of such motion) that their Portingals in the voyages, Eastward to Callecute, in passing by Cap, De buona sperança, are enforced to make diuers courses, the currant there being so swift, as it striketh from thence, all along Westward, vpon the fret of Magellan, being distant from thence, neere the fourth part of the longitude of the earth: and not hauing free passage and entrance, thorow that fret towardes the West, by reason of the narrownes of the said straite of Magellan, it ruuneth to salue this wrong (Nature not yelding to accidentall restraints) all along the Easterne coasts of America, Northwardes, so farre as Cap. Fredo, being the farthest knowen place of the same continent, towards the North: which is about, 4800. leagues, reconing therewithal the trending of the land.

The Sea hath three motions.
1 Motum ab oriente in occidentem.
2 Motum fluxus et refluxus.
3 Motum circularem.
Ad cæli motum elementa omnia (excepta terra) mouentur.

8 So that this Currant, being continually mainteined with such force, as Iaques Cartier affirmeth it to be, who met with the same being at Baccalaos, as he sailed alongst the coastes of America, then, either it must of necessitie, haue way to passe from Cap Fredo, thorowe this frete, Westward towardes Cataia, being knowen to come so farre, onely to salue his former wrongs, by the authoritie before named: or els it must needes strike ouer, vpon the coast of Island, Lappia, Finmarke, and Norway, (which are East from the said place, about 360. Leagues) with greater force, then it did from Cap. de buona Sperança, vpon the fret of Magellan or from the frete of Magellan to Cap. Fredo, vpon which coastes, Iaques Cartier mette with the same, considering the shortnesse of the Cut, from the saide C. Fredro, to Island, Lappia, &c. And so the cause Efficient remaining, it would haue continually followed along our coasts, through the narrowe seas, which it doth not, but is digested about the North of Labrador, by some through passage there, thorow this fret.

Posita causa, ponitur effectus.

The like course of the water, in some respect, happeneth in the Mediterrane Sea (as affirmeth Conterenus) whereas the currant, which commeth from Tanais, & the Euxinus, running along all the coasts of Greece, Italie, France and Spaine, and not finding sufficient way out through Gibralter, by meanes of the straitnesse of the fret, it runneth backe againe, alongst the coasts of Barbarie, by Alexandria, Natolia, &c.

Conterenus.

It may (peraduenture) bee thought that this course of the sea, doth sometime surcease, and thereby impugne this principle, because it is not discerned all along the coast of America, in such sort as Iaques Cartier found it: Whereunto I answere this: that albeit, in euery part of the Coast of America, or els where, this Currant is not sensibly perceiued, yet, it hath euermore such like motion, either the vppermost, or nethermost part of the sea: as it may bee proued true, if ye sinke a sayle by a couple of ropes, neere the grounde, fastening to the nethermost corners, two gunne chambers or other weights: by the driuing whereof you shall plainely perceiue, the course of the water, and Currant, running with such like course in the bottome.

An Obiection answered. The Sea doth euermore performe this circular motion, either in Suprema, or concaua superficie aquæ.

By the like experiment, you may finde the ordinarie motion of the sea, in the Ocean: howe farre soeuer you be off the land.

9 Also there commeth another Currant from out the Northeast from the Sythian Sea (as

M. Ienkinson

M. Ienkinson a man of rare vertue, great trauaile and experience, told me) which runneth Westward towardes Labrador, as the other did, which commeth from the South: so that both these Currants, must haue way thorow this our frete, or else incounter together and runne contrary courses, in one line, but no such conflictes of streames, or contrary courses are found about any part of Labrador, or Terra noua, as witnesse our yeerely fishers, and other saylers that way, but is there disgested, as aforesaid, and founde by the experience of Barnard de la Torre, to fall into Mare del Sur.

10 Furthermore, the Currant in the great Ocean, coulde not haue beene mainteined to runne continually one way, from the beginning of the world, vnto this day, had there not bene some thorow passage by the frete aforesaide, and so by circular motion, bee brought againe to maintaine it selfe: For the Tides, and courses of the Sea are maintained by their interchangeable motions: as fresh riuers are by springes, by ebbing and flowing, by rarifaction and condensation.

The flowing is occasioned by reason that the heate of the moone boyleth, and maketh the water thinne by way of rarefaction. An experience to proue the falling of this Currant, into Mare del sur.

So that it resteth not possible (so farre as my simple reason can comprehend) that this perpetuall currant, can by any meanes be maintained, but onely by continuall reaccesse of the same water, which passeth thorow the fret, and is brought about thither againe, by such Circular motion as aforesaid. And the certaine falling therof by this fret into Mare del Sur, is proued by the testimonie & experience, of Barnarde del la Torre, who was sent from P. del la Natiuidad to the Molluccæ, Anno domini 1542. by commaundement of Anthonie Mendoza, then Viceroy of Noua Hispania, which Barnarde, sayled 750. Leagues, on the Notthside of the Æquator, and there met with a currant, which came from Northeast the which droue him backe againe to Tidore.

Wherefore, this currant being proued to come from C. de buona Speranca, to the fret of Magellan, and wanting sufficient entrance there, by narrownes of the straite, is by the necessitie of natures force, brought to Terra de Labrador, where Iacques Cartier met the same, and thence certainly knowen, not to strike ouer vpon Island, Lappia, &c. and found by Barnard de la Torre, in Mare del Sur, on the backeside of America, therefore this currant (hauing none other passage) must of necessity, fal out thorow this our fret into Mare del Sur, and so trending by the Molluccæ, China, and C. De buona speranza, maintaineth it selfe by circular motion, which is all one in nature, with Motus ab Oriente in Occidentem.

So that it seemeth, we haue now more occasion to doubt of our returne, then whether there be a passage that way, yea or no: which doubt, hereafter shalbe sufficiently remooued. Wherefore, in mine opinion, reason it self, grounded vpon experience, assureth vs of this passage, if there were nothing els to put vs in hope thereof. But least these might not suffice, I haue added in this Chapter following, some further proofe hereof, by the experience of such as haue passed some part of this discouerie: and in the next adioyning to that the authoritie of those, which haue sayled wholy, thorow euery part thereof.

To prooue by experience of sundrie mens trauels, the opening *of some part of this Northwest passage: whereby good hope* remaineth of the rest.

CHAP. 3

PAulus Venetus, who dwelt many yeeres in Cataia, affirmed that he sailed 1500 miles, vpon the coastes of Mangia, and Anian, towardes the Northeast: alwayes finding the Seas open before him, not onely as farre as he went: but also as farre as he could discerne.

2 Also Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passing from Mexico by Ceuola, through the countrey of Quiuir, to Sierra Neuada, found there a great Sea, where were certaine Shippes laden with Merchandise, the mariners wearing on their heads the pictures of certaine birds, called Alcatrarzi, part wherof were made of golde, and part of siluer: who signified by signes, that they were thirtie dayes comming thither: which likewise proueth America by experience to bee disioyned from Cataia, on that part, by a great Sea, because they could not come from any part of America, as Natiues therof: for that, so farre as is discouered, there hath not bene founde there any one Shippe of that countrey.

Baros lib. 9. Of his first Decas, cap. 1.

3 In like maner, Iohan. Baros, testifieth that the Cosmographers of China (where hee himselfe

ſelfe had bene) affirme that the Sea coaſt, trendeth from thence Northeaſt, to 50. degrees of Septentrionall latitude, being the fartheſt part that way, which the Portingals had then knowledge of: And that the ſaide Coſmographers knewe no cauſe to the contrary, but that it might continue further.

By whoſe experiences, America is proued to be ſeparate from thoſe partes of Aſia, directly againſt the ſame. And not contented with the iudgements of theſe learned men onely, I haue ſearched what might be further ſaid for the confirmation hereof.

4 And I found that Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara affirmeth, America to be an Iland, and likewiſe Grondland: and that Grondland is diſtant from Lappia 40. leagues, and from Terra de Labrador, 50.

5 Moreouer, Aluarus Nunnius a Spaniard, and learned Coſmographer, and Iacobus Cartier, who made two voyages into thoſe partes, and ſayled 500. myles vpon the Northeaſt coaſtes of America.

6 Likewiſe Hieronimus Fracaſtorius, a learned Italian, and trauailer in the North partes of the ſame land.

7 Alſo Iaques Cartier hauing done the like, heard ſay at Hochelaga in Noua Francia, howe that there was a great Sea at Saguinay, whereof the end was not knowen: which they preſuppoſed to be the paſſage to Cataia.

Written in the diſcourſes of Nauigation.

Furthermore, Sebaſtian Cabota, by his perſonal experience and trauell hath ſet foorth, and deſcribed this paſſage in his Charts, which are yet to be ſeene in the Queenes Maieſties priuie Gallerie at Whitehall, who was ſent to make this diſcouerie by king Henrie the ſeuenth, and entred the ſame frett: affirming, that he ſayled very farre Weſtward, with a quarter of the North, on the Northſide of Terra de Labrador, the eleuenth of June, vntill he came to the Septentrionall latitude of 67. & a halfe degrees, and finding the Seas ſtill open, ſaid, that he might, and would haue gone to Cataia, if the mutinie of the Maſter and Mariners had not bene.

Now as theſe mens experience hath proued ſome part of this paſſage: ſo the chapter following ſhall put you in full aſſurance of the reſt, by their experiences which haue paſſed through euery part thereof.

To prooue by circumſtance that the Northweſt paſſage *hath bene ſailed throughout.*

Cap. 4.

THe diuerſitie betweene bruite beaſtes and men, or betweene the wiſe and the ſimple is, that the one iudgeth by ſenſe onely, and gathereth no ſuertie of any thing that he hath not ſeene, fealt, heard, taſted, or ſmelled: And the other not ſo onely, but alſo findeth the certaintie of things by reaſon, before they happen to be tryed. Wherefore I haue added proofes of both ſortes, that the one and the other might thereby be ſatisfied.

Quinque ſenſus.
1 Viſus.
2 Auditus.
3 Olfactus.
4 Guſtus.
5 Tactus.
Singularia ſenſu, vniuerſalia verò mente percipiuntur.

1 Firſt, as Gemma Friſius reciteth, there went from Europe three brethren through this paſſage: whereof it tooke the name of Fretum trium fratrum.

2 Alſo Plinie affirmeth out of Cornelius Nepos, (who wrote 57. yeeres before Chriſt) that there were certaine Indians driuen by tempeſt, vpon the coaſt of Germanie which were preſented by the king of Sueuia, vnto Quintus Metellus Celer, then Proconſull of France.

3 And Plinie vpon the ſame faith, that it is no maruell though there be Sea by the North, where there is ſuch abundance of moiſture: which argueth, that he doubted not of a nauigable paſſage that way, through which thoſe Indians came. Lib. 2. cap. 66.

4 And for the better proofe that the ſame authoritie of Cornelius Nepos, is not by me wreſted, to proue my opinion of the Northweſt paſſage: you ſhall finde the ſame affirmed more plainely in that behalfe, by the excellent Geographer Dominicus Marius Niger, who ſheweth howe many wayes the Indian Sea ſtretcheth it ſelfe, making in that place recital of certaine Indians, that were likewiſe driuen through the North Seas from India, vpon the coaſtes of Germanie, by great tempeſt, as they were ſayling in trade of merchandize. Pag. 590.

5 Alſo whiles Frederic Barbaroſſa reigned Emperour, Anno Do. 1160. there came certaine other Indians vpon the coaſt of Germanie. Touched by Franciſcus Lopes de Gomara in his hiſtorie of India, lib. 1. cap. 10.

6 Likewiſe Othon, in the ſtorie of the Gothes affirmeth, that in the time of the Germane Emperours, there were alſo certaine Indians caſt by force of weather, vpon the coaſt of the

said countrey, which foresaid Indians could not possibly haue come by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any part of Affrike or America, nor yet by the Northeast: therefore they came of necessitie by this our Northwest passage.

To proove that these Indians aforenamed, came not by the Southeast, Southwest, nor from any other part of Affrike, or America.

Cap. 5.

FIrst, they could not come from the Southeast by Cape de buona Sperança, because the roughnesse of the Seas there is such (occasioned by the currants and great winds in that part) that the greatest Armadoes the king of Portingal hath, cannot without great difficultie passe that way, much lesse then a Canoa of India could liue in those outragious seas without shipwracke (being a vessell but of very small burden) and haue conducted themselues to the place aforesayd, beyng men vnexpert in the Arte of nauigation.

2 Also, it appeareth plainly that they were not able to come from alongst the coast of Affrike aforesaid, to those partes of Europe, because the windes doe (for the most part) blow there Easterlie off from the shore, and the currant running that way in like sort, should haue driuen them Westward vpon some part of America, for such windes and tides could neuer haue led them from thence to the said place where they were found, nor yet could they haue come from any of the countries aforesaid, keeping the seas alwayes, without skilfull mariners to haue conducted them such like courses as were necessarie to performe such a voiage.

3 Presupposing also, if they had bene driuen to the West (as they must haue bene, comming that way) then they should haue perished, wanting supplie of victuals, not hauing any place (once leauing the coast of Affrike) vntill they came to America, nor from America, vntill they arriued vpon some part of Europe, or the Islands adioining to it to haue refreshed themselues.

4 Also, if (notwithstanding such impossibilities) they might haue recouered Germanie, by comming from India by the Southeast, yet must they without all doubt haue striken vpon some other part of Europe before their arriuall there, as the Iles of Madera, Portingall, Spaine, France, England, Ireland, &c. which if they had done, it is not credible that they should or would haue departed vndiscouered of the inhabitants: but there was neuer found in those dayes any such ship or men, but onely vpon the coasts of Germanie, where they haue bin sundry times and in sundrie ages cast a land: neither is it like that they would haue committed themselues againe to sea, if they had so arriued, not knowing where they were, nor whither to haue gone.

Why the Indians could not come by the Southwest.

5 And by the Southwest it is vnpossible, because the currant aforesaid which commeth from the East, striketh with such force vpon the fret of Magellan, and falleth with such swiftnesse and furie into Mare de Zur, that hardly any ship (but not possible a Canoa, with such vnskilfull mariners) can come into our Westerne Ocean through that fret, from the West seas of America, as Magellans experience hath partly taught vs.

That the Indians could not be natiues either of Affrica, or of America.

6 And further, to proove that these people so arriuing vpon the coast of Germanie, were Indians, and not inhabiters of any part either of Affrica or America, it is manifest, because the natiues both of Affrica and America, neither had, or haue at this day (as is reported) other kind of boates then such as do beare neither maste nor saile, (except onely vpon the coasts of Barbarie and the Turkes ships) but do carie themselues from place to place neere the shore, by the oze onely.

To proove that those Indians came not by the Northeast, and that there is no thorow Nauigable passage that way.

Cap. 6.

IT is likely that there should be no thorow passage by the Northeast, whereby to goe round about the world, because all Seas (as aforesayd) are maintained by the abundance of water, waxing more shallow and shelfie towards the ende, as we find, it doeth by experience, in Mare Glaciali, towards the East, which breedeth small hope of any great continuance of that sea, to be nauigable towards the East, sufficient to saile thereby round about the world.

2 Also, it standeth scarcely with reason, that the Indians dwelling vnder Torrida Zona, could indure the iniurie of the cold ayre, about the Septentrionall latitude of 80. degrees, vnder which eleuation, the passage by the Northeast, cannot bee (as the often experience had of all the South partes of it sheweth) seeing that some of the inhabitants of this cold climate (whose Sommer is to them an extreme Winter) haue bene stroken to death, with the cold damps of the aire, about 72 degrees, by an accidentall mishap, and yet the aire in such like Eleuation is alwayes cold, and too cold for such as the Indians are.

Quicquid naturali loco priuatur, quam citissimè corrumpitur.

Qualis causa, talis effectus.

3 Furthermore, the piercing cold of the grosse thicke aire so neere the Pole, will so stiffen and furre the sailes and ship tackling, that no mariner can either hoise or strike them (as our experience farre neerer the South, then this passage is presupposed to bee, hath taught vs) without the vse whereof no voiage can be performed.

4 Also, the aire is so darkened with continuall mistes and fogs so neere the Pole, that no man can well see, either to guide his ship, or direct his course.

5 Also the compasse at such eleuation doeth very suddenly varie, which things must of force haue bene their destructions, although they had bene men of much more skill then the Indians are.

6 Moreouer, all Baies, Gulfes and Riuers doe receiue their increase vpon the flood, sensiblie to be discerned on the one side of the shore or the other, as many wayes as they be open to any main Sea, as Mare Mediterraneum, Mare Rubrum, Sinus Persicus, Sinus Bodicus, Thamesis, and all other knowen hauens or riuers in any part of the world, and each of them opening but on one part to the maine sea, doe likewise receiue their encrease vpon the flood the same way, and none other, which Mare Glaciale doeth, onely by the West (as M. Jenkinson affirmed vnto me) and therfore it followeth that this Northeast sea, receiuing increase but onely from the West, cannot possiblie open to the maine Ocean by the East.

Similium similis est ratio.

7 Moreouer, the farther you passe into any sea towards the end of it, on that part which is shut vp from the maine Sea (as in all those abone mentioned) the lesse and lesse the tides rise and fall. The like whereof also happeneth in Mare Glaciale, which prooueth but small continuance of that Sea toward the East.

8 Also, the further ye goe toward the East in Mare Glaciale, the lesse salt the water is: which could not happen, if it were open to the salt Sea towards the East, as it is to the West onely, seeing (Euery thing naturally ingendereth his like) and then must it bee like salt throughout, as all the seas are, in such like climate and eleuation.

Quicquid corrumpitur à contrario corrumpitur.

And therefore it seemeth that this Northeast sea is maintained by the riuer Ob, and such like freshets as Mare Goticum, and Mare Mediterraneum, in the vppermost parts thereof by the riuer Nilus, Danubius, Neper, Tanais, &c.

Omne simile gignit sui simile.

9 Furthermore, if there were any such Sea at that eleuation, of like it should be alwayes frosen throughout (there being no tides to hinder it) because the extreme coldnesse of the aire in the vppermost part, and the extreme coldnesse of the earth in the bottome, the sea there being but of small depth, whereby the one accidentall coldnesse doeth meet with the other, and the Sunne not hauing his reflection so neere the Pole, but at very blunt angles, it can neuer bee dissolued after it is frosen, notwithstanding the great length of their day: for that the sunne hath no heate at all in his light or beames, but proceeding onely by an accidentall reflection, which there wanteth in effect.

10 And yet if the Sunne were of sufficient force in that eleuation, to preuaile against this ice, yet must it be broken before it can be dissolued, which cannot bee but through the long continuance of the sunne aboue their Horizon, and by that time the Sommer would be so farre spent, and so great darkenes and cold ensue, that no man could be able to endure so cold, darke, and discomfortable a nauigation, if it were possible for him then, and there to liue.

11 Further, the Ice being once broken, it must of force so driue with the windes and tides, that no shippe can saile in those seas, seeing our Fishers of Island, and the New found land, are subiect to danger through the great Islands of Ice which fleete in the Seas (to the sailers great danger) farre to the South of that presupposed passage.

12 And it cannot be that this Northeast passage should bee any neerer the South, then before recited, for then it should cut of Ciremissi, and Turbi, Tartarij, with Vzesucani, Chisani, and others from the Continent of Asia, which are knowen to be adioining to Scythia, Tartaria, &c. with the other part of the same Continent.

And if there were any thorow passage by the Northeast, yet were it to small ende and purpose for our traffique, because no shippe of great burden can Nauigate in so shallow a Sea:

and ships of small burdē are very vnfit and vnprofitable, especially towards the blustering North, to performe such a voiage.

To prooue that the Indians aforenamed, came onely by the *Northwest, which induceth a certaintie of our passage* by experience.

Cap. 7.

IT is as likely that they came by the Northwest, as it is vnlikely that they should come either by the Southeast, Southwest, Northeast, or from any other part of Africa or America, and therefore this Northwest passage hauing bene alreadie so many wayes prooued, by disprooving of the others, &c. I shall the lesse need in this place, to vse many wordes otherwise then to conclude in this sort, That they came onely by the Northwest from England, hauing these many reasons to lead me thereunto.

1 First, the one halfe of the windes of the compasse might bring them by the Northwest, bearing alwayes betweene two sheats, with which kinde of sayling the Indians are onely acquainted, not hauing any vse of a bowe line, or quarter winde, without the which no shippe can possibly come either by the Southeast, Southwest or Northeast, hauing so many sundry Capes to double, whereunto are required such change and shift of windes.

True, both is ventis obliquè flantibus, as also in ventis ex diametro spirantibus.

2 And it seemeth likely that they should come by the Northwest, because the coast whereon they were driuen, lay East from this our passage, And all windes doe naturally driue a ship to an opposite point from whence it bloweth, not being otherwise guided by Arte, which the Indians do vtterly want, and therefore it seemeth that they came directly through this our fret, which they might doe with one wind.

3 For if they had come by Cape de buona Sperança, then must they (as aforesaid) haue fallen vpon the South partes of America.

4 And if by the fret of Magellan, then vpon the coasts of Affrike, Spaine, Portingall, France, Ireland or England.

5 And if by the Northeast, then vpon the coasts of Ceremissi, Tartarij, Lappia, Island, Terra de Labrador, &c. and vpon these coasts (as aforesaid) they haue neuer bene found.

So that by all likelihood they could neuer haue come without shipwracke vpon the coastes of Germanie, if they had first striken vpon the coastes of so many countries, wanting both Arte and shipping to make orderly discouerie, and altogether ignorant both in the Arte of Nauigation, and also of the Rockes, Flats, Sands or Hauens of those parts of the world, which in most of these places are plentifull.

6 And further it seemeth very likely, that the inhabitaunts of the most part of those countries, by which they must haue come any other way besides by the Northwest, being for the most part Anthropophagi, or men eaters, would haue deuoured them, slaine them, or (at the least wise) kept them as wonders for the gaze.

So that it plainly appeareth that those Indians (which as you haue heard in sundrie ages were driuen by tempest vpon the shore of Germanie) came onely through our Northwest passage.

7 Moreouer, the passage is certainely prooued by a Nauigation that a Portingall made, who passed through this fret, giuing name to a Promontorie farre within the same, calling it after his owne name, Promontorium Corterialis, neere adioining vnto Polisacus fluuius.

8 Also one Scolmus a Dane, entred and passed a great part thereof.

9 Also there was one Salua Terra, a Gentleman of Victoria in Spaine, that came by chance out of the West Indias, into Ireland, Anno 1568. who affirmed the Northwest passage from vs to Cataia, constantly to be beleeued in America nauigable. And further said in the presence of sir Henry Sidney (then lord Deputie of Ireland) in my hearing, that a Frier of Mexico, called Andro Vrdaneta, more then eight yeeres before his then comming into Ireland, tolde him there, that he came frō Mare del Sur into Germanie through this Northwest passage, and shewed Salua Terra (at that time being then with him in Mexico) a Sea Card made by his owne experience and trauell in that voiage, wherein was plainly set downe and described this Northwest passage, agreeing in all points with Ortelius mappe.

And

And further, this Frier tolde the king of Portingall (as hee returned by that countrey homeward) that there was (of certaintie) ſuch a paſſage Northweſt from England, and that he meant to publiſh the ſame: which done, the king moſt earneſtly deſired him not in any wiſe to diſcloſe or make the paſſage knowen to any nation: For that (ſayde the king) if England had knowledge and experience thereof, it would greatly hinder both the king of Spayne and me. This Frier (as Salua Terra reported) was the greateſt Diſcouerer by ſea, that hath bene in our age. Alſo Salua Terra, being perſwaded of this paſſage by the frier Vrdaneta, and by the common opinion of the Spaniards inhabiting America, offered moſt willingly to accompanie mee in this Diſcouerie, which of like he would not haue done if he had ſtood in doubt thereof.

The words of the king of Portingall, to Andrio Vrdaneta a Frier, touching the concealing of this Northweſt paſſage from England to Cataia.

And now as theſe moderne experiences cannot be impugned, ſo, leaſt it might be obiected that theſe things (gathered out of ancient writers, which wrote ſo many yeeres paſt) might ſerue little to prooue this paſſage by the North of America, becauſe both America and India were to them then vtterly vnknowen: to remooue this doubt, let this ſuffiſe: That Ariſtotle, (who was 300. yeeres before Chriſt) named Mare Indicum. Alſo Beroſus (who liued 330. yeeres before Chriſt) hath theſe wordes, Ganges in India. Alſo in the firſt chapter of Heſter bee theſe wordes, In the dayes of Aſſuerus which ruled from India to Aethiopia, which Aſſuerus liued 580. yeeres before Chriſt. Alſo Quintus Curtius (where hee ſpeaketh of the Conqueſts of Alexander) mentioneth India. Alſo, Arianus Philoſtratus, and Sidrach in his diſcourſes of the warres of the king of Bactria, and of Garaab, who had the moſt part of India vnder his gouernment. All which aſſureth vs, that both India and Indians were knowen in thoſe dayes.

An obiection.

Ariſtotle lib. de mundo, cap. 2. Beroſus lib. 5.

Theſe things conſidered, we may (in my opinion) not onely aſſure our ſelues of this paſſage by the Northweſt, but alſo that it is nauigable both to come and goe, as hath bene prooued in part and in all, by the experience of diuers, as Sebaſtian Cabota, Corterialis, the three brethren abone named, the Indians, and Vrdaneta the Frier of Mexico, &c.

And yet notwithſtanding all which, there be ſome that haue a better hope of this paſſage to Cataia by the Northeaſt then by the Weſt, whoſe reaſons with my ſeuerall anſweres enſue in the chapter following.

Certaine reaſons alleaged for the proouing of a paſſage by the Northeaſt, before the Queenes Maieſtie, and certaine Lordes of the Counſell, by Maſter Anthonie Ienkinſon, with my ſeuerall anſweres then vſed to the ſame.

Cap. 8.

BEcauſe you may vnderſtand as well thoſe things alleaged againſt mee, as what doth ſerue for my purpoſe, I haue here added the reaſons of M. Anthonie Jenkinſon a worthie gentleman, and a great traueller, who conceiued a better hope of the paſſage to Cataia from vs, to be by the Northeaſt, then by the Northweſt.

He firſt ſaid that hee thought not to the contrary, but that there was a paſſage by the Northweſt, according to mine opinion: but aſſured he was, that there might be found a Nauigable paſſage by the Northeaſt from England, to goe to all the Eaſt parts of the world, which he endeuoured to prooue three wayes.

The Northweſt paſſage aſſented vnto.

The firſt was that he heard a Fiſherman of Tartaria ſay in hunting the Morce, that he ſailed very farre towards the Southeaſt, finding no ende of the Sea: whereby he hoped a thorow paſſage to be that way.

The firſt reaſon.

Whereunto I anſwered, that the Tartarians were a barbarous people, and vtterly ignorant in the Arte of Nauigation, not knowing the vſe of the Sea Carde, Compaſſe or Starre, which hee confeſſed true: and therefore they could not (ſaid I) certainly know the Southeaſt from the Northeaſt, in a wide ſea, and a place vnknowen from the ſight of the land.

The anſwer or reſolution.

Or if he ſailed any thing neere the ſhore, yet hee (being ignorant) might bee deceiued by the doubling of many points and Capes, and by the trending of the land, albeit he kept continually alongſt the ſhore.

And further, it might be that the poore Fiſherman through ſimplicitie, thought that there was nothing that way but Sea, becauſe hee ſawe no land: which proofe (vnder correction) giueth ſmall aſſurance of a Nauigable Sea by the Northeaſt, to goe rounde about the world, For that hee iudged by the eye onely, ſeeing wee in this our cleare ayre doe account twentie miles a ken at Sea.

Viſus nonnunquam fallitur in ſuo obiecto.

The second reason of allegation.

His second reason is, that there was an Unicornes horne found vpon the coast of Tartaria, which could not come (sayd he) thither by any other meanes then with the tides, through some fret in the Northeast of Mare Glaciale, there being no Unicorne in any part of Asia, sauing in India and Cataia, which reason (in my simple iudgement) forceth as litle.

The answer of resolution.

First, it is doubtfull whether those barbarous Tartarians do know an Unicornes horne, yea, or no: and if it were one, yet it is not credible that the Sea could haue driuen it so farre, being of such nature that it will not swimme.

Also the tides running too & fro, would haue driuen it as farre backe with the ebbe, as it brought it forward with the flood.

There is also a beast called Asinus Indicus (whose horne most like it was) which hath but one horne like an Unicorne in his forehead, whereof there is great plentie in all the North parts thereunto adioining, as in Lappia, Noruegia, Finmarke, &c. as Iacobus Zeiglerus writeth in his historie of Scondia.

And as Albertus saieth, there is a fish which hath but one horne in his forehead like to an Unicorne, and therefore it seemeth very doubtfull both from whence it came, and whether it were an Unicornes horne, yea, or no.

The third and last reason of assertion.

His third and last reason was, that there came a continuall streame or currant, through Mare Glaciale, of such swiftnesse (as a Colmax told him) that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be caried out of sight towards the West.

The answer of resolution.

Whereunto I answered, that there doth the like from Mæotis Palus, by Pontus Euxinus, Sinus Bosphorus, and along the coast of Græcia, &c. As it is affirmed by Contarenus, and diuers others that haue had experience of the same: and yet that Sea lieth not open to any maine Sea that way, but is maintained by freshets as by Tanais, Danubius, &c.

In like maner is this currant in Mare Glaciale increased and maintained by the Dwina, the riuer Ob, &c.

Now as I haue here briefly recited the reasons alleaged, to proue a passage to Cataia by the Northeast, with my seuerall answeres thereunto: so will I leaue it to your iudgement, to hope or dispaire of either at your pleasure.

How that the passage by the Northwest is more commodious for our traffique, then the other by the East, if there were any such.

Cap. 9.

FIrst, by the Northeast (if your windes doe not giue you a maruelous speedie and luckie passage) you are in danger (being so neere the Pole) to bee benighted almost the one half of the yeere, and what danger that were, to liue so long comfortlesse, void of light, (if the cold killed you not) each man of reason or vnderstanding may iudge.

2 Also Mangia, Quinzai, and the Molluccæ, are neerer vnto vs by the Northwest, then by the Northeast, more then two fiue parts, which is almost by the halfe.

3 Also we may haue by the West a yeerely returne, it being at all times nauigable, whereas you haue but 4. moneths in the whole yeere to goe by the Northeast: the passage being at such eleuation as it is formerly expressed, for it cannot be any neerer the South.

4 Furthermore, it cannot be finished without diuers wintrings by the way, hauing no hauens in any temperate climate to harbour in there: for it is as much as wee can well saile from hence to S. Nicholas, in the trade of Moscouia, and returne in the nauigable season of the yeere, and from S. Nicholas to Cerimissi Tartarij, which standeth at 80. degrees of the Septentrional latitude, it is at the lest 400. leagues, which amounteth scarce to the third part of the way, to the ende of your voiage by the Northeast.

5 And yet after you haue doubled this Cape, if then there might be found a nauigable Sea to carie you Southeast according to your desire, yet can you not winter conueniently, vntil you come to 60. degrees, and to take vp one degree running Southeast, you must saile 24. leagues and three foure partes, which amounteth to 495. leagues.

6 Furthermore, you may by the Northwest saile thither with all Easterlie windes, and returne with any Westerly windes, whereas you must haue by the Northeast sundrie windes, and those proper, according to the lying of the coast and Capes, you shall bee inforced to double,

which

which windes are not alwayes to be had, when they are looked for: whereby your iourney ſhould be greatly prolonged, and hardly endured ſo neere the Pole. As we are taught by ſir Hugh Willoughbie, who was frozen to death farre neerer the South.

7 Moreouer, it is very doubtfull, whether we ſhould long inioy that trade by the Northeaſt, if there were any ſuch paſſage that way, the commodities thereof once knowne to the Muſcouite, what priuilege ſoeuer he hath granted, ſeeing pollice with the maze of exceſſiue gaine, to the inriching (ſo greatly) of himſelfe and all his dominions, would perſuade him to preſume the ſame, hauing ſo great opportunitie, to vtter the commodities of thoſe countries by the Naruc.

But by the Northweſt, we may ſafely trade without danger, or annoyance of any prince liuing, Chriſtian or Heathen, it being out of all their trades.

8 Alſo the Queenes Maieſties dominions are neerer the Northweſt paſſage then any other great princes that might paſſe that way, and both in their going and returne, they muſt of neceſſitie ſuccour themſelues and their ſhippes vpon ſome part of the ſame, if any tempeſtuous weather ſhould happen.

Further, no princes nauie of the world, is able to incounter the Queenes Maieſties nauie, as it is at this preſent: and yet it ſhould be greatly increaſed by the traffike inſuing vpon this diſcouery, for it is the long voyages that increaſe and maintaine great ſhipping.

Now it ſeemeth neceſſarie, to declare what commodities would growe thereby, if all theſe things were, as we haue heeretofore preſuppoſed, and thought them to be: which next adioyning are briefly declared.

What commodities would enſue, this paſſage once *diſcouered.*

Chap. 10.

FIrſt, it were the onely way for our princes, to poſſeſſe the wealth of all the Eaſt parts (as they terme them) of the world, which is infinite: as appeareth by the experience of Alexander the great, in the time of his conqueſt of India, and other the Eaſt partes of the world, alleged by Quintus Curtius, which would be a great aduancement to our countrey, woonderfull inriching to our prince, and vnſpeakable commodities to all the inhabitants of Europe.

2 For through the ſhortneſſe of the voyage, we ſhould be able to ſell all maner of merchandize, brought from thence, farre better cheape then either the Portingall or Spanyard doth or may doe. And further, ſhare with the Portingall in the Eaſt, and the Spanyard in the Weſt, by trading to any part of America, thorow Mare del Sur, wherethey can no maner of way offend vs.

3 Alſo we ſayle to diuers maruellous rich countryes, both ciuill and others, out of both their iuriſdictions, trades and traffikes, where there is to be found great abundance of golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, cloth of golde, ſilkes, all maner of ſpices, grocery wares, and other kindes of merchandize of an inеſtimable price, which both the Spanyard and Portingall, through the length of their iournies, can not well attaine vnto.

4 Alſo we might inhabite ſome part of thoſe countryes, and ſettle there ſuch needie people of our countrey, which now trouble the common wealth, and through want heere at home, are inforced to commit outragious offences, whereby they are dayly conſumed with the gallowes.

5 Moreouer, we might from all the aforeſaid places haue a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our ſtaple ſome conuenient place of America, about Sierra Neuada, or ſome other part, whereas it ſhall ſeeme beſt for the ſhortning of the voyage.

6 Beſide vttering of our countrie commodities, which the Indians, &c. much eſteeme: as appeareth in Heſter, where the pompe is expreſſed of the great king of India, Aſſuerus, who matched the coloured clothes, where with his houſes and tents were apparelled, with golde and ſiluer, as part of his greateſt treaſure: not mentioning either veluets, ſilkes, cloth of golde, cloth of ſiluer, or ſuch like, being in thoſe countryes moſt plentifull: whereby it plainely appeareth in what great eſtimation they would haue the clothes of this our countrey, ſo that there would be found a farre better vent for them by this meanes, then yet this realme euer had: and that without depending either vpon France, Spayne, Flanders, Portingall, Hamborow, Emden, or any other part of Europe.

7 Alſo

7 Alſo, heere we ſhall increaſe, both our ſhippes and mariners, without burthening of the ſtate.

8 And alſo haue occaſion to ſet poore mens children to learne handie craftes, and thereby to make trifles and ſuch like, which the Indians and thoſe people do much eſteeme: by reaſon wherof, there ſhould be none occaſion to haue our country combred with loiterers, vagabonds, and ſuch like idle perſons.

All theſe commodities would grow by following this our diſcouery, without iniury done to any Chriſtian prince, by croſſing them in any of their vſed trades, whereby they might take any iuſt occaſion of offence.

Thus haue I briefly ſhewed you ſome part of the grounds of mine opinion, truſting that you will no longer iudge me fantaſtike in this matter: ſeeing I haue conceiued no hope of this voyage, but am perſuaded thereunto by the beſt Coſmographers of our age, the ſame being confirmed, both by reaſon and certaine experiences.

Alſo this diſcouery, hath beene diuers times heeretofore by others, both offered, attempted and performed.

It hath beene offered by Stephan Gomes vnto Carolus the fift Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord God 1527, as Alphonſo Vllua teſtifieth in the ſtory of Carolus life: who would haue ſet him forth in it (as the ſtory mentioneth) if the great want of money, by reaſon of his long warres had not cauſed him to ſurceaſe the ſame.

This diſcouery offered.

And the king of Portingall, fearing leſt the Emperour would haue perſeuered in this his enterpriſe, gaue him, to leaue the matter vnattempted, the ſumme of 350000 crownes: and it is to be intended that the king of Portingall would not haue giuen to the Emperour ſuch ſummes of money for egges in mooneſhine.

This diſcouery attempted.

It hath beene attempted by Corterialis the Portingall, Scolmus the Dane, and by Sebaſtian Cabota in the time of king Henry the ſeuenth.

This diſcouery performed.

And it hath beene performed by the three brethren, the Indians aforeſaid, and by Vrdaneta the frier of Mexico.

Alſo diuers haue offered the like vnto the French king, who hath ſent two or three times to haue diſcouered the ſame: The diſcouerers, ſpending & conſuming their victualles, in ſearching the gulfes and bayes betweene Florida and Terra de Labrador, whereby the iſe is broken to the after commers.

So that the right way may now eaſily be found out in ſhort time: and that with little ieoperdie and leſſe expences.

The labour of this diſcouerie ſhortned by other mens trauell.

For America is diſcouered ſo farre towards the North, as Cape Fredo, which is at 62 degrees, and that part of Grondland next adioyning, is knowen to ſtand but at 72 degrees. So that we haue but 10 degrees to ſaile North and South, to put the world out of doubt heereof: and it is likely that the king of Spaine, and the king of Portingall would not haue ſat out all this while, but that they are ſure to poſſeſſe to themſelues, all that trade they now vſe, and feare to deale in this diſcouerie, leaſt the Queenes Maieſtie, hauing ſo good opportunitie, and finding the commoditie which thereby might enſue to the common wealth, would cut them off, and enioy the whole traffique to her ſelfe, and thereby the Spanyardes and Portingalles, with their great charges, ſhould beate the buſhe, and other men catch the birds: which thing they foreſeeing, haue commanded, that no pilot of theirs, vpon paine of death, ſhoulde ſeeke to diſcouer to the Northweſt, or plat out in any Sea card any thorow paſſage that way by the Northweſt.

Why ꝑ kings of Spaine and Portingall would not perſeuer in this diſcouery.

Now, and if you will indifferently compare the hope that remayneth, to animate me to this enterpriſe, with thoſe likelihoodes which Columbus alleged before Ferdinando the king of Caſtilia, to prooue that there were ſuch Iſlands in the Weſt Ocean, as were after by him and others diſcouered, to the great commoditie of Spaine and all the world: you will thinke then this Northweſt paſſage to be moſt worthy trauell therein.

For Columbus had none of the Weſt Iſlands ſet forth vnto him, either in globe or card, neither yet once mentioned of any writer (Plato excepted, and the commentaries vpon the ſame) from 942 yeeres before Chriſt, vntill that day.

Moreouer, Columbus himſelfe had neither ſeene America nor any other of the Iſlands about it, neither vnderſtood he of them, by the report of any other that had ſeene them, but onely comforted himſelfe with this hope, that the land had a beginning where the Sea had an ending: for as touching that which the Spanyards doe write of a Biſcaine, which ſhould haue taught him the way thither, it is thought to be imagined of them, to depriue Columbus of his honour, being none of their countrey man, but a ſtranger borne.

And

And if it were true of the Biſcane, yet did hee but roue at the matter, or (at the leaſt) gathered the knowledge of it, by coniectures onely.

And albeit, my ſelfe haue not ſeene this paſſage, or any part thereof, but am ignorant of it as touching experience (as Columbus was before his attempt made) yet haue I both the report, relation, and authoritie of diuers moſt credible men, which haue both ſeene and paſſed through ſome and euery part of this diſcouerie, beſides ſundry reaſons for my aſſurance thereof: all which Columbus wanted.

Theſe things conſidered, & indifferently weighed together, with the wonderfull commodities which this diſcouerie may bring, eſpecially to this realme of England: I muſt needes conclude with learned Baptiſta Ramuſius, and diuers other learned men, who ſaid, that this diſcouerie hath beene reſerued for ſome noble prince or woorthie man, thereby to make himſelfe rich, and the world happie: deſiring you to accept in good part this briefe and ſimple diſcourſe, written in haſte, which if I may perceiue that it ſhall not ſufficiently ſatisfie you in this behalfe, I will then impart vnto you a large diſcourſe, which I haue written onely of this diſcouery.

And further, becauſe it ſufficeth not, onely to know that ſuch a thing there is, without abilitie to performe the ſame, I will at leaſure make you partaker of another ſimple diſcourſe of nauigation, wherein I haue not a little trauelled, to make my ſelfe as ſufficient to bring theſe things to effect, as I haue beene readie to offer my ſelfe therein.

And therein I haue deuiſed to amend the errors of vſuall ſea cards, whoſe common fault is, to make the degrees of longitude in euery latitude of one like bigneſſe.

And haue alſo deuiſed therin a Sphericall inſtrument, with a compaſſe of variation for the perfect knowing of the longitude.

And a preciſe order to pricke the ſea card together, with certaine infallible rules for the ſhortning of any diſcouery, to know at the firſt entring of any fret, whether it lie open to the Ocean more wayes then one, how farre ſoeuer the ſea ſtretcheth it ſelfe into the land.

Deſiring you hereafter neuer to miſlike with me, for the taking in hand of any laudable and honeſt enterpriſe: for if through pleaſure or idleneſſe we purchaſe ſhame, the pleaſure vaniſheth, but the ſhame remaineth for euer.

And therefore to giue me leaue without offence, alwayes to liue and die in this minde, That he is not woorthie to liue at all, that for feare, or danger of death, ſhunneth his countrey ſeruice, and his owne honour: ſeeing death is inuitable, and the fame of vertue immortall. Wherefore in this behalfe, Mutare vel timere ſperno. Pereas qui vnquam bras times.

Certaine other reaſons, or arguments to prooue a paſſage by *the Northweſt, learnedly written by M. Richard* Willes Gentleman.

FOure famous wayes there be ſpoken of to thoſe fruitfull and wealthie Iſlands, which we do vſually call Mollucaes, continually haunted for gaine, and dayly trauelled for riches therein growing. Theſe Iſlandes, although they ſtand Eaſt from the Meridian, diſtant almoſt halfe the length of the world, in extreame heate, vnder the Equinoctiall line, poſſeſſed of Infidelles and Barbarians: yet by our neighbours great abundance of wealth there is painefully ſought in reſpect of the voyage deerely bought, and from thence dangerouſly brought home vnto vs. Our neighbours I call the Portingalles in compariſon of the Molucchians for neereneſſe vnto vs, for like ſituation Weſtward as we haue, for they vſuall trade with vs, for that the farre Southeaſterlinges doe know this part of Europe by no other name then Portingall, not greatlie acquainted as yet with the other Nations thereof. Their voyage is very well vnderſtood of all men, and the Southeaſterne way rounde about Affrike by the cape of Good hope, more ſpoken of, better knowen and trauelled, then that it may ſeeme needfull to diſcourſe thereof any further. 1. By the Southeaſt.

The ſeconde way lyeth Southweſt, betweene the Weſt Indie or South America, and the South continent, through that narrow ſtraight where Magellanus firſt of all men that euer we doe reade of, paſſed theſe latter yeeres, leauing thereunto therefore his name. This way no doubt the Spainyards woulde commodiouſly take, for that it lyeth neere vnto their dominions there, could the Eaſterne currant and leuant windes as eaſily ſuffer them to returne, as ſpeedily therewith they may be carryed thither: for the which difficultie, or rather impoſſibility of ſtriuing againſt 2. By the Southweſt.

against the force both of winde and streame, this passage is little or nothing vsed, although it be very well knowne.

3. By the Northeast. The third way by the Northeast, beyond all Europe and Asia, that worthy and renowmed knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie sought to his perill, enforced there to end his life for colde, congealed and frozen to death. And truely this way consisteth rather in the imagination of Geographers, then allowable either in reason, or approoued by experience, as well it may appeare by the dangerous trending of the Scythish Cape set by Ortelius vnder the 80 degree North, by the vnlikely sailing in that Northerne sea alwaies clad with ise & snow, or at the least continually pestred therewith, if happely it be at any time dissolued: besides bayes and shelfes, the water waxing more shallow towards the East, that we say nothing of the foule mists and darke fogs in the colde clime, of the little power of the Sunne to cleare the ayre, of the vncomfortable nights, so neere the Pole, fiue moneths long.

Ortel. tab. Asiæ. 3.

4. By the Northeast. A fourth way to go vnto these aforesaid happy Ilands Moluccæ, Syr Humfrey Gilbert a learned and valiant knight, discourseth of at large in his new passage to Cathayo. The enterprise of it selfe being vertuous, the fact must doubtlesse deserue high praise, and whensoeuer it shall be finished, the fruits therof can not be small: where vertue is guide, there is fame a follower, and fortune a companion. But the way is dangerous, the passage doubtfull, the voyage not throughly knowne, and therfore gainsaid by many, after this maner.

Ob. 1. First, who can assure vs of any passage rather by the Northwest then by the Northeast? doe not both wayes lye in equall distance from the North Pole? stande not the North Capes of eyther continent vnder like eleuation? Is not the Ocean Sea beyonde America farther distant from our Meridian by thirtie or fortie degrees West, then the extreame poyntes of Cathayo Eastwarde, if Ortelius generall Carde of the worlde be true. In the Northeast that noble Knight Syr Hugh Willoughbie perished for colde: and can you then promise a passenger any better happe by the Northwest? who hath gone for triall sake, at any time, this way out of Europe to Cathayo.

In Theatro.

Ob. 2. If you seeke the aduise heerin of such as make profession in Cosmographie, Ptolome the father of Geographie, and his eldest children, will answere by their mappes with a negatiue, concluding most of the sea within the land, and making an end of the world Northward, neere the 63 degree. The same opinion, when learning chiefly florished, was receiued in the Romans time, as by their Poets writings it may appeare: Et te colet vltima Thule, said Virgil, being of opinion, that Island was the extreame part of the world habitable toward the North. Ioseph Moletius an Italian, and Mercator a Germane, for knowledge men able to be compared with the best Geographers of our time, the one in his halfe Spheares of the whole world, the other in some of his great globes, haue continued the West Indies land, euen to the North Pole, and consequently, cut off all passage by sea that way.

The same doctors, Mercator in other of his globes and mappes, Moletius in his sea carde, neuertheless doubting of so great continuance of the former continent, haue opened a gulfe betwixt the West Indies and the extreame Northerne land: but such a one, that either is not to be trauelled for the causes in the first obiection alleged, or cleane shut vp from vs in Europe by Groenland: the South end whereof Moletius maketh firme land with America, the North part continent with Lappeland and Norway.

Ob. 3. Thirdly, the greatest fauourers of this voyage, can not deny but that if any such passage be, it lyeth subiect vnto ise and snow for the most part of the yere, whereas it standeth in the edge of the frostie Zone. Before the Sunne hath warmed the ayre, and dissolued the ise, eche one well knoweth that there can be no sailing: the ise once broken through the continuall abode the Sunne maketh a certaine season in those parts: how shall it be possible for so weake a vessell as a shippe is, to holde out amid whole Ilands, as it were of ise continually beating on eche side, and at the mouth of that gulfe, issuing downe furiously from the North safely to passe, when whole mountaines of ise and snow shall be tombled downe vpon her.

Ob. 4. Well, grant the West Indies not to continue continent vnto the Pole, grant there be a passage betweene these two lands, let the gulfe lye neerer vs then commonly in cardes we finde it set, namely, betweene the 61 and 64 degrees North, as Gemma Frisius in his mappes and globes imagineth it, and so left by our country man Sebastian Cabot in his table which the Earle of Bedford hath at Cheines: Let the way be voyde of all difficulties, yet doeth it not follow that wee haue free passage to Cathayo. For examples sake: You may trend all Norway, Finmarke, and Lappeland, and then bow Southward to Sainct Nicholas in Moscouia: you may likewise in the Mediterranean Sea fetch Constantinople, and the mouth of Tanais: yet is there no

passage

paſſage by Sea through Moſcouia into Pont Euxine, now called Mare Maggiore. Againe, in the aforeſaid Mediterranean ſea, we ſaile to Alexandria in Egypt, the Barbarians bring their pearle and ſpices from the Moluccaes by the red ſea and Arabian goulph to Sues, ſcarſly three dayes iourney from the aforeſayd hauen: yet haue we no way by ſea from Alexandria to the Moluccaes, for that Iſthmos or little ſtraight of land betweene the two ſeas. In like maner although the Northerne paſſage be free at 61 degrees latitude, and the Weſt Ocean beyond America, vſually called Mar del Zur, knowen to be open at 40 degrees eleuation, for the Iſland Giapan, yea three hundred leagus Northerly aboue Giapan: yet may there be lande to hinder the thorow paſſage that way by Sea, as in the examples aforeſayde it falleth out, Aſia and America there being ioyned together in one continent. Ne can this opinion ſeeme altogether friuolous vnto any one that diligently peruſeth our Coſmographers doinges. Ioſephus Moletius is of that minde, not onely in his plaine Hemiſpheres of the worlde, but alſo in his Sea card. The French Geographers in like maner, be of the ſame opinion, as by their mappe cut out in forme of a Hart you may perceiue: as though the Weſt Indies were part of Aſia. Which ſentence well agreeth with that olde concluſion in the Schooles: Quidquid præter Africam & Europam eſt, Aſia eſt. Whatſoeuer land doeth neither appertaine vnto Afrike nor to Europe, is part of Aſia.

Furthermore it were to ſmall purpoſe to make ſo long, ſo painefull, ſo doubtfull a voyage by ſuche a newe found way, if in Cathayo you ſhoulde neither be ſuffered to lande for ſilkes and ſiluer, nor able to fetche the Molucca ſpices and pearle for piracie in thoſe Seas. Of a lawe denying all Aliens to enter into China, and forbidding all the inhabiters vnder a great penaltie to let in any ſtranger into thoſe countreys, ſhall you reade in the report of Galeotto Perera there impriſoned with other Portingalles: as alſo in the Giaponiſh letters, howe for that cauſe the worthie traueller Xauierus bargened with a Barbarian merchant for a great ſumme of pepper to be brought into Canton, a port in Cathayo. The great and daungerous piracie vſed in thoſe Seas, no man can be ignorant of, that liſteth to reade the Giaponiſh and Eaſt Indian hiſtorie. Ob.

Finally, all this great labour would be loſt, all theſe charges ſpent in vaine, if in the end our trauellers might not be able to returne againe, and bring ſafely home into their owne natiue countrey, that wealth and riches, they in forren regions with aduenture of goods, and danger of their liues, haue ſought for. By the Northeaſt there is no way, the Southeaſt paſſage the Portingalles doe holde, as the Lords of thoſe Seas. At the Southweſt Magellanus experience hath partly taught vs, and partly we are perſuaded by reaſon, how the Eaſterne currant ſtriketh ſo furiouſly on that ſtraight, and falleth with ſuch force into that narrow goulph, that hardly any ſhip can returne that way into our Weſt Ocean out of Mar del Zur. The which, if it be true, as truely it is, then we may ſay that the aforeſaid Eaſterne currant or lenant courſe of waters continually following after the heauenly motions, looſeth not altogether his force, but is doubled rather by an other currant from out the Northeaſt, in the paſſage betweene America and the North land, whither it is of neceſſitie carryed: hauing none other way to maintaine it ſelfe in circular motion, and conſequently the force and fury thereof to be no leſſe in the ſtraight of Anian, where it ſtriketh South into Mar del Zur, beyond America (if any ſuch ſtraight of Sea there be) then in Magellans fret, both ſtraights being of like breath: as in Belognine Zalterius table of new France, and in Don Diego Hermano de Toledo his card for nauigation in that region we do finde preciſely ſet downe. Ob.6.

Neuerthleſſe to approoue that there lyeth a way to Cathayo at the Northweſt, from out of Europe, we haue experience, namely of three brethren that went that iourney, as Gemma Friſius recordeth, and left a name vnto that ſtraight, whereby nowe it is called Fretum trium Fratrum. We doe reade againe of a Portingall that paſſed this ſtraight, of whome Maiſter Furbiſher ſpeaketh, that was impriſoned therefore many yeeres in Lisbone, to verifie the olde Spaniſh prouerbe, I ſuffer for doing well. Likewiſe An. Vrdaneta a fryer of Mexico came out of Mar del Zur this way into Germanie: his Carde, for he was a great diſcouerer, made by his owne experience and trauell in that voyage, hath beene ſeene by Gentlemen of good credite.

Now if the obſeruation and remembrance of things breedeth experience, and of experience proceedeth arte, and the certaine knowledge we haue in all faculties, as the beſt Philoſophers that euer were do affirme: truely the voyage of theſe aforeſaid trauellers that haue gone out of Europe into Mar del Zur, and returned thence at the Northweſt, do moſt euidently conclude that way to be nauigable, and that paſſage free. So much the more we are ſo to thinke, for that the Gic.i.de orat. Ariſt.pri. Metaph.

first

first principle and chiefe ground in all Geographie, as Ptolome saith, is the history of trauell, that is, reports made by trauellers skilfull in Geometrie and Astronomie, of all such things in theyr iourney as to Geographie do belong. It onely then remaineth, that we now answere to those arguments that seemed to make against this former conclusion.

Lib. 1. Geog. cap. 2.

Sol. 1. The first obiection is of no force, that generall table of the world set foorth by Ortelius or Mercator, for it greatly skilleth not, being vnskilfully drawen for that point: as manifestly it may appeare vnto any one that conferreth the same with Gemma Frisius his vniuersall mappe, with his rounde quartered carde, with his globe, with Sebastian Cabota his table, and Ortelius his generall mappe alone, woorthily preferred in this case before all Mercator and Ortelius other doinges: for that Cabota was not onely a skilfull Sea man, but a long traueller, and such a one as entred personally that straight, sent by king Henry the seuenth to make this aforesaid discouery, as in his owne discourse of nauigation you may reade in his carde drawen with his owne hand, that the mouth of the Northwesterne straight lyeth neere the 318 Meridian, betweene sixtie one and sixtie foure degrees in the eleuation, continuing the same bredth about tenne degrees West, where it openeth Southerly more and more, vntill it come vnder the tropike of Cancer, and so runneth into Mar del Zur, at the least eighteene degrees more in bredth there then it was where it first beganne: otherwise I coulde as well imagine this passage to be more vnlikely then the voyage to Moscouia, and more impossible then it for the farre situation and continuance thereof in the frostie clime: as now I can affirme it to be very possible and most likely in comparison thereof, for that it neither coasteth so farre North as the Moscouian passage doeth, neither is this straight so long as that, before it bowe downe Southerly towardes the Sunne againe.

Sol. 2. The second argument concludeth nothing. Ptolome knew not what was aboue sixteene degrees South beyond the Equinoctiall line, he was ignorant of all passages Northward from the eleuation of sixtie three degrees, he knew no Ocean sea beyond Asia, yet haue the Portingals trended the cape of Good hope at the South point of Afrike, and trauelled to Giapan an Island in the East Ocean, betweene Asia and America: our merchants in the time of king Edward the sixt discouered the Moscouian passage farther North then Thule, and shewed Groenland not to be continent with Lappeland and Norway: the like our Northwesterne trauellers haue done, declaring by theyr nauigation that way, the ignorance of all Cosmographers that either doe ioyne Groenland with America, or continue the West Indies with that frosty region vnder the North pole. As for Virgil he sang according to the knowledge of men in his time, as an other Poet did of the hot Zone:

Ouid. 1. Meta. Quarum quæ media est, non est habitabilis æstu. Imagining, as most men then did, Zonam torridam, the hot Zone, to be altogether dishabited for heat, though presently we know many famous and woorthy kingdomes and cities in that part of the earth, and the Island of S. Thomas neere Aethiopia, & the wealthie Islands for the which chiefly all these voyages are taken in hand, to be inhabited euen vnder the equinoctiall line.

Sol. 3. To answere the third obiection, besides Cabota and all other trauellers nauigations, the onely credit of M. Frobisher may suffice, who lately through all these Islands of ise, and mountaines of snowe, passed that way, euen beyonde the gulfe that tumbleth downe from the North, and in some places though he drew one inch thicke ise, as he returning in August did, came home safely againe.

Sol. 4. The fourth argument is altogether friuolous and vaine, for neither is there any isthmos or straight of lande betweene America and Asia, ne can these two landes ioyntly be one continent. The first part of my answere is manifestly allowed of by Homer, whom that excellent Geographer Strabo followeth, yeelding him in this facultie the price. The authour of that booke likewise περὶ κόσμου to Alexander, attributed vnto Aristotle, is of the same opinion that Homer and Strabo bee of, in two or three places. Dionisius in εἰκουμένης περιήγησι hath this verse ὤτως ὠκεανὸς περιδέδρομε γαῖαν ἅπασαν. So doeth the Ocean Sea runne round about the world: speaking onely of Europe, Afrike, and Asia, as then Asia was trauelled and knowen. With these Doctours may you ioyne Pomponius Mela. capit. 2. lib. 1. Plinius lib. 2. capit. 67. and Pius 2. cap. 2. in his description of Asia. All the which writers doe no lesse confirme the whole Easterne side of Asia to be compassed about with the Sea, then Plato doeth affirme in Timæo, vnder the name Atlantis, the West Indies to be an Island, as in a speciall discourse thereof R. Eden writeth, agreeable vnto the sentence of Proclus, Marsilius Ficinus, and others. Out of Plato it is gathered that America is an Island. Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Dionisius, Mela, Plinie, Pius 2. affirme the continent of Asia, Afrike, and Europe, to be

Lib. Geog.

Note.

euuironed

enuironed with the Ocean. I may therefore boldly say, (though later intelligences thereof had we none at all) that Asia and the West Indies be not tied together by any Isthmos or straight of lande, contrary to the opinion of some newe Cosmographers, by whome doubtfully this matter hath bene brought in controuersie. And thus much for the first part of my answere vnto the fourth obiection.

The second part, namely that America and Asia cannot be one continent, may thus be proued, κατὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς κοιλότητα ῥεῖ καὶ τῶν ποτάμων τὸ πλῆθος. The most Riuers take downe that way their course, where the earth is most holowe and deepe, writeth Aristotle: and the Sea, (saith hee in the same place,) as it goeth further, so is it founde deeper. Into what gulfe doe the Moscouian riuers Onega, Duina, Ob, powre out their streames? Northward out of Moscouia into the sea. Which way doeth that sea strike? The South is maine lande, the Easterne coast waxeth more and more shalowe: from the North, either naturally, because that part of the earth is higher Aristot. 2. Met. cap. 1. or of necessitie, for that the forcible influence of some Northerne starres causeth the earth there to shake off the Sea, as some Philosophers doe thinke: or finally for the great store of waters engendred in that frostie and colde climate, that the bankes are not able to holde them. Alber. in 2. Meteo. cap. 6. From the North I say, continually falleth downe great abundance of water. So that this Northeasterne currant must at the length abruptly bowe towarde vs South on the West side of Finmarke and Norway: or else strike downe Southwest aboue Groneland, or betwixt Groneland and Iseland, into the Northwest straight wee speake of, as of congruence it doeth, if you marke the situation of that Region, and by the report of M. Frobisher, experience teacheth vs. And M. Frobisher the further hee trauailed in the former passage, as hee tolde me, the deeper alwayes he found sea. Lay you now the summe hereof together. The riuers runne where the chanels are most hollowe, the sea in taking his course waxeth deeper, the sea waters fall continually from the North Southward, the Northeasterne currant striketh downe into the straight we speake of, and is there augmented with whole mountaines of yce and snowe, falling downe furiously out from the land vnder the North pole. Where store of water is, there is it a thing impossible to want sea, where sea not onely doeth not want, but waxeth deeper, there can be discouered no land. Finally, whence I pray you came the contrary tide, that M. Frobisher mette withal after that hee had sailed no small way in that passage, if there be any Isthmos or straight of land betwixt the aforesaid Northwesterne, gulfe and Mar del Zur, to ioyne Asia and America together? That conclusion frequented in scholes Quidquid pręter, &c. was ment of the partes of the world then knowen, and so is it of right to be vnderstoode.

Lib. 2. Meteor. cap. 1.

Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67.

The fift obiection requireth for answere, wisedome and policie in the trauailer, to winne the Barbarians fauour by some good meanes: and so to arme and strengthen himselfe, that when he shall haue the repulse in one coast, he may safely trauaile to an other, commodiously taking his cōuenient times, and discreetely making choise of them with whome hee will throughly deale. To force a violent entrie, would for vs Englishmen be very hard, considering the strength and valour of so great a Nation, farre distant from vs, and the attempt thereof might bee most perillous vnto the doers, vnlesse their part were very good.

Sol. 5.

Touching their lawes against strangers, you shall reade neuerthelesse in the same relations of Galeotto Perera, that the Cathaian king is wont to graunt free accesse vnto all forreiners that trade into his Countrey for Marchandise, and a place of libertie for them to remaine in: as the Moores had, vntil such time as they had brought the Loutea or Lieutenant of that coast to be a circumcised Saracene: wherefore some of them were put to the sword, the rest were scattered abroad: at Fuquien, a great citie in China, certaine of them are yet this day to be seene. As for the Giapans they bee most desirous to bee acquainted with strangers. The Portingals though they were straitly handled there at the first, yet in the ende they founde great fauour at the Prince his hands, insomuch that the Loutea or president that misused them, was therefore put to death. The rude Indian Canoa halleth those seas, the Portingals, the Saracenes, and Moores trauaile continually vp and downe that reache from Giapan to China, from China to Malacca, from Malacca to the Moluccaes: and shall an Englishman, better appointed then any of them al (that I say no more of our nauie) feare to saile in that Ocean? What seat at all doe want piracie? what Nauigation is there voyde of perill?

To the last argument. Our traueilers neede not to seeke their returne by the Northeast, neither shall they be constrained, except they list, either to attempt Magellane straight at the Southwest, or to be in danger of the Portingals for the Southeast: they may returne by the Northwest, that same way they doe goe foorth, as experience hath shewed.

Sol. 6.

The reason alleadged for proofe of the contrary, may be disproued after this maner. And first,

it may be called in controuerſie, whether any currant continually be forced by the motion of Primum mobile, round about the world, or no: for learned men doe diuerſly handle that queſtion. The naturall courſe of all waters is downeward, wherefore of congruence they fall that way where they finde the earth moſt lowe and deepe: in reſpect whereof, it was erſt ſaide, the ſeas do ſtrike from the Northren landes Southerly. Violently the ſeas are toſſed and troubled diuers wayes with the windes, encreaſed and diminiſhed by the courſe of the Moone, hoiſed vp & downe through the ſundry operations of the Sunne and the ſtarres: finally, ſome be of opinion, that the ſeas bee caried in part violently about the world, after the dayly motion of the higheſt moueable heauen, in like maner as the elements of aire and fire, with the reſt of the heauenly ſpheres are, from the Eaſt vnto the Weſt. And this they doe call their Eaſterne currant, or leuant ſtreame. Some ſuch currant may not be denied to be of great force in the hot Zone, for the neereneſſe thereof vnto the centre of the Sunne, and bluſtring Eaſterne windes violently driuing the ſeas Weſtwarde: howbeit, in the temperate climes, the Sunne being further off, and the windes more diuers, blowing as much from the North, the Weſt and South, as from the Eaſt, this rule doeth not effectually withholde vs from trauailing Eaſtward, neither be wee kept euer backe by the aforeſayde Leuant windes and ſtreame. But in Magellans ſtreight wee are violently driuen backe Weſtward: Ergo, through the Northweſterne ſtraight or Anian frette ſhall wee not be able to returne Eaſtwarde: it followeth not. The firſt, for that the Northweſterne ſtraight hath more ſea roome at the leaſt by one hundreth Engliſh miles, then Magellans fret hath, the onely want whereof cauſeth all narrowe paſſages generally to be moſt violent. So would I ſay in Anian gulfe, if it were ſo narrowe as Don Diego and Zalterius haue painted it out, any returne that way to bee full of difficulties, in reſpect of ſuch ſtreightneſſe thereof, not for the neereneſſe of the Sunne, or Eaſterne windes, violently forcing that way any leuant ſtreame: But in that place there is more ſea rome by many degrees, if the Cardes of Cabota, and Gemma Friſius, and that which Tramezine imprinted, be true.

Luc. lib. 1. Phaſal.

What the Eaſterne currant is.

And hitherto reaſon ſee I none at all, but that I may as well giue credite vnto their doings, as to any of the reſt. It muſt be Peregrinationis hiſtoria, that is, true reportes of ſkilful trauailers, as Ptolome writeth, that in ſuch controuerſies of Geographie muſt put vs out of doubt. Ortelius in his vniuerſall tables, in his particuler Mappes of the Weſt Indies, of all Aſia, of the Northren kingdomes, of the Eaſt Indies, Mercator in ſome of his globes, and generall Mappes of the world, Moletius in his vniuerſall table of the Globe diuided, in his ſea Carde, and particuler tables of the Eaſt Indies, Zalterius, and Don Diego, with Fernando Bertely, and others, doe ſo much differ both from Gemma Friſius and Cabota, among themſelues, and in diuers places from themſelues, concerning the diuers ſituation and ſundry limits of America, that one may not ſo raſhly, as truely ſurmiſe, theſe men either to be ignorant in thoſe points touching the aforeſaide region, or that the Mappes they haue giuen out vnto the worlde, were collected onely by them, and neuer of their owne drawing.

Lib. 1. Geog. Cap. 2.

The firſt voyage of M, Martine Frobiſher, to the Northweſt *for the ſearch of the ſtraight or paſſage to China, written by* Chriſtopher Hall, and made in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

Map.

Vpon Munday the 13. of May the Barke Gabriel was launched at Redriffe, and vpon the 27. day following ſhe vaied from Redriffe to Ratcliffe.

June.

The 7. of June being Thurſday, the two barkes, viz. the Gabriel, the ‖Michael, and our pinneſſe ſet ſaile at Ratcliffe, and bare downe to Detford, and there we ancred: the cauſe was, that our pinneſſe burſt her boultſprit, and foremaſt aboard of a ſhippe that rode at Detford, elſe wee ment to haue paſt that day by the Court then at Greenewiche.

‖ M. Matthew Kinderſlye was Captaine of the Michael.

The 8. day being Friday, about 12. of the clocke we waied at Detford, and ſet ſaile all three of vs, and bare downe by the Court, where we ſhotte off our ordinance, and made the beſt ſhewe wee could: Her Maieſtie beholding the ſame commended it, and bade vs fare well with ſhaking her hand at vs out of the windowe. Afterward ſhe ſent a Gentleman a boorde of vs, who declared that her Maieſtie had good liking of our doings, and thanked vs for it, and alſo willed our Captaine to come the next day to the Court to take his leaue of her.

The ſame day towards night M. Secretarie Woolly came aboorde of vs, and declared to the companie

companie, that her Maieſtie had appointed him to giue them charge to be obedient, and diligent to their Captaine, and gouernours in all things, and wiſhed vs happie ſucceſſe.

The ninth day about noone the winde being Weſterly, hauing our ancres aboorde ready to ſet ſaile to depart, wee wanted ſome of our companie, and therefore ſtayed, and moared them againe.

Sunday the 10. of June, wee ſet ſaile from Blackewall at a Southweſt, and by Weſt ſunne, the winde being at North Northweſt, and ſailed to Grauеſend, and ancred there at a Weſt northweſt ſunne, the winde being as before.

The 12. day being ouer againſt Grauеſend, by the caſtle or blockehouſe we obſerued the latitude, which was 51. degrees 33. min. And in that place the variation of the Compaſſe is 11. degrees and a halfe. This day we departed from Grauеſend, at a Weſt Southweſt ſunne, the winde at North and by Eaſt a faire gale, and ſailed to the Weſt part of Tilberie hope, & ſo turned downe the Hope, and at a Weſt ſunne the winde came to the Eaſt Southeaſt, and wee ancred in 7. fathome being lowe water.

The 13. day wee ſet ſaile at a Northeaſt ſunne, the winde at Weſt Southweſt, and ſailed downe the Sweane and ouer the Spits, and at a South ſouthweſt ſunne, the winde came to the Eaſt Northeaſt, then we turned downe to the Naze and ſo ouer the Naze, & in the traling ground, and ſo came to ancre.

The 14. day we wayed at 3. of the clocke afternoone, the winde at Southeaſt, and ſailed downe to Orfordneſſe, and there ancred being litle winde, and the flood in hand.

The 15. we wayed at 2. a clocke in the morning being litle winde at North northweſt, and ſailed down to Alborough, and thwart of Alborough the wind came to the Northnortheaſt, we turned downe to Solde, and there ancred at 9. a clocke in 5. fathoms, and rode all the flood, and at a high water being a ſtiffe gale at North Northeaſt wee wayed and put roome with Harwiche at a Northweſt ſunne, being 9. a clocke at night.

The 16. day wee wayed and ſet ſaile at 3. of the clocke afternoone the winde at South ſoutheaſt, & ſailed to Alborough. And at that preſent the winde came to the Northnorthweſt, and North a ſtiffe gale. We put roome with Orfordneſſe, and there rode all the night.

The 17. day we wayed at Orfordneſſe at a Southeaſt, & by Eaſt ſunne, the winde at Northeaſt, and by North, a good gale, and put roome with Harwich, and ancred there at a South, and by Eaſt ſunne, and did obſerue the latitude of the place which was 51. deg. 54. min.

The 18. day we wayed at Harwich, at a Northeaſt ſunne, the winde at Weſt ſouthweſt, and ſailed out of Harwich Hauſe. *Their departure from Harwich the 18. of June.*

The 19. day wee ſet ſaile from Yarmouth roade at a Southweſt ſunne, the winde at Eaſt Southeaſt, and ſailed betwixt the Cockle and the maine in three fathome, and a halfe at three quarters flood. From 7. to 10. a clocke at night the winde at South Southeaſt, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt three leagues.

From tenne a clocke at night to 2. of the clocke in the morning the winde at South ſoutheaſt, a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt 4. leagues.

The 20. day in the morning from 2. of the clocke to ſixe a clocke, the winde at South Southeaſt a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt foure leagues. From 6. a clocke to tenne of the clocke in the forenoone, the winde at South Southeaſt a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed Northweſt eight glaſſes, foure leagues. From tenne a clocke to two a clocke foure leagues more. And from two to eight ſixe leagues: from eight to midnight we ſailed North Northweſt fiue leagues, we ſounded hauing 30. fathome, and fine ſande with blackes among and one ſhell. From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the ſhippe ſailed with all ſailes 6. leagues, and that watch out we ſounded hauing 37. fathomes, and fine gray ſand.

From 4. a clocke in the morning to 8. in the forenoone, being the 21. day, the winde at South-Southeaſt, a faire gale, the ſhippe ſailed North Northweſt 8. glaſſes, 5. leagues, then Northnorthweſt 6. leagues, the maine yard a croſſe: we ſounded hauing 40. fathome, and fine ſand. And at that preſent we obſerued the latitude, which was 54. degr. 41. min.

The 22. day from 4. a clocke in the morning till 4. a clocke the next morning we ſailed with a faire Southeaſt winde, 38. leagues. This day from 4. to 8. of the clocke the winde as before the ſhippe ſailed, North Northweſt ſixe leagues, ſounded 50. fathome, and fine ſand. From 8. a clocke till 12. a clocke at noone, the winde at South litle winde with fogge, the ſhip ſailed North Northweſt 3. leagues. I ſounded hauing 54. fathome, and fine ſand like oze. *The 23. day.*

From 12. to foure of the clocke, the winde at South Southweſt little wiude, the ſhippe ſailed North 1. league with great fogge. At the end of ẏ watch ſounded, hauing 55. fathome & ſmal ſand.

From 4. to 8. a clocke the winde at West Northwest, litle winde with fogge, the ship went North 2. leagues. Sounded hauing 50. fathome, and browne sande. From 8. to midnight, the winde at Northwest litle wind & fog, the ship went Northnortheast 3. leagues. Frō midnight to 4. a clock in the morning ỹ wind at Northwest, & by North, smooth waters, ỹ ship went Northeast 3. leagues.

The 24. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the wind at North northwest, faire weather, the sea smoothe, the ship went West, 3. leagues and a halfe, and at the end of this watche sounded, hauing 60. fathome, and ozie sand, & litle white shels. From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone, the winde at Northwest and by North, a faire gale, the sea smooth, the ship went West 3. leagues and a halfe: sounded hauing 53. fathome, and streame ground with litle shels. From 12. to 4. in the afternoone the winde at North northwest, the ship went Northnortheast 4. leagues.

Fare Island. At 2. of the clocke after noone I had sight of Faire yle, being from vs 6. leagues North, and by East, and when I brought it Northwest and by North, it did rise at the Southermost ende with a litle hommocke, and swampe in the middes.

From 4. a clocke at afternoone to 8. a clocke litle wind, ỹ ship sailed Northnortheast 2. leagues, I sounded hauing 60. fathomes, & streamie ground with shels, 4. leagues from the land. From 8. a clocke to midnight calme, and without accompt. From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the winde Northwest, and by North litle winde, the ship sailed Northnortheast 1. league.

The 25. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, the winde at Northwest, and by North a Shotland. fresh gale, I cast about to the Westward, the Southermost head of Shotland called Swinborne head Northnorthwest from me, and the land of Fare yle, West Southwest from me. I sailed directly to the Northhead of that said land sounding as I ranne in, hauing 60, 50, and 40. fathoms, and gray redde shels: and within halfe a mile of that Island, there are 36. fathoms, for I sailed to that Island to see whether there were any rodsteede for a Northwest winde, and I founde by my founding hard rockes, and foule ground, and deepe water, within two cables length of the shoare, 28. fathome, and so did not ancre but plied to and fro with my foresaile, and mizen till it was a high water vnder the Island. The tide setteth there Northwest and Southeast: the floud setteth Southeast, and the ebb Northwest.

Fowlay Island. The 26. day I hauing the winde at South a faire gale, sayling from Fare yle to Swinborne head, I did obserue the latitude, being the Island of Fowlay West Northwest frō me 6. leagues, and Swinborne head East southeast from me, I found my eleuation to be 37. degr. and my declination 22. degr. 46. min. So that my latitude was 59. degr. 46. min. At that present being neere to Swinborne head, hauing a leake which did trouble vs, as also to take in fresh water, I plyed S. Tronions. roome with a sound, which is called S. Tronions, and there did ancre in seuen fathoms water, and faire sande. You haue comming in the sounds mouth in the entring 17, 15, 12, 10, 9, 8, and 7. fathoms, and the sound lyeth in North Northwest, and there roade to a West sunne, and stopped our leake, and hauing refreshed our selues with water, at a North Northwest sunne, I set saile from S. Tronions the winde at South Southeast, and turned out till wee were cleare of the sound, and so sailed West to go cleare of the Island of Fowlay. And running off toward Fowlay, I sounded, hauing fiftie fathome, and streamie ground, and also I sounded Fowlay, being North from mee one league off that Island, hauing fiftie fathome at the South head, and streamie grounde, like broken otmell, and one shell being redde and white like mackerell.

Here they begin to saile Northwest. Latitude 59. deg. 59. min. The 27. day at a South sunne I did obserue the latitude, being the Islande of Fowlay, from mee two leagues East Northeast: I founde my selfe to be in latitude 59. degrees, 59. min. truely obserued, the winde at South Southwest: I sailed West, and by North.

From 12. to foure a clocke afternoone, the winde at South, a faire gale the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watch, I sounded hauing 60. fathome, with little stones and shels, the Island from vs 8. leagues East.

From 4. to 8. a clocke the winde at South a good gale, the shippe sailed West and by North 6. leagues.

From 8. a clocke to midnight, the winde at South Southeast, a good gale, the ship sailed west, and by North 7. leagues, I sounded hauing 65. fathoms. In halling vp the lead the line brake, and so we lost our lead.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the winde at Southeast a good gale, our maine saile ferled our maine topsaile, foresaile, and spreetsaile abroad, the ship sailed West and by North 8. leagues.

The 28. day from 4. to eight a clocke, the winde at Southeast a good gale, the shippe sailed West and by North eight leagues: from eight to 12. a clocke, the winde at East Southeast a fresh gale, the shippe sailed West and by North eight leagues.

From

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone, the winde at East Southeast, a freſh gale, the ſhip ſailed East and by North 8. leagues.

From 4. to 8. a clocke at night, the winde at East Southeast a freſh gale, the ſhip ſailed West 8. leagues. I did ſound, and could not get ground at 70. fathome.

From 8. to midnight the winde at East Southeast a good gale, the ſhip ſailed West 8. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning, the winde at East Northeast, a freſh gale the ſhip ſailed West 8. leagues and a halfe.

From 4. to 8. a clocke the 29. day the winde at East Northeast a good gale, the ſhippe ſailed West 8. leagues. 29.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone, the winde at East Northeast, the ſhip ſailed West 8. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke in the afternoone the winde at East Northeast a faire gale, the ſhip ſailed West 6. leagues, and at the ende of this watche I did ſounde, and could get no ground at 100. fathome.

From 4. to 8. a clocke at night, we ſailed West 5. leagues.

From 8. to midnight 4. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 4. leagues West.

The 30. day from 4. to 8. a clocke in the forenoone, we ſailed West 3. leagues. 30.

From 8. to 12. a clocke 3. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone West 5. leagues. And at the ende of this watch I ſounded, having 100. fathome and no ground.

From 4. to 8. a clocke 6. leagues.

From 8. to midnight, we ſailed West 8. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 8. leagues.

The firſt of July, from 4. to 8. a clocke, we ſailed West 4. glaſſes 4. leagues, and at that preſent we had ſo much winde that we ſpooned afore the ſea Southwest 2. leagues. July the firſt.

From 8. to 12. at noone West and by North 6. leagues.

From 12. to 4. a clocke 6. leagues.

From 4. to 8. foure miles.

From 8. to midnight we ſailed with 2. coarſes 4. leagues West.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 6. leagues.

The ſecond day from 4. to 8. a clocke, 6. leagues and a halfe West. 2.

From 8. to 12. West 7. leagues. From 12. to 4. at afternoone West 7. leagues more. And at the ende of this watch I ſounded hauing 100. fathome, and no ground.

From 4. to 8. at night 7. leagues. From 8. to midnight West, and by North 7. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning weſt and by North 6. leagues.

The 3. day we found our Compaſſe to bee varied one point to the Weſtwards: this day from 4. to 8. a clocke we ſailed West, and by North 6. leagues. 3.

From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone West, and by North 4. leagues. At that preſent I found our Compaſſe to be varied 11. deg. and one 4. part to the Weſtwards which is one point. The Compaſſe barping Weſtwards one point.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone West and by North, one league.

From 4. to 8. West, and by North one league.

From 8. to midnight West, and by North 2. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning West, and by North 3. leagues.

The 4. day from 4. to 8. the winde at Northwest and by North 4. leagues. 4.

From 8. to 12. at noone West and by North 2. leagues. And at that preſent we ſent off our pinneſſe from the Gabriel to fiſh being calme.

From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone calme, and without accompt.

For 4. to 8. a clocke at night, West and by North 2. leagues.

From 8. to midnight West, and by North 7. leagues.

From midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 9. leagues.

The 5. day from 4. to 8. a clocke West and by North 8. leagues. 5.

From 8. to 12. hauing raine and fogge, West and by North 6. leagues.

From 12. to 4. at afternoone West and by North 5. leagues. From 4. to 8. North Northweſt 6. leagues. From 8. to midnight North and by West 4. leagues.

From midnight to 6. a clocke in the morning wee hulled by the winde, and went West and by North 5. leagues.

The 6. day from 8. to 12. at noone, West and by North 5. leagues. 6.

From 12. to 4. a clocke West and by North 5. leagues.

7. From 8. at night to 8. in the morning 4. leagues.
From 12. to 4. a clocke at afternoone, North Northweſt 4. leagues.
From 4. to 8. at night North Northweſt 4. leagues.
From 8. to midnight, North two leagues.
From midnight to 8. a clocke calme, and without accompt.

8. The 8. day from 8. to 12. at noone, 3. leagues Weſt.
From 12. to 4. a clocke Weſt, 6. leagues.
From 4. to 8. eight leagues.
From 8. to midnight wee tooke in all our ſailes, and ſpooned afore the ſea becauſe of our pinneſſe, and at that preſent came fogge and miſte, and ſo we loſt ſight of her. Wee ſailed Weſt fiue leagues.
From midnight to 4. a clocke, Weſt ſouthweſt 4. leagues, with very much winde.

9. From 4. to 8. in the forenoone, the ſea being mightily growne, 4. leagues.
From 8. to 12. Southweſt afore the ſea 4. leagues.
From 12. to 4. a clocke, Weſt Southweſt 5. leagues.

10. From that time to 8. a clocke the next day I layd the ſhip a hul, her way was ſouth 4. leagues.
From 8. to 4. a clocke calme, and without accompt.
From 4. to 8. ſixe leagues. From 8. to midnight 7. leagues.
From midnight to 4. a clocke, North 8. leagues.

11. From 4. to 8. a clocke, Weſt and by ſouth 5. leagues. From 8. to 12. a clocke at noone Weſt, and by ſouth 4. leagues, & at the ſoutheaſt ſunne we had ſight of the land of Friſeland bering from vs Weſt northweſt 16. leagues, and riſing like pinacles of ſteeples, and all couered with ſnow. I found my ſelfe in 61. degr. of latitude. We ſailed to the ſhoare & could finde no ground at 150. fathome, we hoiſed out our boate, & the Captaine with 4. men rowed to the ſhoare to get on land, but the land lying full of yce they could not get on land, and ſo they came aboorde againe: Wee had much adoe to get cleare of the yce by reaſon of the fogge. Yet from Thurſday 8. a clocke in the morning to Friday at noone we ſailed Southweſt 20. leagues.

The Iſland of Friſeland.

12. The 13. day, a Northeaſt wind cleared vs of the thicke miſte, & we ſailed ſouthweſt 5. leagues.

13. The 14. day the vehemencie of the winde brake our foreyarde, and bore ouer boord our myſſen maſte, ſo we put our ſprеetſaile yard, with the ſprеetſaile coarſe to our foremaſt, and ſpooned afore the ſea Southweſt 15. leagues, till it was Sunday.

14. This day from 4. in ꝑ afternoone to 8. we ſailed Southweſt 2. leagues. From thence to Munday morning 4. of the clocke, calme, and without accompt.

15. The 16. day from 4. to 8. the winde at South ſouthweſt, we ſailed 6. leagues and a half. From 8. to 12. 5. leagues and a halfe, and from 12. to 4. 6. leagues. At the ende of this watch, the head of our maine maſt, maine topmaſte, with the topſaile brake, and fel into the ſea altogether.
From 4. to 8. we ranne ſomewhat a drift, becauſe we layd vp the ropes of our maine maſt, and ſet our maine ſaile againe. From 8. to midnight, Northweſt and by Weſt 3. leagues.

16. The 17. day from 4. to 8. 3. leagues. From 8. to 12. two leagues, from 12. to 4. at afternoone 3. leagues, from 4. to 8. a clocke 2. leagues, in our old courſe: I prooued to ſounde but founde no ground. From 8. to midnight, Weſt and by South 2. leagues, from midnight to 4. a clocke in the morning 2. leagues.

Very deepe ſeas.

17. From 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to 12. at noone 3. leagues, and here at a Southeaſt ſunne, I found the ſunne to be eleuated 33. deg. And at a Southſoutheaſt 40. deg. So I obſerued it till I founde it at the higheſt, and then it was eleuated 52. degr. I iudged the variation of the Compaſſe to be 2. points and a halfe to the Weſtward.

The variation of the needle, two points and a halfe to the Weſt.

From 12. to 4. three leagues, from 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to midnight 2. leagues. From midnight to 4. a clocke one league, being litle winde.

18. From 4. to 8. North, 4. leagues, from 8. to 12. 8. leagues, from 12. to 4. foure leagues, from 4. to 8. 4. leagues, and at the end of this watch we caſt about to the Eaſtwards. From 8. to midnight 3. leagues, from midnight to 4. a clocke Eaſt and by North 3. leagues.

19. From 4. to 8. 3. leagues, from 8. to 12. 3. leagues, from 12. to 4. 4. leagues. From 4. to 8. three leagues, from 8. to midnight 4. leagues. From midnight to 4. a clocke 4. leagues. From 8. to 12.

20. Northnortheaſt 4. leagues. From 12. to 4. 4. leagues, from 4. to 8. 4. leagues, from 8. to midnight foure leagues Northeaſt. From midnight to 4. a clocke, Northeaſt foure leagues, and at the ende of this watch we had ſight of a great drift of yce, ſeeing a firme land, and we caſt Weſtward to be cleare of it.

A great drift of yce.

21. From 4. to 8. ſouthweſt 3. leagues, from 8. to 12. 2. leagues, from 12. to 6. 3. leagues, from 6. at night

night to ſixe the next morning, northeaſt fiue leagues.

From 6. to 12. weſt fiue leagues, from 12. to 4. northnorthweſt, 6. leagues: from 4. to 8. north northeaſt, 8. leagues: from 8. to midnight, 7. leagues: from midnight to 4. of the clocke, North northweſt, 7. leagues. 23

From 4. to 8, 7. leagues: from 8. to 12. 7. leagues more: from 12. to 4, 5. leagues: from 4. to 8, 5. leagues: from thence to midnight, 6. leagues: from midnight to 4. of the clocke in the morning, weſt, northweſt, 6. leagues. 24

From 4. to 8, 7. leagues: from 8. to 12. 7. leagues: from 12 to 4, 8. leagues: from 4. to 8, 8. leagues: from 8. to midnight, 4. leagues, weſt, northweſt, and with fogge: from midnight to 4. of the clocke, 4. leagues. 25

This day was litle wind, and we tried with both our courſes: we had ſight of a land of yce: the latitude was 62. degrees, two minuts. We ran from 12. to 4, 4. miles. 26

The latitude of 62. de. 2. mi.

From 4. to 8, 4. miles: from 8. to 4. calme, and fogge: from thence to 4. of the clocke in the morning calme, and foggie alſo. 27

From 4. to 8, 4. leagues: from 8. to 12, 3. leagues: from 12. to 4. northweſt and by weſt, ſixe leagues, but very foggie: from thence to 8. of the clocke in the morning, litle wind: but at the clearing vp of the fogge, we had ſight of lande, which I ſuppoſed to be Labrador, with great ſtore of yce about the land: I ran in towards it, and ſownded, but could get no ground, at 100. fathom, and the yce being ſo thicke, I could not get to the ſhoare, and ſo lay off, and came cleare of the yce. Upon Sunday, we came within a mile of the ſhoare, and ſought a harborowe: all the ſowndwas full of yce, and our boate rowing a ſhoare, could get no ground, at 100. fathom, within a Cables length of the ſhoare: then we ſailed Eaſt northeaſt along the ſhoare, for ſo the lande lieth, and the currant is there great, ſetting northeaſt, and ſouthweſt: and if we could haue gotten anker ground, we would haue ſeene with what force it had runne, but I iudge a ſhip may driue a league and a halfe, in one howre, with that tide. 28

Sight of land ſuppoſed to haue bene Labrador.

This day, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, being faire and cleere, we had ſight of a head land, as we iudged, bearing from vs north, and by Eaſt, and we ſailed Northeaſt, and by North to that lande, and when wee came thither, wee could not gette to the lande for yce: for the yce ſtretched along the coaſte, ſo that we could not come to the land, by fiue leagues. 31

Wenſday the firſt of Auguſt, it calmed, and in the after noone, I cauſed my boate to be hoyſed out, being hard by a great Iſland of yce, and I and foure men rowed to that yce, and ſownded within two cables length of it, and had ſixteene fathome, and little ſtones, and after that ſownded againe within a Minion ſhotte, and had ground, at an hundreth fathome, and faire ſand: we ſownded the next day a quarter of a myle from it, and had ſixtie fathome rough grounde, and at that preſent being abourd, that great Iſland of yce fell one part from another, making a noyce as if a great cliffe had fallen into the Sea. And at foure of the clocke, I ſownded againe, and had 90. fathome, and ſmall blacke ſtones, and little white ſtones, like pearles. The tide here did ſet to the ſhoare. Auguſt. 1 2

We ſailed this day ſouth ſoutheaſt ofward, and layd it a trie. 3

The next day was calme and thicke, with a great ſea. 4

The next day we ſailed South, and by Eaſt, two leagues, and at eight of the clocke in the foore noone we caſt about to the Eaſtwards. 5

The ſixt day it cleered, and we ranne northweſt into the ſhoare, to get a harborough, and being towards night, we notwithſtanding kept at ſea. 6

The ſeuenth day we plied roome with the ſhoare, but being neere it, it waxed thicke, and we bare off againe. 7

The eight day we bended in towards the ſhoare againe. 8

The ninth day we ſownded, but could gette no grounde at 130. fathome: the weather was calme. 9

The tenth I tooke foure men, and my ſelfe, and rowed to ſhoare to an Iſland one league from the maine, and there the floode ſetteth Southweſt alongeſt the ſhoare, and it floweth as neere as I could iudge ſo too, I could not tarry to proone it, becauſe the ſhippe was a great way from me, and I feared a fogge: but when I came a ſhoare, it was a lowe water. I went to the toppe of the Iſland, and before I came backe, it was hied a foote water, and ſo without tarrying, I came abourd. 10

The 11. we found our latitude to be 63. degrees, and eight minutes, and this day entred the ſtreight. 11

The 12. we ſet ſaile towardes an Iſland, called the Gabriels Iſland, which was 10. leagues 12

then

then from vs.

13 We eſpied a ſownd, and bare with it, and came to a ſandie Baye, where we came to an anker, the laude bearing Eaſt ſoutheaſt of vs, and there we rode all night in 8. fathome water. It floweth there at a Southeaſt Moone. We called it Priors ſownd, being from the Gabriels Iſland, tenne leagues.

14 The 14. we waied, and ranne into another ſownde, where we ankered in 8. fathome water, faire ſand, and blacke oaze, and there calked our ſhip, being weake from the wales vpward, and tooke in freſh water.

15 The 15. day we waied, and ſailed to Priors Baye, being a mile from thence.

16 The 16. day was calme, and wee rode ſtill, without yce, but preſently within two howres it was frozen round about the ſhippe, a quarter of an ynche thicke, and that daye very faire, and calme.

17 The 17. day we waied, and came to Thomas Williams Iſland.

18 The 18. day, we ſailed noꝛth noꝛthweſt, and ankered againe in 23. fathome, and tought oaze, vnder Burchers Iſland, which is from the foꝛmer Iſland, ten leagues.

19 The 19. day in the moꝛning, being calme, and no winde, the Captaine and I, tooke our boate, with eight men in her, to roꝛwe vs a ſhoare, to ſee if there were there any people, oꝛ no, and going to the toppe of the Iſland, we had ſight of ſeuen boates, which came roꝛwing from the Eaſt ſide, toward that Iſland: whereupon we returned abooꝛd againe: at length we ſent our boate with fiue men in her, to ſee whicher they roꝛwed, and ſo with a white cloth bꝛought one of their boates with their men along the ſhoare, roꝛwing after our boate, till ſuch time as they ſawe our ſhippe, and then they roꝛwed a ſhoare: then I went on ſhoare my ſelfe, and gaue euery of them a thꝛedden point, and bꝛought one of them abooꝛd of me, where he did eate and dꝛinke, and then carried him on ſhoare againe. Whereuppon all the reſt came abooꝛd with their boates, beeing nineteene perſons, and they ſpake, but we vnderſtoode them not. They be like to Tartars, with long blacke haire, bꝛoad faces, and flatte noſes, and tawnie in colour, wearing Seale ſkinnes, and ſo doe the women, not differing in the faſhion, but the women are marked in the face with blewe ſtreekes downe the cheekes, and round about the eies. Their boates are made all of Seale ſkins, with a keele of wood within the ſkinne: the pꝛopoꝛtion of them is like a Spaniſh ſhallop, ſaue only they be flat in the bottome, and ſharpe at both endes.

Sight of the Countrey people.

The deſcription of the people.

20 The twentieth day, wee waied, and went to the Eaſt ſide of this Iſland, and I and the Captaine, with foure men moꝛe went on ſhoare, and there wee ſawe their houſes, and the people eſpying vs, came roꝛwing towardes our boate: whereuppon wee plied to our boate: and wee beeing in our boate, and they aſhoare, they called to vs, and wee roꝛwed to them, and one of their companie came into our boate, and wee carried him abooꝛd, and gaue him a Bell, and a knife: ſo the Captaine and I willed fiue of our men to ſet him a ſhoare at a rocke, and not among the companie, which they came from, but their wilfulnes was ſuch, that they would goe to them, and ſo were taken themſelues, and our boate loſt.

5. of our men taken by the people.

21 The next daye in the moꝛning, wee ſtoode in neere the ſhoare, and ſhotte of a fauconet, and ſownded our trumpet, but wee coulde heare nothing of our men: this ſownde wee called the fiue mens ſownde, and plyed out of it, but ankered againe in thirtie fathome, and oaze: and riding there all night, in the moꝛning, the ſnowe laye a foote thicke vppon our hatches.

22 The two and twentieth daye in the moꝛning, we waied, and went againe to the place where wee loſt our men, and our boate. Wee had ſight of fourteene boates, and ſome came neere to vs, but we coulde learne nothing of our men: among the reſt, we intiſed one in a boate to our ſhippes ſide, with a Bell, and in giuing him the Bell, wee tooke him, and his Boate, and ſo kept him, and ſo roꝛwed downe to Thomas Williams Iſland, and there ankered all night.

26 The 26. day we waied, to come homeward, and by 12. of the clocke at noone, we were thwart of Trumpets Iſland.

27 The next day, we came thwart of Gabriels Iſland, and at 8. of the clocke at night, we had the Cape Labradore Weſt from vs, ten leagues.

28 The 28. day we went our courſe Southeaſt.

29 We ſailed Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, 22. leagues.

September. The firſt day of September in the moꝛning, we had ſight of the land of Friſeland, being eight

1 leagues from vs, but we could not come neerer it, foꝛ the monſtrous yce that lay about it. From this day, till the ſixth of this Moneth, wee ranne along Iſland, and had the South

part

part of it at eight of the clocke, Eaſt from vs ten leagues.

The ſeuenth day of this moneth, we had a very terrible ſtorme, by force whereof, one of our men was blowen into the ſea out of our waſte, but he caught holde of the foreſaile ſheate, and there held, till the Captaine pluckt him againe into the ſhip. 7

The 25. day of this moneth, we had ſight of the Iſland of Orknye, which was then Eaſt from vs. 25

The firſt day of October, we had ſight of the Sheld, and ſo ſailed along the coaſt, and ankered at Yarmouth, and the next day we came into Harwiche. October. 1 The Sheld.

The language of the people of *Meta incognita.*

Argotteyt, a hand.
Cangnawe, a noſe.
Arered, an eye.
Keiotot, a tooth.
Mutchatet, the head.
Chewat, an eare.
Comagaye, a legge.
Atoniagay, a foote.
Callagay, a paire of breeches.
Attegay, a coate.
Polleuetagay, a knife.
Accaskay, a ſhippe.
Coblone, a thumbe.
Teckkere, the foremoſt finger.
Ketteckle, the middle finger.
Mekellacane, the fourth finger.
Yackettone, the little finger.

The ſecond voyage of Maſter Martin Frobiſher, made to the *VVeſt, and Northweſt Regions, in the yeere, 1577. with a deſ-* cription of the Countrey, and people: Written by Dioniſe Settle.

IN Whitſundaye, beeing the ſixe and twentieth of Maye, in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1577. Captaine Frobiſher departed from Blacke Wall, with one of the Queenes Maieſties ſhippes, called The Aide, of nine ſcore tunne, or thereabouts: and two other litle Barkes likewiſe, the one called The Gabriel, whereof Maiſter Fenton, a Gentleman of my Lord of Warwikes, was Captaine: and the other, The Michael, whereof Maiſter Yorke, a Gentleman of my Lord Admiralls was Captaine, accompanied with ſeuen ſcore Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, well furniſhed with victuals, and other prouiſion neceſſarie for one halfe yeere, on this his ſecond voiage, for the further diſcouering of the paſſage to Cathay, and other countries therunto adiacent, by weſt and northweſt nauigations: which paſſage or way, is ſuppoſed to be on the north & northweſt parts of America: and the ſaide America to be an Iſland enuironed with the Sea, where through our Merchants might haue courſe and recourſe with their merchandize, from theſe our Northernmoſt parts of Europe, to thoſe Orientall coaſtes of Aſia, in much ſhorter time, and with greater benefite then any others, to their no little commoditie and profite that doe or ſhall traffike the ſame. Our ſaid Captaine and General of this preſent voyage and companie, hauing the yeere before, with two little pinneſſes, to his great danger, and no ſmall commendations, giuen a worthy attempt towards the performance thereof, is alſo preſt (when occaſion ſhall be miniſtred, to the benefite of his Prince, and native Countrey) to aduenture himſelfe further therein. As for this ſecond voyage, it ſeemeth ſufficient, that he hath better explored and ſearched the commodities of thoſe people, and Countreis, with ſufficient commoditie vnto the aduenturers, which in his firſt voyage the yeere before, he had found out.

Vpon which conſiderations, the day and yeere before expreſſed, we departed from Blacke Wall to Harwiche, where making an accompliſhment of things neceſſarie, the laſt of May we hoiſed vp ſailes, and with a merrie wind the 7. of June, we arriued at the Iſlands, called Orchades, or vulgarly Orkney, being in number 30. ſubiect and adiacent to Scotland, where we made prouiſion The Iſlands Orchades, or Orkney.

of

of freſh water: in the doing whereof, our Generall licenced the Gentlemen and ſouldiers, for their recreation, to goe on ſhoare. At our landing, the people fled from their poore cottages, with ſhrikes and alarms, to warne their neighbours of enemies, but by gentle perſwaſions we reclamed them to their houſes. It ſeemeth they are often frighted with Pirats, or ſome other enemies, that moone them to ſuch ſudden feare. Their houſes are very ſimply builded with Pibble ſtone, without any chimneis, the fire being made in the middeſt thereof. The good man, wife, children, and other of their familie, eate and ſleepe on the one ſide of the houſe, and their cattell on the other, very beaſtly and rudely, in reſpect of ciuilitie. They are deſtitute of wood, their fire is turffes and Cow ſhardes. They haue corne, bigge, and oates, with which they pay their Kings rent, to the maintenance of his houſe. They take great quantitie of fiſhe, which they drie in the winde, and Sunne. They dreſſe their meate very filthily, and eate it without ſalt. Their apparell is after the rudeſt ſort of Scotland. Their money is all baſe. Their Church and religion is reformed according to the Scots. The fiſher men of England, can better declare the diſpoſitions of thoſe people then I: wherefore I remit other their vſages to their reports, as yeerely repairers thither, in their courſe to & from Iſland for fiſhe.

The Orchadians vpon final occaſion flee their home.

No wood in Orkney.

Fiſher men of England haue daily traffike to Orkney.

We departed herehence, the 8. of June, and followed our courſe betweene Weſt and Northweſt, vntill the 4. of Julie: all which time, we had no night, but that eaſily, and without any impediment, wee had when wee were ſo diſpoſed, the fruition of our bookes, and other pleaſures to paſſe away the time: a thing of no ſmall moment, to ſuch as wander in vnknowen ſeas, and long nauigations, eſpecially, when both the windes and raging ſurges, do paſſe their common and wonted courſe. This benefite endureth in thoſe parts not 6. weekes, whileſt the ſunne is neere the Tropike of Cancer: but where the Pole is raiſed to 70. or 80. degrees, it continueth the longer.

In June and July no night in thoſe weſt and northweſt regions.

All along theſe ſeas, after we were ſixe daies ſailing from Orkney, we met floting in the Sea, great Firre trees, which as we iudged, were with the furie of great floods rooted vp, and ſo driuen into the ſea. Iſland hath almoſt no other wood nor fuell, but ſuch as they take vp vppon their coaſtes. It ſeemeth, that theſe trees are driuen from ſome part of the New found lande, with the current that ſetteth from the Weſt to the Eaſt.

The 4. of July, we came within the making of Friſlande. From this ſhoare 10. or 12. leagues, we met great Iſlands of yce, of halfe a mile, ſome more, ſome leſſe in compaſſe, ſhewing aboue the ſea, 30. or 40. fathoms, and as we ſuppoſed, faſt on ground, where, with our lead we could ſcarſe ſound the bottome, for depth.

Here, in place of odoriferous and fragrant ſmels of ſweete gums, & pleaſant notes of muſicall birds, which other Countreis in more temperate Zone do yeeld, we taſted the moſt boiſterous Boreal blaſts, mixt with ſnow & haile, in the moneths of June & July, nothing inferior to our vntemperate winter: a ſudden alteration, and eſpecially in a place or Parale le, where the Pole is not eleuate aboue 61. degrees: at which height other Countreis more to the North, yea, vnto 70. degrees, ſhew themſelues more temperate then this doth.

Yce, ſnow, and haile in June and July.

All along this coaſt yce lieth, as a continual bulwarke, & ſo defendeth the Countrey, that thoſe which would land there, incur great danger. Our General 3. daies together, attempted with the ſhip boate to haue gone on ſhoare, which, for that without great danger he could not accompliſh, he deferred it vntil a more conuenient time. All along the coaſt lie very high mountaines, couered with ſnow, except in ſuch places, where, through the ſteepenes of the mountaines, of force it muſt needes fall. Foure daies coaſting along this land, we found no ſigne of habitation. Litle birds, which we iudged to haue loſt the ſhoare, by reaſon of thicke fogges, which that Countrey is much ſubiect vnto, came flying to our ſhips, which cauſeth vs to ſuppoſe, that the Countrey is both more tollerable, and alſo habitable within, then the outward ſhoare maketh ſhewe or ſignification.

Friſlande ſubiect to fogge.

From hence we departed the eight of Julie: and the 16. of the ſame, wee came with the making of land, which land our Generall, the yeere before, had named The Queenes foreland, being an Iſland, as we iudge, lying neere the ſuppoſed continent with America: and on the other ſide, oppoſite to the ſame, one other Iſland, called Halles Iſle, after the name of the Maſter of the ſhip, neere adiacent to the firme land, ſuppoſed continent with Aſia. Betweene the which two Iſlands there is a large entrance, or ſtreight, called Frobiſhers ſtreight, after the name of our Generall, the firſt finder thereof. This ſaid ſtreight, is ſuppoſed to haue paſſage into the ſea of Sur, which I leaue vnknowen as yet.

Frobiſhers ſtreight.

It ſeemeth, that either here, or not farre hence, the ſea ſhould haue more large entrance, then in other partes, within the frozen or vntemperate Zone: and that ſome contrary tide, either from the Eaſt or Weſt, with maine force caſteth out that great quantitie of yce, which commeth floting from this coaſt, euen vnto Friſlande, cauſing that Countrey to ſeeme more vntemperate then o-

ther

thers, much more northerly then the ſame.

I cannot iudge, that any temperature vnder the Pole, being the time of the Sunnes Northern declination, halfe a yeere together, and one whole day, (conſidering, that the Sunnes elevation ſurmounteth not 23. degrees, and 30. minuts,) can haue power to diſſolue ſuch monſtrous and huge yce, comparable to great mountaines, except by ſome other force, as by ſwift currents and tides, with the helpe of the laid day of halfe a yeere. Iſlands of yce comparable to mountaines.

Before we came within the making of theſe lands, we tafted cold ſtormes, in ſo much that it ſeemed, we had changed ſummer with winter, if the length of the dayes had not remooued vs from that opinion.

At our firſt comming, the ſtreights ſeemed to be ſhut vp with a long mure of yce, which gaue no litle cauſe of diſcomfort vnto vs all: but our Generall, (to whoſe diligence imminent dangers, and difficult attempts ſeemed nothing, in reſpect of his willing minde, for the commoditie of his Prince, and Countrey,) with two little Pinneſſes prepared of purpoſe, paſſed twiſe thorough them to the Eaſt ſhoare, and the Iſlands thereunto adiacent: and the ſhip, with the two Barkes, lay off and on ſomething further into the ſea, from the danger of the yce. Captain Frobiſher his ſpeciall care and diligence for the benefite of his Prince and Countrey.

Whileſt he was ſearching the Countrey neere the ſhoare, ſome of the people of the Countrey ſhewed themſelues, leaping and daunſing, with ſtrange ſhrikes, and cries, which gaue no little admiration to our men. Our Generall deſirous to allure them vnto him by faire meanes, cauſed knines, and other things, to be profered vnto them, which they would not take at our handes: but being laid on the ground, and the partie going away, they came and tooke vp, leauing ſome thing of theirs to countervaile the ſame. At the length, two of them leauing their weapons, came downe to our Generall and Maſter, who did the like to them, commanding the compane to ſtay, and went vnto them: who, after certaine dumbe ſignes, and mute congratulations, began to lay handes vpon them, but they deliuerly eſcaped, and ranne to their bowes and arrowes, and came fiercely vpon them, (not reſpecting the reſt of our companie, which were ready for their defence) but with their arrowes hurt diuers of them: we tooke the one, and the other eſcaped. The order of the people appearing on ſhoare. Fierce and bold people. One taken.

Whileſt our Generall was buſied in ſearching the Countrey, and thoſe Iſlands adiacent on the Eaſt ſhoare, the ſhip and barkes hauing great care, not to put farre into the ſea from him, for that he had ſmal ſtore of victuals, were forced to abide in a cruell tempeſt, chancing in the night, amongſt and in the thickeſt of the yce, which was ſo monſtrous, that euen the leaſt of a thouſand had bene of force ſufficient, to haue ſhiuered our ſhip and barkes into ſmal portions, if God (who in all neceſſities, hath care vpon the infirmitie of man) had not prouided for this our extremitie a ſufficient remedie, through the light of the night, whereby wee might well diſcerne to flee from ſuch imminent dangers, which we auoided with 14. Bourdes in one watch the ſpace of 4. howres. If we had not incurred this danger amongſt theſe monſtrous Iſlands of yce, we ſhould haue loſt our Generall and Maſter, and the moſt of our beſt ſailers, which were on the ſhoare deſtitute of victuals: but by the valure of our Maſter Gunner, Maſter Iackman, and Andrew Dier, the Maſters Mates, men expert both in nauigation, and other good qualities, wee were all content to incurre the dangers afore rehearſed, before we would, with our owne ſafetie, runne into the ſeas, to the deſtruction of our ſaid Generall, and his companie. Richard Core, Maſter Gunner. Maſter Iackman. Andrew Dier.

The day following, being the 19. of Julie, our Captaine returned to the ſhippe, with good newes of great riches, which ſhewed it ſelfe in the bowels of thoſe barren mountaines, wherwith we were all ſatiſfied. A ſudden mutation. The one part of vs being almoſt ſwallowed vp the night before, with cruell Neptunes force, and the reſt on ſhoare, taking thought for their greedie paunches, how to find the way to New found land: at one moment we were all wrapt with ioy, forgetting both where we were, and what we had ſuffered. Behold the glorie of man, to night contemning riches, and rather looking for death then otherwiſe: and to morrowe deuiſing howe to ſatisfie his greedie appetite with golde. New found land.

Within foure daies after we had bene at the entrance of the ſtreights, the northweſt and Weſt windes diſperſed the yce into the ſea, and made vs a large entrance into the ſtreights, that without any impediment, on the 19. of Julie, we entred them, and the 20. thereof, our General and Maſter, with great diligence, ſought out and ſounded the Weſt ſhoare, and founde out a faire Harborough for the ſhippe and barkes to ride in, and named it after our Maſters mate, Iackmans ſound, and brought the ſhip, barkes, and all their companie to ſafe anker, except one man, which died by Gods viſitation. Iackmans ſound.

At our firſt arriuall, after the ſhip rode at anker, our Generall, with ſuch companie as could wel be ſpared from the ſhippes, in marching order entred the lande, hauing ſpeciall care by exhortations, that at our entrance thereinto, we ſhould all with one voice, kneeling vpon our knees, chiefly thanke

thanke God for our ſafe arriuall: ſecondly beſeech him, that it would pleaſe his diuine Maieſtie, long to continue our Queene, for whome he, and all the reſt of our companie, in this order tooke poſſeſſion of the Countrey: and thirdly, that by our Chriſtian ſtudis and endeuour, thoſe barbarous people trained vp in Paganrie, and infidelitie, might be reduced to the knowledge of true religion, and to the hope of ſaluation in Chriſt our Redeemer. With other wordes very apt to ſignifie his willing mind, and affection towards his Prince, and Countrey: whereby all ſuſpicion of an vndutifull ſubiect, may credibly be iudged to be vtterly exempted from his mind. All the reſt of the Gentlemen, and other, deſerue worthily herein, their due praiſe and commendation.

Poſſeſſion taken.

Theſe things in this order accompliſhed, our Generall commanded all the companie to be obedient in things needefull for our owne ſafegard, to Maſter Fenton, Maſter Yorke, and Maſter Beaſt, his Lieutenant, while he was occupied in other neceſſary affaires, concerning our comming thither.

After this order we marched through the Countrey, with Enſigne diſplaied, ſo farre as was thought needefull, and now and then heaped vp ſtones on high mountaines, and other places, in token of poſſeſſion, as likewiſe to ſignifie vnto ſuch as hereafter may chance to arriue there, that poſſeſſion is taken in the behalfe of ſome other Prince, by thoſe which firſt found out the countrey.

Yce needfull to be regarded of ſeafaring men.

Who ſo maketh nauigations to theſe Countreis, hath not onely extreame windes, and furious ſeas, to encounter withall, but alſo many monſtrous and great Iſlands of yce: a thing both rare, wonderfull, and greatly to be regarded.

We were forced ſundry times, while the ſhip did ride here at anker, to haue continual watch, with boates & men ready with halſers, to knit faſt vnto ſuch yce, which with the ebbe & flood were toſſed to & fro in the harborough, & with force of oares to hale them away, for endangering ẏ ſhip.

Our Generall, certaine daies ſearched this ſuppoſed continent with America, and not finding the commoditie to anſwere his expectation, after hee had made triall thereof, hee departed thence with two little barkes, and men ſufficient, to the Eaſt ſhoare, being the ſuppoſed continent of Aſia, and left the ſhip with moſt of the Gentlemen, ſouldiers, and ſailers, vntill ſuch time as he, either thought good to ſend, or come for them.

Stones gliſter with ſparkles like gold.

The ſtones of this ſuppoſed continent with America, be altogether ſparkled, and gliſter in the Sunne like gold: ſo likewiſe doth the ſand in the bright water, yet they verifie the old Prouerbe:

A common prouerbe.

All is not golde that gliſtereth.

On this Weſt ſhoare we found a dead fiſhe floating, which had in his noſe a horne ſtreight and torquet, of length two yardes lacking two inches, being broken in the top, where we might perceiue it hollowe, into which ſome of our ſailers putting Spiders, they preſently died. I ſawe not the triall hereof, but it was reported vnto me of a trueth: by the vertue whereof, we ſuppoſed it to be the ſea Unicorne.

The ſea Unicorne.

After our Generall had found out good harborough for the ſhip and barkes to anker in, and alſo ſuch ſtore of gold ore, as he thought himſelfe ſatisfied withall, he returned to the Michael, whereof Maſter Yorke aforeſaid, was Captaine, accompanied with our Maſter, and his Mate: who coaſting along the Weſt ſhoare, not farre from whence the ſhip rode, they perceaued a faire harborough, and willing to ſound the ſame, at the entrance therof they eſpied two tents of Seale ſkins, vnto which the Captaine, our ſaid Maſter, and other companie reſorted. At the ſight of our men, the people fled into the mountaines: neuertheleſſe, they went to their tents, where leauing certaine trifles of ours, as glaſſes, bels, kniues, & ſuch like things, they departed, not taking any thing of theirs, except one dogge. They did in like manner leaue behind them, a letter, pen, incke, and paper, whereby our men, whome the Captaine loſt the yeere before, and in that peoples cuſtodie, might (if any of them were aliue) be aduertiſed of our pretence, and being there.

The people fled at the ſight of our men.

On the ſame day, after conſultation had, all the Gentlemen, and others likewiſe, that could be ſpared from the ſhip, vnder the conduct and leading of Maſter Philpot, (vnto whome, in our Generall his abſence, and his Lieutenant Maſter Beaſt, all the reſt were obedient) went a ſhoare, determining to ſee, if by faire meanes we could either allure them to familiaritie, or otherwiſe take ſome of them, & ſo attein to ſome knowledge of thoſe men, whom our General loſt ẏ yeere before.

Maſter Philpot. Maſter Beaſt.

At our comming backe againe to the place where their tents were before, they had remooued their tents further into the ſaid Baye or Sownd, where they might, if they were driuen from the land, flee with their boates into the ſea. Wee parting our ſelues into two companies, and compaſſing a mountaine, came ſuddenly vpon them by land, who eſpying vs, without any tarying, fled to their boates, leauing the moſt part of their oares behind them for haſte, and rowed downe the bay, where our two Pinneſſes met them, and droue them to ſhare: but, if they had had all their oares, ſo ſwift are they in rowing, it had bene loſt time to haue chaſed them.

When

When they were landed, they fiercely assaulted our men with their bowes and arrowes, who wounded three of them with our arrowes: and perceiuing themselues thus hurt, they desperatly leapt off the Rocks into the Sea, and drowned themselues: which if they had not done, but had submitted themselues, or if by any meanes we could haue taken aliue (being their enemies as they iudged) we would both haue saued them, and also haue sought remedie to cure their wounds receiued at our hands. But they, altogether voyde of humanitie, and ignorant what mercy meaneth, in extremities looke for no other then death: and perceiuing they should fal into our hands, thus miserably by drowning rather desired death, then otherwise to bee saued by vs: the rest, perceiuing their fellowes in this distresse, fled into the high mounteines. Two women, not being so apt to escape as the men were, the one for her age, and the other being incombred with a yong childe, we tooke. The olde wretch, whom diuers of our Saylers supposed to be eyther a diuell, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were clouen footed, and for her ougly hewe and deformitie, we let her goe: the yong woman and the childe, we brought away. We named the place where they were slaine, Bloudie point: and the Bay or Harborough, Yorkes sound, after the name of one of the Capteines of the two Barkes.

A fierce assault of a few.

Hauing this knowledge both of their fiercenesse and cruelty, and perceiuing that faire means, as yet, is not able to allure them to familiaritie, we disposed our selues, contrary to our inclination, something to be cruel, returned to their tents, and made a spoyle of the same: where we found an olde shirt, a doublet, a girdle, and also shooes of our men, whom we lost the yeere before: on nothing else vnto them belonging could we set our eyes.

Faire meanes not able to allure them to familiarity.

Their riches are not gold, siluer or precious Drapery, but their said tents and boates, made of the skins of red Deare and Seale skins: also, dogges like vnto woolues, but for the most part black, with other trifles, more to be wondred at for their strangenesse, then for any other commoditie needefull for our vse.

Boates of skinnes.

Thus returning to our ship the 3. of August, we departed from the west shoare, supposed firme with America, after we had anchored there 13. dayes: and so, the 4. thereof, we came to our Generall on the East shoare, and anchored in a faire Harborough named Anne Warrwickes sound, vnto which is annexed an Island both named after the Countesse of Warwicke, Anne Warrwicks sound and Isle.

Our departure from the west shoare.

In this Isle, our Generall thought good, for this voyage, to fraight both the ships and barkes, with such Stone or gold minerall, as he iudged to counteruaile the charges of his first, & this his seconde Nauigation to these countries, with sufficient interest to the venturers, whereby they might both be satisfied for this time, and also in time to come (if it please God and our Prince) to expect a much more benefite, out of the bowels of those Septentrionall Paralels, which long time hath concealed it selfe, till at this present, through the wonderfull diligence, and great danger of our Generall and others, God is contented with the reuealing thereof. It riseth so abundantly, that from the beginning of August, to the 22. thereof (euery man following the diligence of our General) we raysed aboue ground 200. tunne, which wee iudged a reasonable fraight for the ship and two barkes, in the sayd Anne Warrwickes Isle.

In the meane time of our abode here, some of the countrie people, came to shewe themselues vnto vs, sundrie times on the maine shoare, neere adiacent to the said Isle. Our Generall, desirous to haue some newes of his men, whom he lost the yeere before, with some company with him repaired with the ship boat, to common, or signe with them for familiaritie, whereunto he is perswaded to bring them. They, at the first shewe, made tokens, that three of his fiue men were aliue, and desired penne, pnck, and paper, and that within three or foure daies, they would returne, and (as we iudged) bring those of our men, which were liuing, with them.

The countrie people shewe themselues vnto vs.

They also made signes or tokens of their King, whom they called Cacough, & how he was carried on mens shoulders, & a man farre surmounting any of our company, in bignesse & stature.

With these tokens and signes of writing, penne, pnke, and paper was deliuered them, which they would not take at our hands, but being layd vpon the shoare, and the partie gone away, they tooke vp: which likewise they do, when they desire any thing for change of theirs, laying for that which is left, so much as they thinke wil counteruaile the same, and not comming neare together. It seemeth they haue bene vsed to this trade or traffique, with some other people adioyning, or not farre distant from their Countrie.

Their vsage in traffique or exchange.

After 4. daies, some of them shewed themselues vpon the firme land, but not where they were before. Our General very glad thereof, supposing to heare of our men, went from the Island, w̄ the boate, and sufficient company with him. They seemed very glad, and allured him, about a certeine point of the land: behind which they might perceiue a companie of the craftie villains to lye

The people shewe themselues the third time.

lurking, whom our Generall would not deale withall, for that he knew not what company they were, & so with few signes dismissed them, & returned to his company.

The people shewe themselues againe on firme land.

An other time, as our said General was coasting the countrie, with two little Pinisses, whereby at our returne he might make the better relation thereof, three of the craftie villains, with a white skin allured vs to them. Once againe, our Generall, for that he hoped to heare of his men, went towards them: at our comming neare the shoare, whereon they were, we might perceiue a number of them lie hidden behinde great stones, & those three in sight labouring by al meanes possible, that some would come on land: & perceiuing we made no hast by words nor friendly signes, which they vsed by clapping of their hands, and being without weapon, and but three in sight, they sought further meanes to prouoke vs thereunto. One alone layd flesh on the shoare, which wee tooke vp with the Boate hooke, as necessary victuals for the relieuing of the man, woman, and child, whom we had taken: for that as yet, they could not digest our meate: whereby they perceyued themselues deceiued of their expectation, for all their craftie allurements. Yet once againe, to make (as it were) a full shewe of their craftie natures, and subtile sleightes, to the intent thereby to haue intrapped and taken some of our men, one of them counterfeited himselfe impotent and lame of his legges, who seemed to descend to the water side, with great difficultie: & to couer his crafte the more, one of his fellowes came downe with him, and in such places, where hee seemed vnable to passe, he tooke him on his shoulders, set him by the water side, and departed from him, leauing him (as it should seeme) all alone, who playing his counterfeite pageant very wel, thought thereby to prouoke some of vs to come on shoare, not fearing, but that one of vs might make our partie good with a lame man.

Their first meanes to allure vs to shoare.

Their second meanes.

Their third and craftiest allurement.

Compassion to cure a craftie lame man.

Our Generall, hauing compassion of his impotencie, thought good (if it were possible) to cure him therof: wherefore, he caused a souldiour to shoote at him with his Caleeuer, which grased before his face. The counterfeit villeine deliuerly fled, without any impediment at all, and gott him to his bowe and arrowes, and the rest from their lurking holes, with their weapons, bowes, arrowes, slings, and darts. Our Generall caused some caleeuers to be shot off at them, wherby some being hurt, they might hereafter stand in more feare of vs.

This was all the aunswere, for this time, we could haue of our men, or of our Generals letter. Their craftie dealing, at these three seuerall times, being thus manifest vnto vs, may plainely shewe, their disposition in other things to be correspondent. We iudged, that they vsed these stratagemmes, thereby to haue caught some of vs, for the deliuering of the man woman and childe whom we had taken.

They are men of a large corporature, and good proportion: their colour is not much vnlike the Sunne burnt Countrie man, who laboureth daily in Sunne for his liuing.

They weare their haire something long, and cut before, either with stone or knife, very disorderly. Their women weare their haire long, and knit vp with two loupes, shewing forth on either side of their faces, and the rest foltred vpon a knot. Also, some of their women race their faces proportionally, as chinne, cheekes, and forehead, and the wristes of their hands, whereupon they lay a colour, which continueth darke azurine.

They eate their meate all rawe, both flesh, fish, and foule, or something perboyled with bloud and a little water, which they drinke. For lacke of water, they wil eate yce, that is hard frosen, as pleasantly as we will doe Sugar, Candie, or other Sugar.

If they, for necessities sake, stand in neede of the premisses, such grasse as the countrie yeeldeth they plucke vpp, and eate, not deintily, or salletwise to allure their stomaches to appetite: but for necessities sake, without either salt, oyles, or washing, like brute beasts deuouring the same. They neither vse table, stoole, or table cloth for comelines: but when they are imbrued with bloud, knuckle deepe, and their kniues in like sort, they vse their tongues as apt instrumentes to licke them cleane: in doing whereof, they are assured to loose none of their victuals.

Doggs like vnto wolues.

They frank or keepe certeine doggs, not much vnlike Wolues, which they yoke together, as we do oxen & horses, to a sled or traile: and so carrie their necessaries ouer the yce and snow, from place to place: as the captiue, whom we haue, made perfect signes. And when those doggs are not apt for the same vse: or when with hunger they are constrained for lacke of other victuals, they eate them: so that they are as needful for them, in respect of their bignesse, as our oxen are for vs.

They eate doggs flesh.

They apparell themselues in the skinnes of such beastes as they kill, sewed together with the sinewes of them. All the fowle which they kill, they skin, and make thereof one kinde of garment or other, to defend them from the cold.

Hoods and tailes to their apparel.

They make their apparel with hoods and tailes, which tailes they giue, when they thinke to gratifie any friendshippe shewed vnto them: a great signe of friendshippe with them. The men

haue

haue them not ſo ſyde as the women.

The men and women weare their hoſe cloſe to their legges, from the waſt to the knee, without any open before, as well the one kind as the other. Upon their legges they weare hoſe of leather, with the furre ſide inward, two or three paire on at once, and eſpecially the women. In thoſe hoſe, they put their knives, needles, and other things needefull to beare about. They put a bone within their hoſe, which reacheth from the foote to the knee, whereupon they draw their ſaid hoſe, and ſo in place of garters, they are holden from falling downe about their feete.

They dreſſe their ſkinnes very ſoft and couple with the haire on. In cold weather or Winter, they weare the furre ſide inward: and in Summer outward. Other apparell they haue none, but the ſaid ſkinnes.

Thoſe beaſtes, fiſhes, and fowles, which they kill, are their meate, drinke, apparel, houſes, bedding, hoſe, ſhooes, thred, and ſailes for their boates, with many other neceſſaries, wherof they ſtand in neede, and almoſt all their riches.

Their houſes are tents, made of Seale ſkins, pitched up with 4. Firre quarters, foure ſquare, meeting at the toppe, and the ſkinnes ſewed together with ſinewes, and layd thereupon: they are ſo pitched up, that the entrance into them, is alwaies South, or againſt the Sunne. Their houſes of Seale ſkins and Firre.

They haue other ſortes of houſes, which we found, not to be inhabited, which are raiſed with ſtones and Whale bones, and a ſkinne layd ouer them, to withſtande the raine, or other weather: the entrance of them being not much vnlike an Ouens mouth, whereto I thinke, they reſort for a time to fiſhe, hunt, and foule, and ſo leaue them vntill the next time they come thether againe.

Their weapons are bowes, arrowes, dartes, and ſlinges. There bowes are of wood, of a yard long, ſinewed on the back with ſtrong ſinewes, not glued too, but faſt girded and tyed on. Their bowe ſtringes are likewiſe ſinewes. Their arrowes are three peeces, nocked with bone, and ended with bone, with thoſe two endes, and the wood in the middſt, they paſſe not in length halfe a yard or little more. They are fethered with two fethers, the penne end being cutt away, and the fethers layd vpon the arrow with the broad ſide to the wood: in ſomuch that they ſeeme, when they are tyed on, to haue foure fethers. They haue likewiſe three ſorts of heades to thoſe arrowes: one ſort of ſtone or yron, proportioned like to a heart: the ſecond ſort of bone, much like vnto a ſtopte head, with a hooke on the ſame: the third ſort of bone likewiſe, made ſharpe at both ſides, and ſharp pointed They are not made very faſt, but lightly tyed to, or elſe ſet in a nocke, that vpon ſmall occaſion, the arrowe leaueth theſe heads behinde them: and they are of ſmall force, except they be very neere, when they ſhoote. Their weapons of defence. Three ſorts of heads to their arrowes.

Their Darts are made of two ſorts: the one with many forkes of bones in the fore ende, and likewiſe in the middſt: their proportions are not much vnlike our toaſting yrons, but longer: theſe they caſt out of an inſtrument of wood, very readily. The other ſort is greater then the firſt aforeſayd, with a long bone made ſharp on both ſides, not much vnlike a Rapier, which I take to bee their moſt hurtfull weapon. Two ſortes of dartes.

They haue two ſorts of boats made of leather, ſet out on the inner ſide with quarters of wood, artificially tyed together with thongs of the ſame: the greater ſort are not much vnlike our wherries, wherein ſixteene or twenty men may ſitte: they haue for a ſayle, dreſt the guttes of ſuch beaſts as they kill, very fine and thinne, which they ſewe together: the other boate is but for one man to ſitte and rowe in, with one oare. Two ſorts of Boats made of leather.

Their order of fiſhing, hunting, and fowling are with theſe ſayd weapons: but in what ſort, or how they vſe them, we haue no perfect knowledge as yet. They vſe to foule, fiſhe, and hunt.

I can ſuppoſe their abode or habitation not to be here, for that neither their houſes or apparel, are of ſuch force to withſtand the extremity of colde, that the countrie ſeemeth to be infected with all: neyther doe I ſee any ſigne likely to performe the ſame. It is to be ſuppoſed that their inhabiting is elſewhere.

Thoſe houſes, or rather dennes, which ſtand there, haue no ſigne of footway, or any thing elſe troden, which is one of the chiefeſt tokens of habitation. And thoſe tentes, which they bring with them, when they haue ſufficiently hunted and fiſhed, they remoue to other places: and when they haue ſuffiently ſtored them of ſuch victuals, as the country yeldeth, or bringeth forth, they returne to their Winter ſtations or habitations. This coniecture do I make, for the infertilitie, which I perceiue to be in that countrie.

They haue ſome yron, whereof they make arrowe heads, knives, and other little inſtruments, to worke their boates, bowes, arrowes, and dartes withall, which are very vnapt to doe any thing withall, but with great labour. Their vſe of yron.

It ſeemeth, that they haue converſation with ſome other people, of whom for exchaunge, they

should receiue the same. They are greatly delighted with any thing that is bright, or giueth a sound.

What knowledge they haue of God, or what Idol they adore, we haue no perfect intelligence.

Anthropophagi. I thinke them rather Anthropophagi, or deuourers of mans flesh, then otherwise: for that there is no flesh or fishe, which they finde dead (smell it neuer so filthily) but they will eate it, as they finde it, without any other dressing. A loathsome thing, either to the beholders, or hearers.

Signes of gold cure. There is no maner of creeping beast hurtfull, except some Spiders (which, as many affirme, are signes of great store of Gold:) and also certeine stinging Gnattes, which bite so fiercely, that the place where they bite, shortly after swelleth, and itcheth very sore.

Signes of gold from other people. They make signes of certaine people, that weare bright plates of gold in their foreheades, and other places of their bodies.

Description of the Countries The Countries, on both sides the streights, lye very high with rough stonie mountaines, and great quantitie of snowe thereon. There is very little plaine grounde, and no grasse, except a little, which is much like vnto mosse that groweth on soft ground, such as we get Turfes in. There is no wood at all. To be briefe, there is nothing fitte, or profitable for the vse of man, which that Countrie with roote yeeldeth or bringeth forth: Howbeit, there is great quantity of Deere, whose skinnes are like vnto Asses, their heads or hornes doe farre exceede, as well in length as also in breadth, any in these our partes or Countrie: their feete likewise, are as great as our oxens, which we measured to be seuen or eight inches in breadth. There are also hares, wolues, fishing beares, and Sea foule of sundry sortes.

As the Countrie is barren and vnfertile, so are they rude & of no capacitie to culture the same, to any perfection: but are contented by their hunting, fishing, and fowling, with rawe flesh and warme blood, to satisfie their greedie panches, which is their onely glorie.

A signe of Earthquakes or thunder. There is great likelyhood of Earthquakes, or thunder: for that there are huge & monsterous mounteines, whose greatest substance are stones, and those stones so shaken with some extraordinarie meanes, that one is separated from another, which is discordant from al other Quarries.

No riuers, but such as the Sunne doeth cause to come of snowe. There are no riuers, or running springes, but such, as through the heate of the Sunne, with such water as discendeth from the mountaines and hilles, whereon great drifts of snowe doe lie, are ingendred.

A probability, that there should be neither spring or riuers in the ground. It argueth also, that there should be none: for that the earth, which with the extremitie of the Winter, is so frosen within, that that water, which should haue recourse within the same, to mainteine Springs, hath not his motion, whereof great waters haue their originall, as by experience is seene otherwhere. Such valleies, as are capable to receiue the water, that in the Summer time, by the operation of the Sunne, descendeth from great abundance of snowe, which continually lyeth on the mounteines, and hath no passage, sinketh into the earth, and so vanisheth away, without any runnell aboue the earth, by which occasion, or continual standing of the said water, the earth is opened, and the great frost yeldeth to the force thereof, which in other places, foure or fiue fathoms within the ground for lacke of the said moysture, the earth: (euen in the very Summer time) is frosen, and so combineth the stones together, that scarcely instruments, with great force, can vnknit them.

Also, where the water in those vallies can haue no such passage away, by ꝑ continuance of time, in such order as is before rehearsed, the yeerely descent from the mountaines, filleth them full, that at the lowest banke of the same, they fall into the next vallie, and so continue, as fishing ponds or Stagnes in Summer time full of water, and in the Winter hard frosen: as by skarres, that remaine thereof in Summer, may easily be perceiued: so that, the heate of Summer, is nothing comparable or of force, to dissolue the extremitie of colde, that commeth in Winter.

Neuertheless, I am assured that belowe the force of the frost, within the earth, the waters haue recourse, and emptie themselues out of sight into the sea, which through the extremitie of the frost, are constrayned to doe the same: by which occasion, the earth within is kept the warmer, and springes haue their recourse, which is the onely nutriment of Golde and Minerals within the same.

Springs nourish gold.

There is much to be said of the commodities of these Countries, which are couched within the bowels of the earth, which I let passe till more perfect triall be made thereof.

An end of coniecturing till further trueth and triall. Thus coniecturing, till time, with the earnest industrie of our Generall and others (who by all diligence remaine prest to explore the truth of that which is vnexplored, as he hath to his euerlasting praise founde out that which is like to yeelde an innumerable benefite to his Prince and countrie) offer further triall, I conclude.

The

The 23. of Auguſt, after we had ſatiſfied our mindes with fraight ſufficient for our veſſels, though not our couetous deſires, with ſuch knowledge of the countrey, people, and other commodities as are before rehearſed, the 24. thereof we departed therehence: the 17. of September we fell with the lands end of England, and ſo to Milford Hauen, from whence our Generall rode to the Court for order, to what Porte or Hauen to conduct the ſhippe.

Shippes ſatiſfied with burthen, but mens mindes not contented.

We loſt our two Barkes in the way homeward, the one, the 29. of Auguſt, the other, the 31. of the ſame moneth, by occaſion of great tempeſt and fogge. Howbeit, God reſtored the one to Briſtowe, and the other making his courſe by Scotland, to Yermouth. In this Voyage we loſt two men, one in the way by Gods viſitation, and the other homewarde caſt ouer boarde with a ſurge of the Sea.

Our departure frō thoſe countries.

How, & when, we loſt our 2. Barks, which God neuertheleſſe reſtored.

I Could declare vnto the Readers, the Latitude and Longitude of ſuch places and regions, as we haue bene at, but not altogether ſo perfectly as our maſters and others, with many circumſtances of tempeſts and other accidents incident to Sea faring men, which ſeeme not altogether ſtrange, but I let them paſſe to their reporters as men moſt apt to ſet foorth and declare the ſame. I haue alſo left the names of the Countries on both the ſhores vntouched, for lacke of vnderſtanding the peoples language: as alſo for ſundry reſpects, not needfull as yet to bee declared.

The concluſion.

Countries newe explored, where commoditie is to be looked for, doe better accorde with a newe name giuen by the explorers, then an vncertaine name by a doubtfull Authour.

Our General named ſundry Iſlands, Mountaines, Capes, and Harborroughs after the names of diuers Noble men, & other gentlemen his friends, as wel on the one ſhore, as alſo on the other.

The third and laſt voyage into Meta Incognita, made by *M. Martin Frobiſher, in the yeere* 1578. *VVritten* by Thomas Ellis.

THeſe are to let you knowe, that vpon the 25. of May, the Thomas Allen, being Viceadmirall, whoſe Captaine was M. Yorke, M. Gibbes Maſter, M. Chriſtopher Hall Pilot, accompanied with the Reareadmiral named the Hopewel, whoſe Captaine was M. Henrie Carewe, the M. Andrewe Dier, and certaine other ſhippes, came to Grauеſend, where we ankred and abode the comming of certaine other of our Fleete, which were not yet come.

Maſter Yorke. Chriſtopher Hall. The Hopewel. Captaine Carew. Andrew Dier.

The 27. of the ſame moneth, our Fleete being nowe come together, and all things preſt in a readineſſe, the winde fauouring, and tide ſeruing, we being of ſailes in nomber eight, waied ankers, and hoyſed our ſailes toward Harwich, to meete with our Admirall, and the reſidue, which then and there abode our arriuall: where we ſafely arriued the 28. thereof, finding there our Admirall, whom we, with the diſcharge of certaine pieces, ſaluted (according to order and duetie) and were welcomed with the like courteſie: which being finiſhed, we landed: where our Generall continued muſtring his Souldiers and Miners, and ſetting things in order apperteining to the voyage, vntill the laſt of the ſayd moneth of May, which day we hoyſed our ſailes, and committing our ſelues to the conducting of Almightie God, we ſet forward toward the Weſt countrey, in ſuch luckie wiſe, and good ſucceſſe, that by the firſt of June, we paſſed the Durſies, being the vtmoſt part of Ireland, to the Weſtward.

Harwich.

Durſies. Ireland.

And here it were not much amiſſe, nor farre from our purpoſe, if I ſhould a litle diſcourſe and ſpeake of our aduentures and chances by the way, as our landing at Plymmouth, as alſo the meeting of certaine poore men, which were robbed and ſpoyled of all that they had, by Pirates and Rouers: amongſt whom was a man of Briſtowe, on whom our General vſed his liberalitie, and ſent him away with letters into England.

Plymmouth.

Briſtowe.

But becauſe ſuch things are impertinent to the matter, I will returne (without any more mentioning of the ſame) to that, from the which I haue digreſſed, and ſwarued, I meane our ſhippes now ſailing on the ſurging Seas, ſometime paſſing at pleaſure with a wiſhed Eaſterne winde, ſometime hindered of our courſe againe by the Weſterne blaſtes, vntill the 20. day of the foreſayd moneth of June, on which day in the morning we fell with Frizeland, which is a very hie and cragged land, and was almoſt cleane couered with ſnowe, ſo that we might ſee nought but craggie rockes, and the tops of high and huge hilles, ſometimes (and for the moſt part) all couered with foggie miſtes. There might we alſo perceiue the great Iſles of yce lying on the ſeas,

Frizeland.

like mountaines, some small, some big, of sundry kindes of shapes, and such a number of them, that we could not come neere the shore for them.

Thus sailing alongst the coast, at the last we sawe a place somewhat voyde of yce, where our Generall, (accompanied with certaine other) went a shoare, where they sawe certaine tentes made of beasts skins, and boats much like vnto theirs of Meta incognita. The tents were furnished with flesh, fish, skins, and other trifles: amongst the which was found a boxe of nailes: whereby we did coniecture, that they had either Artificers amongst them, or els a traffike with some other nation. The men ranne away, so that we could haue no conference or communication with them. Our Generall (because he would haue them no more to flee, but rather encouraged to stay through his courteous dealing) gaue commaundement, that his men should take nothing away with them, sauing onely a couple of white Dogs, for which he left pins, poynts, kniues, and other trifling things, and departed, without taking or hurting any thing, and so came a boord, and hoysed sayles, and passed forwards.

The courtesie of our Generall.

But being scarse out of the sight thereof, there fell such a fogge and hidious mist, that we could not see one another: whereupon we stroke our drums, and sounded our trumpets, to the ende we might keepe together: and so continued all that day and night, till the next day, that the mist brake vp: so that we might easily perceiue all the ships thus sayling together all that day, vntill the next day, being the 22. of the same: on which day wee sawe an infinite number of yce, from the which we cast about to shun the danger thereof.

But one of our small Barkes, named the Michael, whose Captaine was Master Kinderslie, the Master Bartholomewe Bull, lost our companie, insomuch that we could not obteine the sight of her many dayes after, of whom I meane to speake further anon, when occasion shall be ministred, and opportunitie serue. Thus we continued on our course, vntill the second of July, on which day we fell with the Queenes foreland, where wee sawe so much yce, that we thought it vnpossible to get into the Straights: yet at the last we gaue the aduenture, and entred the yce.

Master Kinderslie. Bartholomew Bull.

Being in amongst it, we sawe the Michael, of whome I spake before, accompanied with the Iudith, whose Captaine was Master Fenton, the Master Charles Iackman, bearing into the foresayd yce, farre distant from vs, who in a storme that fell, that present night, (whereof I will at large, God willing, discourse hereafter) were seuered from vs, and being in, wandred vp and downe the Straights, amongst the yce, many dayes, in great perill, till at the last, (by the prouidence of God) they came safely to harbor in their wished Porte, in the Countesse of Warwicks sound, the 20. of July aforesayd, ten dayes before any of the other shippes: who going on shoare found where the people of the Countrey had bene, and had hid their prouision in great heapes of stones, being both of flesh, and fish, which they had killed: whereof we also found great store in other places after our arriuall. They found also diuers engins, as bowes, slings, and darts. They found likewise certaine pieces of the Pinnesse which our Generall left there the yeere before, which Pinnesse he had soonke, minding to haue it againe the next yeere.

The Michael. The Iudith. M. Fenton. Charles Jackman.

The Countesse of Warwicks sound.

Nowe, seeing I haue entreated so much of the Iudith, and the Michael: I will returne to the rest of the other shippes, and wil speake a little of the storme which fell, with the mishaps that we had, the night that we put into the yce: whereof I made mention before.

At the first entrie into the yce, in the mouth of the Straights, our passage was very narrowe, and difficill: but being once gotten in, we had a faire open place without any yce, for the most part: being a league in compasse, the yce being round about vs, and inclosing vs, as it were within the pales of a parke. In which place, (because it was almost night) we minded to take in our sayles, and lie a hull all that night. But the storme so increased, and the waues beganne to mount aloft, which brought the yce so neere vs, and comming on so fast vpon vs, that we were faine to beare in and out, where we might espie an open place. Thus the yce comming on vs so fast, we were in great danger, looking euery houre for death. And thus passed we on in that great danger, seeing both our selues, and the rest of our ships so troubled and tossed amongst the yce, that it would make the strongest heart to relent.

Our entrance & passage, &c.

At the last, the Barke Dionyse, being but a weake ship, and hused afore amongst the yce, being so leake that she no longer could tarry aboue ỹ water, sanke without sauing any of the goods which were within her: which sight so abashed the whole Fleete, that wee thought verily wee should haue tasted of the same sauce. But neuertheless, we seeing them in such danger, manned our boates, and saued all the men, in such wise, that not one perished, (God be thanked.)

Barke Dionyse

The storme still increased, and the yce inclosed vs, that wee were faine to take downe top and top masts: for the yce had so enuironed vs, that we could see neither land, nor sea, as farre as we could kenne: so that we were faine to cut our cables, to hang ouer boorde for fenders, somewhat

Narow shifts for safetie.

what to eaſe the ſhippes ſides, from the great and dyrie ſtrokes of the yce: ſome Capſtan barres, ſome fending off with oares, ſome with plancks of two ynches thicke, which were broken immediatly with the force of the yce, ſome going out vpon the yce to beare it off with their ſhoulders from the ſhips. But the rigorouſneſſe of the tempeſt was ſuch, and the force of the yce ſo great, that not onely they burſt and ſpoyled the foreſayd prouiſion: but likewiſe ſo raſed the ſides of the ſhips, that it was pitifull to beholde, and cauſed the hearts of many to faint.

Thus continued we all that diſmal and lamentable night, plunged in this perplexitie, looking for inſtant death: but our God, (who neuer leaueth them deſtitute which faithfully call vpon him) although hee often puniſheth, for amendments ſake, in the morning cauſed the windes to ceaſe: and the fogge, which all that night lay on the face of the water, to cleare: ſo that wee might perceiue, about a mile from vs, a certaine place cleare from any yce, to the which with an eaſie breath of winde, which our God ſent vs, we bent our ſelues. And furthermore, hee prouided better for vs then we deſerued, or hoped for: for when we were in the foreſayd cleare place, hee ſent vs a freſh gale at Weſt, or at Weſt Southweſt, which ſet vs cleare without all the yce. And further, he added more: for he ſent vs ſo pleaſant a day, as the like we had not of a long time before, as after puniſhment, conſolation. Gods prouidence.

Thus we ioyfull wightes, being at libertie, tooke in all our ſailes, and lay a hull, praying God for our deliuerance: and ſtaied together our Fleete: which once being done, wee ſeeing that none of them had any great hurt, neither any of them wanted, ſauing onely they of whom I ſpake before, and the ſhip which was loſt, then at the laſt we hoiſed our ſailes, and lay bulting off and on, till ſuch time as it would pleaſe God to take away the yce, that wee might get into the Straights.

And as we thus lay off and on, we came by a marueilous huge mountaine of yce, which ſurpaſſed all the reſt that euer wee ſawe: for wee iudged it to be neere foure ſcore fathoms aboue water, and we thought it to be a ground for any thing that wee coulde perceiue, being there nine ſcore fathoms deepe, and of compaſſe about halfe a mile. A mountaine of yce appearing in ſundry figures.

Alſo the fift of July, there fell a hidious fogge and miſt, that continued till the nineteenth of the ſame: ſo that one ſhippe could not ſee another. Therefore we were faine to beare a ſmall ſayle, and to obſerue the time: but there ran ſuch a currant of Tide, that it ſet vs to the Northweſt of the Queenes foreland, the backſide of all the Straights: where (through the contagious fogge hauing no ſight either of Sunne or Starre) we ſcarſe knew where we were. In this fogge the tenth of July, wee loſt the companie of the Viceadmirall, the Anne Francis, the Buſſe of Bridgewater, and the Francis of Foy. A fog of long continuance.

The ſixteenth day, one of our ſmall Barks, named the Gabriel, was ſent by our Generall to beare in with the land, to deſcrie it, where being on land, they met with the people of the Countrey, which ſeemed very humane and ciuill, and offered to traffike with our men, proffering them foules, and ſkins, for kniues, and other trifles: whoſe courteſie cauſed vs to thinke, that they had ſmall conuerſation with the other of the Straights. The Gabriel. The people offer to traffike with vs.

Then we bare backe againe, to goe with the Queenes foreland: and the eighteenth day wee came by two Iſlands, whereon we went on ſhoare, and found where the people had bene: but we ſawe none of them. This day we were againe in the yce, and like to be in as great perill as we were at the firſt. For through the darkenes and obſcuritie of the foggie miſt, we were almoſt runne on rockes and Iſlands, before we ſawe them: But God (euen miraculouſly) prouided for vs, opening the fogges, that we might ſee clearely, both where, and in what danger we preſently were, and alſo the way to eſcape: or els, without faile, wee had ruinouſly runne vpon the rockes.

When we knewe perfectly our inſtant caſe, we caſt about, to get againe on Seaborde, which (God be thanked) by night we obteined, and praiſed God. The cleare continued ſcarſe an houre, but the fogge fell againe as thicke as euer it was.

Then the Reareadmirall, and the Beare got them ſelues cleare without danger of yce and rocks, ſtrooke their ſayles, and lay a hull, ſtaying to haue the reſt of the Fleete come forth: which as yet had not found the right way to cleare themſelues from the danger of rockes and yce, vntill the next morning, at what time the Reareadmirall diſcharged certaine warning pieces to giue notice that ſhe had eſcaped, and that the reſt (by following of her) might ſet themſelues free, which they did that day. Warning pieces of ſafe paſſage diſcharged.

Then hauing gathered our ſelues together, we proceeded on our purpoſed voyage, bearing off, and keeping our ſelues diſtant from the coaſt, till the 19. day of July: at which time the fogges brake vp and diſperſed, ſo that wee might plainely and clearely beholde the pleaſant ayre, which

which so long had bene taken from vs, by the obscuritie of the foggie mistes: and after that time, we were not much encombred therewith, vntill we had left the confines of the countrey.

A faire sound betweene the Queenes foreland & Jackmans sound.

Then we espying a fayre sound, supposed it to go into the Straights, betweene the Queenes foreland, & Jackmans sound, which proued, as we imagined. For our Generall sent forth againe the Gabriel, to discouer it, who passed through with much difficulty: for there ran such an extreme currant of a tide, with so horrible a gulfe, that with a fresh gale of winde they were scarse able to stemme it: yet at the length with great trauaile they passed it, and came to the Straights, where they met with the Thomas Allen, the Thomas of Ipswich, and the Busse of Bridgewater: who all together aduentured to beare into the yce againe, to see if they could obteine their wished Porte. But they were so encombred, that with much difficultie they were able to get out againe, yet at the last they escaping, the Thomas Alline, and the Gabriel bare in with the Westerne shore, where they found harbour, and there moared their shippes, vntill the fourth of August, at which time they came to vs in the Countesse of Warwicks sound. The Thomas of Ipswich caught a great leake, which caused her to cast againe to Sea boyd, and so was mended.

We sailed along still by the coast, vntil we came to the Queenes foreland, at the point whereof we met with part of the gulfe aforesayd, which place or gulfe (as some of our Masters do credibly report) doeth flowe nine houres, and ebs but three. At that point wee discouered certaine lands Southwarde, which neither time nor opportunitie woulde serue to search. Then being come to the mouth of the Straights, we met with the Anne Francis, who had laine bulting vp and downe euer since her departure alone, neuer finding any of her companie. We met then also the Francis of Foy, with whome againe we intended to venter and get in: but the yce was yet so thicke, that we were compelled againe to retyre and get vs on Sea boyde.

An horrible snowe fell in July.

There fell also the same day, being the 26. of July, such an horrible snowe, that it lay a foote thicke vpon the hatches, which frose as fast as it fell.

We had also at other times, diuers cruell stormes, both of snowe and haile, which manifestly declared the distemperature of the Countrey: yet for all that we were so many times repulsed and put backe from our purpose, knowing that lingering delay was not profitable for vs, but hurtfull to our voyage, we mutualy consented to our valiant Generall once againe, to giue the onset.

The 28. day therefore of the same July we assayed, and with little trouble (God be praysed) we passed the dangers, by day light. Then night falling on the face of the earth, we hulled in the cleare, til the chearefull light of the day had chased away the noysome darkenes of the night: at which time we set forward towards our wished port: by the 30. day we obteined our expected desire, where we found the Iudith, and the Michael: which brought no small ioy vnto the Generall, and great consolation to the heaue hearts of those wearied wights.

The time of our setting forward, &c.

The 30. day of July we brought our ships into the Countesse of Warwicks sound, and moared them, namely these ships, the Admirall, the Reareadmiral, the Francis of Foy, the Beare, Armenel, the Salomon, and the Busse of Bridgwater: which being done, our Generall commaunded vs all to come a shore, vpon the Countesse Iland, where he set his Miners to worke vpon the Mine, giuing charge with expedition to dispatch with their lading.

Our Generall himselfe, accompanied with his Gentlemen, diuers times made rodes into sundry partes of the Countrey, as well to finde new Mines, as also to finde out and see the people of the Countrey. He found out one Mine, vpon an Iland by Beares sound, and named it the Countesse of Sussex Iland. One other was found in Winters Foynace, with diuers others, to which the ships were sent sunderly, to be laden. In the same rodes hee met with diuers of the people of the Countrey, at sundry times, as once at a place called Dauids sound: who shot at our men, and very desperately gaue them the onset, being not aboue three or foure in number, there being of our Countrey men aboue a dosen: but seeing themselues not able to preuaile, they tooke themselues to flight: whom our men pursued, but being not vsed to such craggy cliffes, they soone lost the sight of them, and so in vaine returned.

The Countesse of Sussex Iland.
Winters Foynace.
Dauids sound.

The policie of the people for safetie of themselues.

We also saw of them at Beares sound, both by Sea and land, in great companies: but they would at all times keepe the water betwene them and vs. And if any of our ships chanced to be in the sound, (as they came diuers times) because ỹ harbor was not very good, the ship laded, & departed againe: then so long as any ships were in sight, the people would not be seene. But when as they perceiued the ships to be gone, they would not only shew themselues standing vpon high cliffes, and call vs to come ouer vnto them: but also would come in their botes, very neere to vs, as it were to brag at vs: whereof our Generall hauing aduertisement, sent for the Captaine and Gentlemen of the shippes, to accompanie and attende vpon him, with the Captaine also

of

of the Anne Francis, who was but the night before come vnto vs. For they, and the fleebote hauing loſt vs the 26. day, in the great ſnowe, put into an harbour in the Queenes foreland, where they found good oare, where with they laded themſelues, and came to ſeeke the Generall: ſo that nowe we had all our ſhippes, ſauing one Barke, which was loſt, and the Thomas of Ipſewiche, (who compelled by what furie I know not,) forſooke our companie, and returned home without lading.

Their ſpeedie flight at our Generals arriuall.

Our Generall accompanied, with his Gentlemen, (of whome I ſpake) came altogether to the Counteſſe of Suſſex Iſland, neere to Beares ſound: where he manned out certaine Pinniſſes, and went ouer to the people: who perceiuing his arriuall, fledde away with all ſpeede, and in haſt left certaine dartes and other engines behind them, which we found: but the people wee could not finde.

The next morning our Generall perceiuing certaine of them in bote vpon the Sea, gaue chaſe to them, in a Pinniſſe vnder ſaile, with a freſh gale of winde, but could by no meanes come neere vnto them: for the longer he ſailed, the further off he was from them: which well ſhewed their cunning and actiuitie. Thus time wearing away, and the day of our departure approching, our Generall commanded to lade with all expedition, that wee might be againe on Sea boord with our ſhip: for whileſt we were in the countrie, we were in continuall danger of freeſing in: for often ſnow and haile often the water was ſo much froſen and congealed in the night, that in the morning we could ſcarce rowe our boates or Pinniſſes, eſpecially in Diers ſound, which is a calme and ſtill water: which cauſed our Generall to make the more haſte, ſo that by the 30. day of Auguſt we were all laden, and made all things readie to depart.

Gentlemen ſhould haue inhabited the Countrie.

But before I proceede any further herein, to ſhewe what fortune befell at our departure, I will turne my penne a litle to M. Captaine Fenton, and thoſe Gentlemen, which ſhould haue inhabited all the yeere in thoſe countries, whoſe valiant mindes were much to bee commended, that neither feare of force, nor the cruel nipping ſtormes of the raging winter, neither the intemperature of ſo vnhealthfull a country, neither the ſauageneſſe of the people, neither the ſight and ſhewe of ſuch and ſo many ſtrange Meteores, neither the deſire to returne to their natiue ſoile, neither regarde of friendes neither care of poſſeſſions and inheritances: finally, not the loue of life (a thing of all other moſt ſweete) neither the terrour of dreadfull death it ſelfe, might ſeeme to be of ſufficient force, to withdrawe their proneſſe, or to reſtraine from that purpoſe, thereby to haue profited their countrey: but that with moſt willing hearts, venturous minds, ſtout ſtomacks, and ſingular manhood they were content there to haue tarried for the time, among a barbarous and vnciuill people, Infidels and miſcreants to haue made their dwelling, not terrified with the manifold and imminent dangers which they were like to runne into: and ſeeing before their eyes ſo many caſualties, whereto their life was obiect, the leaſt whereof would haue made a milkſop Therſites aſtoniſhed and vtterly diſcomfited: being I ſay thus minded and purpoſed, they deſerue ſpeciall commendation: For doubtleſſe, they had done as they intended, if lucke had not withſtood their willingneſſe, and if that fortune had not ſo frowned vpon their intents.

Deſerued praiſe & commendation.

For the Barke Dionyſe, which was loſt, had in her much of their houſe, which was prepared and ſhould haue ben builded for them, with many other implements. Alſo the Thomas of Ipſewitch, which had moſt of their prouiſion in her, came not into the Streights at al: neither did we ſee her, ſince the day we were ſeparated in the great ſnow, (of which I ſpeake before.) For theſe cauſes, hauing not their houſe, nor yet prouiſion, they were diſapointed of their pretence to tarie, and therefore laded their ſhips, and ſo came away with vs.

An houſe tricked and garniſhed with diuerſe trinkets.

But before we tooke ſhipping, we builded a litle houſe in the Counteſſe of Warwicks Iſland, and garniſhed it with many kinds of trifles, as Pinnes, Points, Laces, Glaſſes, Rombes, Babes on horſeback and on foote, with innumerable other ſuch fanſies and toyes: thereby to allure and entice the people to ſome familiaritie againſt other yeres.

An outragious tempeſt.

Thus hauing finiſhed all things we departed the countrie, (as I ſaide before:) but becauſe the Buſſe had not lading enough in her, ſhe put into Beares ſound to take in a litle more. In the meane while, the Amirall, and the reſt, without the Sea, ſtaied for her. And that night fell ſuch an outragious tempeſt, beating on our ſhips, with ſuch vehement rigor, that anchor and cable auailed nought: for we were driuen on rockes and Iſlandes of yce, inſomuch that (had not the great goodnes of God bene miraculouſly ſhewed to vs,) we had bene caſt away euery man. This danger was more doubtful and terrible, then any that preceded or went before: for there was not any one ſhippe, (I thinke) that eſcaped without damage. Some loſt anchor and alſo gables, ſome botes, ſome Pinniſſes: ſome anchor, gables, botes, and Pinniſſes.

This boyſtrous ſtorme ſo ſeuered vs one from another, that one ſhippe knewe not what was become

become of another. The Admirall knew not where to finde the Viceadmirall or Reareadmirall, or any other ship of our companie. Our Generall being on land in Beares sound, could not come to his shippe, but was compelled to goe a boorde the Gabriel, where hee continued all the way homeward: for the boysterous blastes continued so extreamely and so long a time, that it sent vs homewarde (which was Gods fauour towardes vs) will we, nill we, in such haste, as not any one of vs were able to keepe in companie of other, but were separated. And if by chaunce any one ship did ouertake other, by swiftnesse of saile, or mette (as they often did:) yet was the rigour of the winde so hidious, that they coulde not continue companie together the space of one whole night.

Our entring the coastes dangerous.

Thus our iourney outwarde was not so pleasaunt, but our comming thither entering the coastes and countrie, by narrow streights, perilous yce, and swift tides, our times of aboade there in snowe, and stormes, and our departure from thence, the 3. of August, with daungerous blustering windes and tempests, which that night arose, was as vncomfortable: separating vs so, as we sailed, that not any of vs met together, vntil the 28. of September, which day we fell on the Englishe coastes, betweene Sylley and the landes ende, and passed the channell, vntill our arriual, in the riuer of Thames.

The report of Thomas Wiars, passenger in the Emanuel, otherwise called the Busse of Bridgewater, wherein Iames Leeche was Master, one of the shippes in the last voyage of Master. Martin Frobisher, 1578. concerning the discouerie of a great Island in their way homeward the 12. of September.

THe Busse of Bridgewater, was left in Bears sounde at Meta incognita, the second day of September behinde the Fleete, in some distresse, through much winde ryding neere the Lee shoare, and forced there to ride it out vpon the hazard of her cables and ankers, which were all aground but two. The thirde of September being fayre weather, and the wind North northwest she set sayle, and departed thence and fell with Frisland, on the 8. day of September, at 6. of the clocke at night, and then they set off from the Southwest poynt of Frisland, the winde being at East, and East southeast, but that night the winde veared Southerly, and shifted oftentimes that night: but on the tenth day in the morning, the wind at west northwest fayre weather, they steered southeast, and by south, and continued that course vntill the 12. day of September, when about 11. a clocke before noone, they descryed a lande, which was from them about fiue leagues, and the Southermost part of it was Southeast by East from them, and the Northermost next, North Northeast, or Northeast. The master accompted that Frisland, the Southeast poynt of it, was from him at that instant, when hee first descryed this newe Iland, North-

The Iland in length 25. leagues.

west by North, 50. leagues. They account this Iland to be 25. leagues long, and the longest way of it Southeast, and Northwest. The Southerne part of it is in the latitude of 57. degrees and 1. second part, or thereabout. They continued in sight of it, from the 12. day at 11. of the clocke, till the 13 day three of the clocke in the after noone, when they left it: and the last part they saw of it, bare from them, Northwest by North. There appeared two harborroughs vpon that coast: the greatest of them seuen leagues to the Northwardes of the Southermost poynt, the other but foure leagues. There was verie much yce neere the same lande, and also twentie or thirtie leagues from it, for they were not cleare of yce, till the 15. day of September, after noone. They plied their voyage homewards, and fell with the west part of Ireland about Galway, and had first sight of it on the 25. day of September.

This Iland is in the latitude, of 57. degrees and 1. second part.

Notes

Notes framed by M. Richard Hakluit of the middle Temple Eſquire, *giuen to certaine Gentlemen that went with M. Frobiſher in his* Northweſt diſcouerie, for their directions: And not vnfit to be committed to print, conſidering the ſame may ſtirre vp conſiderations of theſe and of ſuch other things, not vnmeete in ſuch newe voyages as may bee attempted hereafter.

THat the firſt Seate be choſen on the ſeaſide ſo as (if it may be) you may haue your owne Nauie within Bay, riuer or lake, within your ſeate fafe from the enemie: and ſo as the enemie ſhalbe forced to lie in open rode abroade without, to be diſperſed with all windes and tempeſts that ſhall ariſe. Thus ſeated you ſhall bee leaſt ſubiect to annoy of the enemie, ſo may you by your Nauie within, paſſe out to all partes of the world, and ſo may the ſhippes of England haue acceſſe to you to ſupply al wants, ſo may your commodities be caried away alſo. This ſeate is to bee choſen in temperate Climat, in ſweete ayre, where you may poſſeſſe alwayes ſweete water, wood, ſeacoles, or turfe, with fiſh, flеſh, graine, fruites, herbes and rootes, or ſo many of thoſe, as may ſuffice very neceſſitie for the life of ſuch as ſhall plant there. And for the poſſeſſing of mines of golde, of ſiluer, copper, quickſiluer, or of any ſuch precious thing, the wantes of thoſe needeful things may be ſupplied from ſome other place by ſea, &c.

Stone to make Lyme of,
Slate ſtone to tile withall or ſuch clay as maketh tyle,
Stone to wal wall, if Bricke may not bee made,
Timber for buylding eaſely to be conueied to the place,
Reede to couer houſes or ſuch like, if tile or ſlate be not,

} are to be looked for as things without which no Citie may be made nor people in ciuil ſort be kept together.

The people there to plant and to continue are eyther to liue without trafficke, or by trafficke and by trade of marchandiſe. If they ſhall liue without ſea trafficke, at the firſt they become naked by want of linen and wollen, and very miſerable by infinite wants that will otherwiſe enſue, and ſo will they be forced of themſelues to depart, or elſe eaſely they will be conſumed by the Spaniards, by the Frenchmen, or by the naturall inhabitants of the countrey, and ſo the interprice becomes reprochfull to our nation, and a let to many other good purpoſes that may be taken in hande.

And by trade of marchandiſe they can not liue, except the ſea or the lande there may yeelde commoditie. And therefore you ought to haue moſt ſpeciall regard of that poynt, and ſo to plant, that the naturall commodities of the place and ſeate, may drawe to you acceſſe of Nauigation for the ſame, or that by your owne Nauigation you may carie the ſame out, and fetch home the ſupply of the wants of the ſeate.

Such nauigation ſo to bee employed, ſhall beſides the ſupply of wants, bee able to encounter with forreyne force.

And for that in the ample vent of ſuch things as are brought to you out of England by ſea, ſtandeth a matter of great conſequence, it behoueth that all humanitie and curteſie and much forbearing of reuenge to the inland people be vſed, ſo ſhall you haue firme amitie with your neyghbours, ſo ſhall you haue their inland commodities to maintaine traffike, and ſo ſhall you ware rich and ſtrong in force. Diuers and ſeuerall commodities of the inland are not in great plenty to be brought to your hands, without the ayde of ſome portable or Nauigable ryuer, or ample lake, and therefore to haue the helpe of ſuch a one is moſt requiſite: And ſo is it of effect for the diſperſing of your owne commodities in exchange into the inlands.

Nothing is more to be indeuoured with the Inland people then familiaritie. For ſo may you beſt diſcouer all the naturall commodities of their countrey, and alſo all their wants, all their ſtrengths, all their weakeneſſe, and with whome they are in warre, and with whome confederate in peace and amitie, &c. which knowen you may worke many great effects of greateſt conſequence.

And

And in your planting the consideration of the climate and of the soyle be matters that are to be respected. For if it bee so that you may let in the salt sea water, not mixed with the fresh into flats, where the sunne is of the heate that it is at Rochel, in the Bay of portingal, or in Spaine, then may you procure a man of skil, and so you haue wonne one noble commodity for the fishing, and for trade of marchandize by making of Salt.

Or if the soyle and clymate bee such as may yeelde you the Grape as good as that at Burdeux, as that in Portingale, or as that about Siuil in spaine, or that in the Ilands of the Canaries, then there resteth but a workman to put in execution to make wines, and to dresse Resigns of the sunne and other, &c.

Or if ye finde a soyle of the temperature of the South part of Spaine or Barbarie in which you finde the Oliue tree to growe: Then you may be assured of a noble marchandize for this realme, considering that our great trade of clothing doth require oyle, and weying howe deere of late it is become by the vent they haue of that commoditie in the West Indies, and if you find the wilde Oliue there it may be grafted.

Or if you can find ỳ berrie of Cochenile with which we colour Stammelles, or any Roote, Berrie, Fruite, wood or earth fitte for dying, you winne a notable thing fitte for our state of clothing. This Cochenile is naturall in the west Indies on that firme.

Or if you haue hides of beasts fit for sole Lether, &c. It wilbe a marchandize right good & the sauages there yet can not tanne Lether after our kind, yet excellently after their own maner.

Or if the soyle shal yeeld Figges, Almonds, Sugar Canes, Quinces, Orenges, Lemonds, potatos, &c. there may arise some trade & trafficke, by figs, almõds, sugar, marmelade, sucket &c.

Or if great woods be found, if they be of Cypres, chests may be made, if they be of some kinde of trees, pitch and tarre may be made, if they bee of some other then they may yeeld Rosin, Turpentine, &c. and all for trade and trafficke, and Caskes for wine and oyle may be made, likewise ships and houses, &c.

And because trafficke is a thing so material, I wish ỳ great obseruation be taken what euery soyle yeeldeth naturally, in what cõmoditie soeuer, & what it may be made to yeeld by indeuour, & to send vs notice home, ỳ therupõ we may deuise what meanes may be thoght of to raise trades.

Now admit that we might not be suffered by the sauages to enioy any whole countrie or any more then the scope of a citie, yet if we might enioy trafficke & be assured of the same, we might be much inriched, our Nauie might be increased, and a place of safetie might there bee founde, if change of religion or ciuil wars should happen in this realme, which are things of great benefit. But if we may enioy any large territorie of apt soyle, we might so vse the matter, as we should not depend vpon Spaine for oyles, sacks, resigns, orenges, lemons, spanish skins. &c. Nor vpon Fraunce for woad, baysalt, and gascoyne wines, nor on Estland for flaxe, pitch, tarre, masts, &c. So we should not so exhaust our treasure, and so exceedingly inrich our doubtful friends, as we do, but should purchase the commodities that we want for halfe the treasure that now we do: but should by our owne industries and the benefits of the soile there cheaply purchase oyles, wines, salt, fruits, pitch, tarre, flaxe, hempe, masts, boords, fish, gold, siluer, copper, tallow hides & many commodities: besides if there be no flatts to make salt on, if you haue plentie of wood you may make it in sufficient quantitie for common vses at home there.

If you can keepe a safe hauen, although you haue not the friendship of the neere neighbours, yet you may haue trafficke by sea vpon one shore or other, vpon that firme in time to come if not present.

If you find great plentie of tymber on the shore side or vpon any portable riuer, you were best to cut downe of the same the first winter, to be seasoned for ships, barks, botes and houses.

And if neere such wood there be any riuer or brooke vpon the which a sawing mil may be placed, it would doe great seruice, and therefore consideration would be had of such place.

And if such port & chosen place of setling were in possession & after fortified by art, although by the land side our Englishmen were kept in, and might not enioy any traffick with the next neighbours, nor any vittuals: yet might they vittel themselues of fishe to serue very necessitie, and enter into amitie with the enemies of their next neighbours, and so haue vent of their marchandize of England & also haue vittel, or by meanes herevpon to be vsed to force the next neighbours to amitie. And keeping a nauie at the setling place, they should finde out along the tract of the land to haue trafficke, and at diuers Ilands also. And so this first seat might in time become a stapling place of the commodities of many countreys and territories, and in time this place might become of all the prouinces round about the only gouernour. And if the place first chosen should not so wel please our people, as some other more lately foũd out: There might be an easie

remoue

remoue, and that might be raſed, or rather kept for others of our nation to auoid an ill neighbor.

If the ſoiles adioyning to ſuch conuenient hauen and ſetling places be found marſhie and boggie, then men ſkilfull in dyning are to be carryed thither. For arte may worke woonderfull effects therein, and make the ſoile rich for many vſes.

To plant vpon an Iſland in the mouth of ſome notable riuer, or vpon the point of the land entring into the riuer, if no ſuch Iſland be, were to great end. For if ſuch riuer were nauigable or portable farre into the land, then would ariſe great hope of planting in fertill ſoiles, and traffike on the one or on the other ſide of the riuer, or on both, or the linking in amitie with one or other pettie king contending there for dominion.

Such riuers found, both barges & boats may be made for the ſafe paſſage of ſuch as ſhall pierce the ſame. Theſe to be couered with doubles of courſe linnen artificially wrought, to defend the arrow or the dart of the ſauage from the rower.

Since euery ſoile of the world by arte may be made to yeeld thinges to feed and to cloth man, bring in your returne a perfect note of the ſoile without and within, and we ſhall deuiſe if neede require to amend the ſame, and to draw it to more perfection. And if you finde not fruites in your planting place to your liking, we ſhall in fiue dayes furniſh you with ſuch kindes of plants to be carryed thither the winter after your planting, as ſhall the very next ſummer following yeeld you ſome fruit, and the yeere next following, as much as ſhall ſuffice a towne as big as Calice, and that ſhortly after ſhall be able to yeeld you great ſtore of ſtrong durable good ſider to drinke, and theſe trees ſhall be able to increaſe you within leſſe then ſeuen yeeres as many trees preſently to beare, as may ſuffice the people of diuers pariſhes, which at the firſt ſetling may ſtand you in great ſtead, if the ſoile haue not the commoditie of fruites of goodneſſe already. And becauſe you ought greedily to hunt after things that yeeld preſent reliefe, without trouble of carriage thither, therefore I make mention of theſe, thus ſpecially, to the end you may haue it ſpecially in minde.

A letter written to M. Richard Stapers by Iohn Whithall *from Braſill, in Santos the 26 of Iune.* 1578

WOrſhipfull ſir, and welbeloued friend M. Staper, I haue me moſt heartely recommended vnto you, wiſhing your health euen as mine owne.

Theſe few words may be to let you vnderſtand, that, whereas I wrote vnto you not many dayes paſt, by the way of Liſboue, how that I determined to be with you very ſhortly, it is in this countrey offered me to marry, and to take my choice of three or foure: ſo that I am about three dayes ago conſorted with an Italian gentleman to marrie with his daughter within theſe foure dayes. This my friend and father in law Signior Ioffo Dore is borne in the citie of Genua in Italie: his kindred is well knowen amongſt the Italians in London: alſo he hath but onely this childe which is his daughter, which he hath thought better beſtowed vpon me then on any Portingall in all the country, and doth giue with her in marriage to me part of an Ingenio which he hath, that doth make euery yeere a thouſand roues of ſugar. This my marriage will be worth to me two thouſand duckets, little more or leſſe. Alſo Signior Ioffo Dore my father in law doth intend to put into my handes the whole Ingenio with ſixtie or ſeuentie ſlaues, and thereof to make me factor for vs both. I giue my liuing Lord thanks for placing me in ſuch honor and plentifulneſſe of all things.

Alſo certaine dayes paſt I talked with the prouedor and the captaine, and they haue certified me few dayes paſt, that they haue diſcouered certaine mines of ſiluer and golde, and looke euery day for maiſters to come to open the ſaid mines: which when they be opened will inrich this countrey very much. This place is called Saint Vincent, and is diſtant from you two thouſand leagues, and in twenty foure degrees of latitude on the South ſide of the equinoctiall line, and right vnder the tropike of Capricorne. A countrey it is very healthfull without ſickneſſe. Mines of gold & ſiluer newly diſcouered at S. Vincent.

Moreouer, I haue talked with the captaine and prouedor, and my father in law, who rule all this countrey, for to haue a ſhippe with goods to come from London hither, which haue promiſed me to giue me licence, ſaying that now I am free denizen of this countrey. To cauſe a ſhippe to come hither with ſuch commodities as would ſerue this countrey, would come to great gaines, God ſending in ſafetie the profit and gaines. In ſuch wares and commodities as you may ſhippe hither from London is for euery one commoditie deliuered heere three for one, and then after the proceed may be imployed in white ſugar at foure hundred reis the roue. The voyage to S. Vincent worth three for one.

I meane alſo to haue a friend in London to ſend me a ſhippe of 60 or 70 tunnes, little more or leſſe, with ſuch commodities as I ſhall giue aduice for. This voyage is as good as any Peru voyage. If you and maiſter Oſborne will deale heere, I will deale with you before any other, becauſe of our olde friendly friendſhippe in time paſt. If you haue any ſtomacke thereto, in the name of God doe you eſpie out a fine barke of ſeuentie or eightie tunnes, and ſend her hither with a Portingall pilot to this port of ſaint Uincent in Braſill, bordering vpon the borders of Peru.

Note.

Alſo I heere with write vnto you in what forme and maner you ſhall furniſh this voyage both in commodities and otherwiſe.

In what maner a voyage to S. Vincent with a ſhippe of 70 or 80 tunes to be ſent.

Firſt you muſt lade in the ſaid ſhippe certaine Hampſhire and Deuonſhire karſies: for the which you muſt let her depart from London in October, and to touch in the Canaries, and there to make ſale of the ſaid karſies, and with the proceed thereof to lade fifteene tunnes of wines that be perfect and good, and ſixe dozen of cordouan ſkinnes of theſe colours, to wit, orenge tawnie, yellow, red, and very fine blacke. I thinke you ſhall not finde ſuch colours there. Therefore you muſt cauſe them that ſhall go vpon this voyage, to take ſaffron with them, to cauſe the ſame ſkinnes to be put into the ſaid colours, Alſo I thinke you ſhall finde oyles there. Three hogſheads of ſweet oyle for this voyage is very neceſſary, or a hundred and fiftie iarres of oyle.

Alſo in London you may lade in the ſaid ſhippe theſe parcels of commodities or wares, as followeth:

In primis, Foure pieces of hollands of middle ſort.
Item, One piece of fine holland.
Foure hundred elles of oſenbriges very fine.
Foure dozen of lizzors of all ſorts.
Sixteene kintals of pitch of the Canaries.
Twentie dozen of great kniues which be made in ſardles, of a lowe price.
Foure dozen of a ſmall ſort.
Sixe pieces of bayes of the loweſt ſort.
One very fine piece of bayes.
Foure hundred elles of Mancheſter cottons, moſt blacke, greene, ſome yellow.
Eight or tenne dozen of hats, the one halfe trimmed with taffeta, the other plaine, with the bands of Cypreſſe.
Sixe dozen of courſe ſhirts.
Three dozen of doublets of canuas.
Three dozen of doublets of ſtitched canuas.
One piece of fine Millan fuſtian barred.
Sixe dozen of locks for doores and cheſts.
Sixe thouſand of all maner of fiſh hooks.
Foure dozen reames of paper.
Two dozen of glaſſes of diuers ſorts.
Two dozen of Uenice glaſſes, the one halfe great, the other middle ſort.
Two dozen of mantles of frize, of the loweſt price that can be.
Three dozen of frize gownes.
Foure hundred pound of tinne of the vſe of Portingall, moſt ſmall diſhes and trenchers.
Foure pound of ſilke of all colours.
Twentie pound of ſpices, cloues, cinamom, pepper, and ſaffron.
Two kintals of white ſope.
Three pound of threed, white, blacke, and blew.
Three pound of fine white threed.
Item, halfe a dozen of Northerne karſies of diuers colours.
Foure ſorting clothes, blew, red, yellow, and greene.
Sixe Northerne dozens of diuers colours.
One fine blew cloth of eight pound.
One fine ſtamell of tenne or twelue pound.
One fine ſheeps coloured cloth of twelue pound.
One fine blacke karſie.
One fine ſtamell karſie.
Sixe yards of blacke veluet.
Three barrels of nailes for cheſts.
Two barrels of nailes for ſhippes and barks.

Sixe

Sixe kintalles of occom.
Two dozen of veluet girdles without hangers.
Foure yards of taffata red, blacke, and blew, with ſome greene.
Two dozen of leather girdles.
Sixe dozen of axes, hatchets, and ſmall billes to cut wood.
Foure maſes of gittorne ſtrings.
Foure hundred or five hundred elles of ſome linnen cloth that is of a lowe price to make ſhirts and ſheets.
Foure tunne of yron.

Theſe be ſuch ſort of wares as I would you ſhould ſend. If you meane to deale or ſend any ſhip hither, haue you no doubt, but by the helpe of God I ſhall put all things in good order according to your contentment and profit: for my father in law with the captaine and Prouedor doe rule this countrey.

My father in law and I ſhall (God willing) make a good quantity of ſugar euery yeere, which ſuger we intend to ſhippe for London from henceforth, if we can get a truſtie and good friend as you to deale with vs in this matter. I pray you preſently after the receit of this my letter to write me anſwere thereof, and ſend your letter to M. Holder to Liſbone, and he will conuey it to me out of hand.

Beſides the premiſſes ſend ſixe yardes of ſkarlet, parchment lace of diuers colours.
Sixe yards of crimoſin veluet.
Sixe yards of crimoſin ſatten.
Twelue yards of fine puke blacke.

Heere in this countrey in ſtead of John Whithall they haue called me John Leitoan: ſo that they haue vſed this name ſo long time, that at this preſent there is no remedie but it muſt remaine ſo. When you write vnto me let the ſuperſcription be vnto John Leitoan.

Thus I commit you with all yours to the Holy ghoſt for euer.

If you ſend this ſhippe, I would haue you giue order that ſhe touch in no part of the coaſt of Guinie nor any other coaſt, but to come directly hither to the port of S. Vincent, and from the Canaries let her be diſpatched in my name, to wit, John Leitoan.

Alſo a dozen of ſhirts for my wearing let be ſent if you ſend the ſhippe.

Item, ſixe or eight pieces of ſapes for mantles for women, which is the moſt neceſſarie thing that can be ſent. Note.

By your aſſured friend
Iohn Whithall.

A copie of the letters of the Aduenturers for Braſill ſent to Iohn *VVhithall dwelling in Santos, by the Minion of London.*

Anno 1580 the 24 of October in London.

MAiſter Whithall, as vnacquainted we commend vs vnto you, &c. vnderſtanding by your friends, M. John Bird, M. Robert Walkaden, & your brother James Whithall of certaine letters that they haue receiued of yours frõ Santos, which we haue ſeene and read, wherein from time to time you doe require, and deſire them to ſend a good ſhippe to Santos, with ſuch wares and commodities as you did write for, whereby you did not onely promiſe that they ſhould haue good intertainment, but alſo ſhould ſell the ſaid commodities to make three of one outward at the leaſt in euery thing, and that for to relade their ſhippe backe, they ſhould haue of the beſt, fineſt, and whiteſt drie ſugers 32 pound of our weight for a ducket at the moſt. The premiſes conſidered, with the great credit that they and we do giue to your writing and promiſe, haue cauſed vs, whoſe names be heerunder written, to ioyne our ſelues in company together, and to be at great charges purpoſely to ſend this good ſhippe the Minion of London, not onely with ſuch merchandizes as you wrote for, but alſo with as many other things as we thought might any wayes pleaſure you, or profit the countrey. And we craue of you, that we and our factours may haue ſo much credit of you, as we haue in you and of your letters, which is to beleue vs that we haue taken this voyage vpon vs, with no other minde or purpoſe then to deale faithfully and truely in the trade by ſea and land, ſo as you ſhall not only haue cauſe to reioyce, and deſerue thanks for our comming, but alſo you will procure the magiſtrates there to be bound, as they vſe in Galizia, that we may be preſerued and defended

from all repressals and imbargements of princes or subiects for any causes or matters whatsoeuer, whereby we may be incouraged by them, giuing vs this security of good intertainement, to continue the trade peerely hencefoorth: and for our parts we promise vpon our credits and fidelities, to commit no outrage at the sea nor land, nor suffer any to be done in our company that we may let, but rather to defend and protect all other peaceable merchantes as we are with theyr shippes and goodes.

And to the end that you and others shall know that we meane as we say, we haue giuen order to our factours to giue you good hostages for your assurance of our good fidelities: and further we haue sent a testimoniall of our owne true meaning in writing vnder the seales of this honourable citie of London, which we will not discredit by our behauiours for all the treasure that you haue, and so we haue written to your magistrates of your port, and others in Spanish, the copy whereof we send you heerwith closed in English. And if the time should fall out so contrary to our expectations, that there should not be fine white sugar sufficient to lade our said shippe in due time at Santos, then we pray you direct our factours where they may go with the shippe in safetie to supply their want, and helpe them to a good sure pilot for that purpose, and write your letters to your friends where the best sugar is made in they fauors, and helpe our factours to haue a testimoniall from Santos, that they and you traded together friendly, and so departed in good and perfect amity, and shew them that the iust cause of our comming is to trade as merchants peaceably, and not as pirats to commit any offence to one or other.

Also we pray you if there be any store of waxe, or salt peeter, whereby the price there may yeeld vs as much profit as the white sugars at a ducket the roue, or any other commodity of like profit, then to procure that we may lade it without danger of law, be it eure of golde or siluer or whatsoeuer els.

We haue sent you copper cauldrons for your engenios with iron, and all other necessaries for your purpose, and artificers to set the same: and as we haue at your request beene at great charges in sending these men, so we pray you let vs haue lawfull fauor in like courtesie to fauor all our causes. And if any of our mariners or passengers should in any respect of displeasure against their company, or in hope of preferment of mariage or otherwise, would procure to tary and dwell there, and leaue his charge & office, that then you will be a meane to the iustice that such fugitiues should be sent aboord the shippe as prisoners: for as you know, without our men we can not bring home our shipppe.

We haue giuen order to our factours to vse your counsell and helpe in they affaires, and to gratifie you for the same as to your courtesie and faithfull friendshippe shall appertaine to your good liking: and in the meane time for a token of our good willes towards you, we haue sent you a field bed of walnut tree, with the canopy, valens, curtaines, and gilt knops. And if there be any commodity els that may pleasure you or your friends, we haue giuen order that they shall haue the refusing of it before any other, giuing for it as it is worth.

And thus to conclude, promising to performe all the fore said things on our parts in euery condition, we commit you to God, who euer preserue you with all his blessings.

Your louing friends { Christopher Hodsdon. Anthonie Garrard. Thomas Bramlie. Iohn Bird. William Elkin.

Certaine notes of the voyage to Brasill with the Minion of *London aforesaid, in the yeere* 1580, *written by* Thomas Grigges Purser of the said shippe.

M. Christoph. Hare was captaine in this voyage.

November. THe third day of November in the yeere aboue said we departed in the Minion of London from Harwich, from which time no great thing worth the knowledge or regard of others happened vntill the 22 of December the next moneth, which day for our owne learning & vse we obserued the setting of the sunne, which was West southwest, we then being vnder the line equinoctiall, where we found the aire very temperate, and the wind for the most part Southeast & East southeast.

December. The same day we also obserued the rising of the moone, being one day after the full, which rose at East northeast.

The

The first land that we fell with vpon the coast of Brasill was the Island of S. Sebastian, where we arriued the 14 day of January, in the yeere 1581. January.

The 16 day Thomas Babington, and others in our pinnesse, went a shoare to Guaybea, where they met with John Whithall his father and mother in law, who hauing receiued letters from thence to be deliuered at Santos, came aboord, and then we weyed and set saile, and the 28 day we arriued at the Island of Santa Catelina, neere the entrance of Santos.

Our course from S. Sebastians was Southwest and by West, and betwixt the Southwest and by West, and West southwest.

This Island of Catelina seemeth at the first to be a part of the Island of Girybia. We ankered at nine fathome blacke ose ground.

Vpon the Island there growe many Palmito trees, but no fresh water is there to be found.

The third day of Febuary we arriued before the towne of Santos, and were there well receiued and intertained of the captaine, the kings officers, and all the people. Febuary.

The fourth day we tooke into our shippe a biefe aliue, which serued for the victualling of the shippe, and the refreshing of our men, and to make vs the merrier at Shrouetide.

The eight day we deliuered to M. John Whithall a bedsted with the appurtenances, which were sent to him from our merchants of London.

The 18 day the captaine of Santos came aboord our ship, by whom we had knowledge of foure great French shippes of warre, that had bene at the riuer Genero, which there tooke three canoas, but were driuen from thence by their castles & forts, and were looked for heere at Santos. Whereupon the captaine requested vs to lend them some armor and artillery, and we lent them twenty caliuers, and two barrels of powder.

The 19 day our skiffe which we had sent to Alkatrarses, and had beene away sixe dayes, came againe, and brought good store of great and good fish, and tolde vs that there was good store of fish to be taken there by the hooke, and as much wood as we would haue of the Palmito tree.

The 20 day at night, Nicholas Gale, one of our company, fell ouer our shippes sides, and was drowned in the port of Santos before the towne, where our shippe rode at anker.

The 22 day two of the canoas which the Frenchmen tooke in the riuer of Genero, returned to Santos, and reported that the foure French shippes were past to the Southwards as they thought for the straights of Magellan, and so into the South sea.

The 23 day the aforesaid Nicholas Gale, who fell ouerboord two dayes before, was founde againe, and taken vp three miles from our shippe, & our company went to his buriall in the church at Santos.

This day the captaine and iustices of Santos wished vs to tarry in their road till the last of Aprill, for they had sent a barke of Santos to Bayea at the kings charges, to know whether we should haue trade there or no, and this barke could not returne before that time.

About this time there arriued at Fernanbucke a shippe from Portingall, which brought newes that the Islands, Indies, & Portingall it selfe was molested and troubled by the Spanyards, and that the Portingalles had both English & Frenchmen to Lisbone to defend them against Spaine.

The 25 day we sent two of our men, namely Thomas Michaell & Simon Thorne to Bayea in a barke that went thither from Santos.

The 22 day of Aprill our maister and Thomas Babington hauing some talke and conference with the Padrez of Santos, they (our men being ready to go to the riuer Genero) tolde them that they were sorry for our banishment from the church, which was by the Ministrador written from Rio Genero, that forasmuch as this 20 yeres or more the English nation had denied the church of Rome and her proceedings, therefore the Ministrador commanded that none of vs should come to their church: the Padrez willed vs herein to haue patience, and to take it in good part, and promised to stand our friends in their word & writing, both to the Ministrador and to the bishop at Bayea, and further requested all our English company to haue no ill opinion of them. Aprill.

The 28 of Aprill we laded sugars into our shippe.

The 21 of May we tooke in fresh victualles from Santos. May.

The 10 day of June we gratified one Iosto Thorno, dwelling in Santos, with some of our English victualles, and intertained him in good sort in our shippe, and this day we were promised to haue a pilot at Santos to carry vs to Bayea. June.

The 11 day we went to fish, to make prouision for our shippe & men, and from that time till the eighteenth day we fet water, and cut wood for our fire, and trimmed our shippe of the harmes and leakes which the wormes had made in her while we ridde at the Island of S. Sebastians, and in the meane time wee departed from before the towne of Santos. Our Maister sent his Leaks in the Minion made by wormes.

skiffe from the barre of Santos, thinking to haue brought Thomas Babington and William Euet, with the pilot, which we had tarryed for three dayes, and as the skiffe was going William Euet being by the riuers side, called to our pinnesse, & sent a letter to our ‖ mailler, which Thomas Babington had written, wherein was no newes, but that the Ministrador was arriued at Santos from the riuer Genero, and would speake with our maister, but he willed that whatsoeuer Thomas Babington did write, no credit should be giuen to it. And further wished vs presently to depart for S. Sebastians, and there to dispatch our businesse, and then to send backe for Babington and himselfe to Guaybea, where he (if he were well) would giue his attendance to come aboord.

‖ Whose name was Christopher Hare.

As we rid two leagues a sea boord the barre of Santos, we broke a cable in the open sea, which hapned the 15 day of this moneth.

We arriued at S. Sebastians the 15 day, and there shifted our balast, and had in stones, and halled our shippe a ground to stoppe our leaks, and carryed our caske a shoare to be hooped for water, which in deed might better haue beene done in Santos, before the Ministrador came thither: yet we finished all things pertaining to our shippe, by the 22 of this moneth, at S. Sebastians.

July. The first day of July Thomas Babington came aboord with William Euet, in our pinnesse, and the rest of our men that went for them: but there was no pilot brought according to promise, to carry vs to Bayea.

The things that we obserued and noted in the time of our being at Santos, were these.

All such wares and merchandizes as owe no custome in Brasill, they vse is, to set a price vpon the same, how it shalbe solde: which is done by the magistrates of the towne, according to the ordinances of their king.

But for all such merchandizes as do owe custome there, the merchants are to sell them according as they may, to the greatest profit and aduantage that they can.

Concerning the prouince of Peru, we learned that one part of it by land and water is but twelue dayes iourney from the towne of Santos, and from thence it may be about foure or fiue dayes iourney by water to the maine riuer of Plate.

From the head of the riuer of Plate, and from their chiefe townes there, they do trade & traffike by land into Peru by waggons, and horsses or mules.

The said riuer of Plate is so full of sands and dangers, and the fresh so fierce sometimes, that no shipping dares to deale with it, small barks to their knowledge may go vp it, and not els.

The Portingalles heere can not be suffered to vse their mines of treasure in these parts, vpon paine of death, the contrary being commanded by the king, and the Viceroy, who is as their king in place of authority.

About 20 leagues from Santos, there is a certaine kinde of wilde Sauages, lying in the mountaines, which are in friendshippe with the Portingalles, and they haue continuall warres with certaine other Sauages that dwell about the borders of Peru, which is distant from Santos about 40 or 50 leagues. Those Sauages of Peru haue store of golde and siluer, but they know not the vse of it.

Looke what Sauages of their enemies they take, they sell them to the Portingals for kniues, combes, axes or hatchets, and other trifles: they will sell one for a penny knife to a Portingall, and after two yeeres they are worth twenty or thirty duckets to a Portingall.

This people haue also continuall warres with the Spanyards: and this was tolde vs by one of those Sauages, which hath dwelt among the Portingalles these seuen yeeres, with his maister called Senior Manoel Veloso. And this fellowe woulde willingly haue come with vs for England.

There are certaine rocks that lie off betwene Alcatrarses and S. Sebastians, about two leagues, which are to be taken heed of, which a farre off in fayre weather shew like the sailes of shippes.

There are other rocks that lie off S. Catelina also fiue leagues to the East and by South into the sea off the Island.

At our comming vp to Santos we found foure fathome & a halfe water in the shallowest place, and the like we found within a league after we were departed from S. Catelina, little more or lesse, but after you haue runne in the depth of foure fathome & a halfe, about a mile or lesse, then you shall haue it deeper againe more and more.

Before the towne of Santos we rode in eight and tenne fathome water.

Instructions

Instructions giuen by the honourable, the Lordes of the Counsell,

to Edward Fenton Esquire, for the order to be obserued in the voyage recommended to him for the East Indies and Cathay. Aprill 9. 1582.

FIrst you shall enter as captaine Generall, into the charge and gouernement of these shippes, viz. the Beare Gallion, the Edward Bonauenture, the Barke Francis, and the small Frigate or Pinnesse.

2 Item you shall appoint for the furnishing of the vessels in the whole, to the number of 200. able persons, accompting in that number the Gentlemen and their men, the Ministers, Chirurgians, Factors, &c. which said number is no way to be exceeded, whereof as many as may be, to be sea men, and shal distribute them into euery vessell, as by aduise here before your going shall be thought meete: Prouided that you shall not receiue vnder your charge & gouernement, any disordered or mutinous person, but that vpon knowledge had, you shall remoue him before your departure hence, or by ỹ way as soone as you can conueniently auoide him, and receiue better in their places.

3 Item, for the more and better circumspect execution, and determination in any waighty causes incident in this voyage, we will that you shall take vnto you for assistances, captaine Hawkins, captaine Ward, M. Nicholas Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker, Euans, Randolph, Shaw, Mathew Talboys, with whom you shall consult and conferre in all causes, matters, and actions of importance, not prouided for in these instructions touching this seruice now in hand. And in all such matters so handled, argued, and debated, we thinke it conuenient that alwayes to be executed, which you shall thinke meetest with the assent also of any 4. of them, the matter hauing bene debated, and so assented vnto, in the presence of your said Assistants. And in case that if such conference and debating the opinions of the aforesaide Assistants be founde in effect any way to differ, then it is thought meete, that all such matters so argued vpon, shall rest to be put in execution in such sort, as you shall thinke most meetest, hauing the assent of any 4. of them as aforesaide. And if any of these Assistants shall die, then the number of the one halfe of the Suruiuours to ioyne with the General Captaine for consent in all things aforesaid.

4 Of all which your assemblies and consultations, for the matters aforesaid, we thinke it very conuenient, that a particular and true note should be kept, for which cause we appoint master Maddox minister, and if he should decease, then the Generall with halfe the Assistants Suruiuours, to name one to keepe a booke of all such matters as shall be brought in consultation, and of all such reasons as shall be propounded by any person, either on the one side, or on the other: what was resolued on, and by whose consent, who dissented therefrom, and for what causes. In which booke he shall in the beginning of the note of euery such assemblie, set downe particularly the day, and the place, if it may be, the names of the persons then present, and vpon what occasion the said consultation was appointed or holden, and shall haue to euery acte, the hands of the Generall, and of all, or so many of the said Assistants as will subscribe: which booke the said master Maddox, or the other vpon his decease appointed in his place shall keepe secrete, and in good order to be exhibited vnto vs, at your returne home.

5 Item, if there happen any person or persons imployed in this seruice, of what calling or condition he or they shall be, should conspire, or attempt priuately or publikely, any treason, mutenie, or other discord, either touching the taking away of your owne life, or any other of authoritie vnder you, whereby her Maiesties seruice in this voiage might thereby be ouerthrowne, or impugned: we will therefore, that vpon iust proofe made of any such treason, mutenie, or any other discord attempted as aforesaid, the same shall be punished by you, or your Liuetenant, according to the qualitie and enormitie of the facte. Prouided alwayes, and it shall not be lawfull neither for you, nor for your Liuetenant to exceede the punishment of any person, by losse of life or limme, vnlesse the partie shall be iudged to haue deserued it by the rest of your Assistants, as is before expressed, or at the least by foure of them. And that which shall concerne life to be by the verdict of twelue men, of the companie employed in this voyage, to be impanelled for that purpose, with the obseruation of the forme of our Countrie lawes in that behalfe, as neere as you may. Prouided, if it shall not appeare, that the forbearing of the execution by death, shall minister cause to increase the facte of the offendour, then it were better to conuince the partie of his facte, by the othes of 12. indifferent persons, and to commit him to hard imprisonment, vntil the returne. And aswell of the factes committed by any, as also of the proofe thereof, and of the opinions of you, and your Assistants, and the maner of the punishment, the Register shall make a particuler and true note, in the booke of your consultation, as is before appointed.

6 Item

M. Carlile vpon occasion went not in the voyage.

6 Item, you shall not remoue captaine William Hawkins your lieutenant, master captaine Luke Ward your Viceadmirall, or captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, nor captaine Carlile from his charge by land, whō we will not to refuse any such seruice as shall be appointed to him by the Generall and the councell, nor any captaine of other vessels from their charges, but vpon iust cause dulie proued, and by consent of your Assistants, or of 4. of them at the least.

7 Item, for the succession of the Generall gouernour of this whole voyage, if it should please God to take him away, it is thought meete that there should bee the names of such Gentlemen secretly set downe to succeed in his place one after the other, which are seuerally written in parchment, included in bals of Waxe, sealed with her Maiesties signet, put into two coffers locked with three seuerall locks, whereof one key is to be in the custodie of captaine Luke Ward, the other of William Hawkins, the third of master Maddox the minister, and the same two coffers to bee put into two seuerall shippes, videlicet, the one coffer in the Gallion, in the custodie of the Generall, the other in the Edward Bonauenture in the custodie of the Viceadmirall, the same two coffers vpon any such casualtie of the Generals death by consent of the Assistants which shall ouerliue, to be opened, and the partie therein named to succeed in the place, who shall thereupon take vpon him the charge in the said voiage according to these instructions, in such sort as if they had bene specially directed vnto him, and the rest of the companie so to take and repute him in euery respect, as they will answer to the contrarie. But if it shall so fall out, (as we hope it will) that there shall bee no such need, but that the Generall doe continue still, then shall you at your returne deliuer backe the sayd coffers and bals of waxe sealed in such sort as they be, without opening them, vnlesse it be in the case aforesayd.

8 You shall make a iust and true inuentorie in euery ship and vessell appointed for this voyage of all the tackle, munition, and furniture belonging to them at their setting foorth hence, and of all the prouisions whatsoeuer, and one copie therof vnder your hand, & vnder the hands of your Viceadmirall and lieutenant, to be deliuered to the Erle of Leicester, and the other to the Gouernour of the companie for them before your departure hence, and the like to be done at your returne home of all things then remaining in the said shippes and vessels, with a true certificate how and by what means any parcell of the same shall haue bene spent or lost.

9 Item, you shal vse all diligence possible to depart from Southhampton with your said ships and vessels, before the last of this present moneth of Aprill, and so goe on your course by Cape de bona Sperança, not passing by the streight of Magellan, either going or returning, except vpon great occasion incident, that shall be thought otherwise good to you, by the aduise and consent of your said Assistants, or 4. of them at the least.

10 Item, you shall not passe to the Northeastward the fortie degree of latitude at the most, but shall take your right course to the Iles of Moluccaes, for the better discouerie of the Northwest passage, if without hinderance of your trade, and within the same degree you can get any knowledge touching that passage, wherof you shal do well to bee inquisitiue as occasion in this sort may serue.

11 Itē, you shall haue speciall regard after your departure from the coast of England, so to order your course as that your shippes and vessels loose not one another, but keepe company together both outward and homeward. And least they happen to seuer the one from the other by tempest or otherwise, it shal not be amisse that you appoint to the captains and masters, certain places wherein you will stay certaine daies. And euery ship passing aforehand, and not knowing what is become of the other ships to leaue vpon euery Promontorie or Cape, a token to stand in sight with a writing lapped in lead to declare the day of their passage. And if any wilfulnesse or negligence in this behalfe shall appeare in any person or persons that shall haue charge of any of the ships or vessels aforesayd, or if they or any of them shall doe otherwise then to them appertaineth, you shall punish such offenders sharply to the example of others.

12 Item, we do straightly enioine you, and consequently all the rest imploied in this voiage in any wise, and as you and they will answere the contrary at your comming home by the lawes of this realme, that neither going, tarying abroad, nor returning, you doe spoile or take any thing frō any of the Queens Maiesties friends or allies, or any christians, without paying iustly for ꝑ same, nor that you vse any maner of violence or force against any such, except in your owne defence, if you shall be set vpon, or otherwise be forced for your owne safegard to do it.

13 Itē, we will that you deale altogether in this voiage like good and honest merchants, trafficquing & exchanging ware for ware, with all curtesie to ꝑ nations you shall deale with, as wel Ethniks as others, & for that cause you shal instruct al those ꝑ shal go with you, that whensoeuer you or any of you shal happen to come in any place to conference wᵗ the people of those parts, ꝑ in all your doings

doings and theirs, you and they ſo behaue your ſelues towards the ſaid people, as may rather procure their friendſhip & good liking toward you by courteouſneſſe, then to moue them to offence, or miſliking, & eſpecially you ſhal haue great care of ỹ perfoꝛmance of your woꝛd, & promiſe to them.

14 Item we will, that by the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, in places where you and they ſhall thinke moſt fitte, you ſettle if you can, a beginning of a further trade to be had hereafter: and from ſuch places doe bring ouer with you ſome fewe men, and women, if you may, and doe alſo leaue ſome one or two, or more, as to you, and your Aſſiſtants ſhall ſeeme conuenient of our nation with them for pledges, and to learne the tongue, and ſecrets of the Countries, hauing diligent care, that in deliuering, and taking of hoſtages, you deliuer not perſonages of moe value then you receiue, but rather deliuer meane perſons vnder colour of men of value, as the Iuſidels doe for the moſt part vſe. Prouided that you ſtay not longer to make continuaunce of further trade, then ſhalbe expedient for good exchange of the wares preſently caried with you. Strange people to be brought home.

15 Item you ſhall haue care, and giue generall warning, that no perſon of what calling ſoeuer he be, ſhall take vp, or keepe to himſelfe and his priuate vſe, any ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie to be had or found in places where you ſhall come, but he the ſaid perſon ſo ſeaſed of ſuch ſtone, pearle, golde, ſiluer, or other matter of commoditie, ſhall with all ſpeede, or ſo ſoone as he can detect the ſame, and make deliuerie thereof to your ſelfe, or your Viceadmirall, or Lieuetenant, and the Factor appointed for this voyage, vpon paine of forfaiture of all the recompenſe he is to haue for his ſeruice in this voyage by ſhare, or otherwiſe: and further to receiue ſuch puniſhmẽt, as to you, & your Aſſiſtants, or the more part of them ſhal ſeeme good, & otherwiſe to be puniſhed here at his returne, if according to the qualitie of his offence, it ſhal be thought needfull.

16 Item, if the Captaines, Marchants, or any other, ſhall haue any apparell, iewels, chaines, armour, or any other thing whatſoeuer, which may be deſired in Countries where they ſhall traffique, that it ſhal not be lawful for them, or any of them to traffique, or ſell any thing thereof for their priuate accompt: but the ſame ſhall be prayſed by the moſt of thoſe that ſhalbe in commiſſion in the places where the ſame may be ſo required, rated at ſuch value, as it may bee reaſonably worth in England, and then ſolde to the profite of the whole voyage, and to goe as in aduenture for thoſe to whom it doeth appertaine.

17 Item you your ſelfe ſhall in the Gallion keepe one booke, and the Factors appointed for the ſame ſhip another, wherein ſhalbe a iuſt accompt kept, aſwell of the marchandize caried hence, as of thoſe you ſhall bring home. And aſwell at your ſetting foorth, as frõ time to time, as exchange ſhalbe made, you ſhall ſet your hand to their booke, and they theirs to yours, and the like order ſhall you ſee that the Captaine, and the Factors in the Edward Bonauenture, ſhall vſe in their ſhippe, and the other Captaines and Factors in eache other veſſell.

18 Item you ſhall giue ſtraight order to reſtraine, that none ſhal make any Cartes, or deſcriptions of the ſaid voyage, but ſuch as ſhalbe deputed by you the Generall, which ſaid Carts and deſcriptions, we thinke meete that you the Generall ſhall take into your hands, at your returne to this our coaſt of England, leauing with them no coppie, & to preſent them vnto vs at your returne: the like to be done if they finde any Cartes, or Mappes in thoſe Countries.

19 Item you ſhall at your returne ſo direct your courſe, that all the ſhippes vnder your gouernment may come home together, and arriue here in the riuer of Thames, if it may conueniently be. And whereſoeuer in this Realme you, or any of the ſhippes ſhall arriue, you ſhall giue ſpecial and ſtraight order, that no perſon of what condition ſo euer he be, ſhall vnlade, or bring on lande, or foorth of the veſſels in which it came, any part or parcell of marchandize, or matter of commoditie brought in any of the ſaid veſſels, vntill we being certified of your, or their arriuall, ſhall giue further order and direction therein, vnder the penalties and forfaitures expreſſed in the 15. article, againſt ſuch as ſhall retayne any thing to their priuate vſe, as in the ſaide article is further expreſſed.

20 Item to the intent that all ſuch perſons, as ſhall goe with you in this voyage may better vnderſtand, what they ought to doe, and what to auoyde, we thinke it requiſite, that aſwell out of theſe, as otherwiſe with the aduiſe of your Aſſiſtants, and maſters of the ſhips, you ſhall cauſe ſome conuenient order to be ſet downe in writing for their better gouernment both at Sea, and land, if they ſhall happen to goe on land any where. And the ſame to be openly read, and made knowen vnto them, to the intent they may vnderſtand how to behaue themſelues, and vpon any fault committed, not to haue any excuſe to pretend ignorance, and ſo to auoide ſuch puniſhment, as it is requiſite to haue miniſtred, for the keeping of them in good order.

21 And to the end God may bleſſe this voyage with happy and proſperous ſucceſſe, you ſhall haue an eſpeciall care to ſee that reuerence and reſpect be had to the miniſters appointed to accompanie you in this voyage, as apperteineth to their place and calling, and to ſee ſuch good orders

as

as by them ſhalbe ſet downe for reformation of life and maners, onely obeyed and perfourmed, by cauſing the tranſgreſſours and contemners of the ſame to be ſeuerely puniſhed, and the miniſters to remoue ſometime from one veſſell to another.

22 Prouided alwayes, that the whole direction and gouernment of the people, life and limme excepted, as in the fifth article, and the courſe of this voyage ſhalbe wholy at your diſpoſition, except in the courſe by the Streight of Magellan, either outward or homeward, and in your paſſage by the Northward of 40. degrees in latitude, wherein you ſhall followe direction ſet downe in the 9. and 10. articles, as alſo in the diſplacing of the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, & other captaines, wherein you ſhal followe the order appointed in the 6. article: Prouided that we meane not by this article to derogate any thing to the authoritie of your Aſſiſtants eſtabliſhed in the third article, or in any other article of theſe inſtructions.

23 Item, in all occaſions and enterpriſes that may fall out to be vpon the land, wee will that captaine Carlile ſhall haue the generall and chiefe charge thereof.

24 And finally wee require you and euery of you to haue a due regard to the obſeruation and accompliſhment of theſe our inſtructions, and of all ſuch other things, as may any kind of way tend to the furtherance and benefite of this ſeruice committed to your charge.

The voyage intended towards China, wherein M. Edward Fenton was appointed Generall, written by maſter Luke Ward his Vice-admirall, and Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, begun Anno Dom. 1582.

THe ſecond of Aprill I departed with the Edward Bonauenture from Blackewall, and the 19. of the ſame arriued in Nettle rode at Hampton, where I found riding the Gallion Leiceſter, and ſo remaining there till the firſt of May, wee ſet ſaile thence in the forenoone, being of vs in the whole Fleete 4. ſaile.

1 The Gallion Leiceſter of 400. tunnes Admirall, whereof was Generall, captaine Edward Fenton and William Hawkins the ponger lieutenant Generall in her, and Chriſtopher Hall, maſter.

2 The Edward Bonauenture of 300. tunnes Viceadmirall, whereof was Captaine Luke Ward, and Thomas Perrie maſter.

3 The Francis of 40. tunnes, whereof was captaine John Drake, and William Markam maſter.

4 The Elizabeth of 50. tunnes, whereof was Captaine Thomas Skeuington and Rafe Crane maſter.

We ſpent by meanes partly of buſineſſe, and partly of contrary winds, the moneth of May vpon the coaſt, and then leauing the land we put off to ſea, and proceeded on our voiage intended by the grace of God for China: vntill the moneth of Auguſt following, nothing fell out much worthy the knowledge of the world, which is not common to all Nauigants, but about the beginning of Auguſt aforeſayd, being ſomewhat neere the coaſt of Guinie, vpon the ſhooting off of a peece & the putting out of a flag in the Admiral, I went on boord, & M. Walker, M. Shaw, M. Geffries, our maſter & pilot with me, where the generall counſel was aſſembled to conſider of two points, viz.

The firſt, whether it were neceſſarie to water preſently or not, which was thought very needefull of all men, and ſo concluded.

The 2. where the beſt and apteſt place was to water in, which was thought of the greater number to be at Sierraleona, on the coaſt of Guinie, which was alſo concluded, and by the Maſter, and Pilotes agreed to goe hence Southeaſt, which determined, we returned aboord, and left Nicholas Allen, my maſter Carpenter aboord the Gallion, and his hope to take phyſike.

The 2. day of Auguſt, we went all day, and all night Southeaſt: the forenoone in ſtaying our foremaſt with a ſend of the Sea hauing the top ſaile, and all abrode, we cracked the ſame within 3. yardes vnder the toppe, ſince which time we were in great feare of it.

The 3. day at noone maſter Hall, and Edward Gilman, with others came aboord, and brought our maſter Carpenter, and one of their Carpenters with him, to mend our maſte which we medled not withall: and after ſome conference they went aboord againe. We went al this day Southeaſt and Eaſt Southeaſt, till 6. a clocke at night, that we ſawe the lande of Guinie, which bare Northeaſt of vs about 12. leagues off, which ſeene, we ſounded, and had no ground: then went I, and our Maſter and Pilote aboord the Admirall, & after many debatements, concluded to runne in Northeaſt by Eaſt, and at 11. at night we came aboord againe, and went all night Northeaſt by Eaſt.

The 4 at 8. in ꝑ forenoone, we were within 2. leagues of ꝑ land which bare of vs northeaſt, which roſe

rose like a high hill full of woodes, and of each side lowe land, we being perswaded by our Pilots that it was the entrance into Sierraleona, went in Northeast until we were within an halfe league of the shore, and had brought the South point Southeast by East of vs. At 11. a clocke we finding it a baie, and not Sierraleona, brought our tacks aboord and stood along West by North and West larboord tacked.

In this time our Admirals pinnace rowed in, and went on land vpon the South side of the baie, and the Elizabeths boate with her. They found houses of boughes, and in one of the houses the tongue of a beast, and a bullocks tongue fresh killed. Also a lake with plentie of fresh water, and fresh water fish in it hard by the sea side: they found vpie pomegranates, and pease like nuts, with other vnknowen fruites vnder the trees. The Elizabeth came in, and brought the South point South by West of her, and ankred within Faulcon shot of the shore in 7. fadome ozé, where they tooke fish with hookes, while he staied for the boates.

The 4. all the afternoone we ran along the coast (which lieth Northwest by North, and Southeast by South) West, and within a point one way or the other, seeing the land vnder our Lee, 3. or 4. leagues off, and all night likewise.

The 5. day at 6. in the morning wee went West northwest, and Northwest by West with a frank gale, the Northermost land bearing Northwest off vs, 12. leagues, & the Northeast land vnder our Lee within 3. leagues. So we ran along till 12. at noone: then the wind shifted vpon vs to the North northwest, till 3. afternoone, all which time it blew litle but rained much. I went off with our skiffe, and ankred in 18. fadome with a grapnell, and found the currant to set to the Eastwards. At 3. the wind came againe to South a franke gale, so we went along within 3. leagues of the shore West by South larboord tacked. At 6. at night wee shaped our course off as neere as we could lie West next hand, and so went all night.

The 6. day at 6. a clocke in the foorenoone, being 5. leagues off the shore, we went in Northwest, and so the ships stood along. At 7. a clocke I went aboord the Elizabeth, and ran into the shore Northwest and by North, till we were within a league and a halfe of the land, and saw a breach of shallow water vnder our Lee, then we tacked of West being in 7. fadome sand at 9. a clocke: and so running along, we saw as we thinke two Islands, but durst not put in with them, least the ships should folow vs and be on the Lee shore. About 11. a clocke we brought ꝑ Westermost land North of vs, and so we edged off after our ships, and at one afternoone I got aboord the Edward againe, and stood hence larboord tacked, West & West northwest, till 8. a clocke at night, that we came to anker in 10. fadome lacke a fourth part, grey sand, and there rid all night. During which time, we found a tide to run very strong, which runneth in the floud North northeast, and the ebbe setteth out South southwest.

The 7. of August about 7. afternoone, M. Hawkins came aboord vs, with whom my selfe, our master & pilot had some conference what was best for vs to do, and how to seeke a harbour being on a shallow vnknowen to vs all. In the end we thought good at 9. a clocke to weie, & send the Francis afore, and to get into deeper water if we could, & when it were cleare to seeke the harbour. At 10. a clocke the ebbe was come, & although it were thicke and rainie weather, we weied, and ran North northwest, and Northwest til noone, and then seeing the miserable weather of raine & fog, we ankred in 9. and a half fadome, having gone before betweene 12. fadome, to 4. fadome, 3. parts sand without sight of land. At 4. in the afternoone it cleared vp, and we had sight of the Elizabeth, and of a small Island very high, like the pike of Tenerif, 6. leagues off vs, Northeast, then waxing thicke and rainie againe. The 8. after 9. a clocke afore noone, wee weied, and went hence Northnorthwest, but till 12. at noone, and from noone till 6. at night we went North next hand to seeke the shore which we had sight of at 5. in the afternoone, and bare northeast of vs being high land. The round Ile and two small Islands which we saw by it, bare East, and to the Southwards at 5. at night. After 6. at night the Elizabeth came vp and told vs, she lost an anker and a cable, and was put to Leewards into 17. foote water by trusting to an old cable.

Then the Gallion came roome, and we all ankred at 7. a clocke in 14. fadome sand: Our ship caped vpon the floud West southwest.

The 9. at 3. in the morning our Admirall shot off a peece, and at 4. wee weied and went hence Northeast. At 5. in the morning we saw the land along, and the Island which wee saw the night before and diuers other Islands about it, and so ran in Northeast vntill we had brought our selues thwart of the riuer, and thē ran in East about 6. at night, being a league within the riuer. Our Admirall shot off a piece, and there we ankred in eight fadome sand. Being at anker, I manned our boat and would haue gone aboord the Admirall, but could not the floud was bent so strong, and she rid halfe a mile beneath vs in the tide, but we had no tide.

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The 10. in the morning at 5. a clocke I sent our skiffe with our pilot in her to find the rode, and watring place: in the meane time at 6. a clocke, we set saile with our ship, and being calme wee towed with our boat untill 10. and then ankered a mile short of the watering place. After dinner I went a land with my skiffe to finde timber to fish our masse, and searching along the shore wee found a good watring place: and further seeking in the wood, which all the countrey is ful of, and of diuers sortes, we found Limmon trees ful of fruits: also trees growing by the water side with the stalkes hung full of oisters and great periwinckles and crabbes amongst them: wee found ripe pomegranates with many other fruits vnknowen to vs. In the meane time our Admirall and the Edward, with the barkes, hauing a gale at West, set saile, and ran by and ankred in the rode before the accustomed watring place.

About 5. afternoone I came aboord, & brought 6. barricoes of water with me: after, I went and supped aboord with the Generall, where we conferred, and about 8. at night I came aboord again and rid quietly all night.

The 11. day our long boat with the master and pilot, went aland & caried all our water caske, which they washed and filled to season, & our Cooper repaired part of the same. In the meane time I with our carpenters & others went in our skiffe, and found a tree to fish our foremast, which we felled, but not able to carie it away because it would not swim, we left it till a better meane were made to boie it. After I with my companie went vp into a pretie riuer of fresh water, a mile into the countrey, which was full of oisters growing vpon trees, and very fresh water, which done, we gathered some Limmons and came aboord. The 12. being Sunday, we had a generall communion in both the ships. After dinner I went aboord to the generall, and spent the afternoone with him in conference, and supped aboord, and diuers strangers with me.

The 13. of August, we were assembled aboord the Admirall, for the deciding of controuersies, betweene the Captaine, Master, and companie of the Elizabeth: by proofe it appeared vnto vs, that the Master Ralfe Crane, had in speech deserued some punishment, so that we by generall consent agreed, that he should be put into the Bilbowes, which was done: but within halfe an howre, at mine, and others request, he was vpon his submission released. Which done, we dined al with the General, and after dinner, with my boate and skiffe, we went and brought the tree for fishes for our masse into a sandie Baye, by our watring place, to haue it squared, which done with our washers, at night we returned aboord.

The 14. in the forenoone, we washed our ship, and scraped off the Barnackles, the Generall came aboord, and dined with me, and Captaine Drake, Master Hall, and others. After dinner wee went to the old watring place. From thence I went aboord the Elizabeth, and brought diuers things away: then we carried part of our water caske to the other watring place, & there I met with M. Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Walker, M. Lewes, and diuers others, which al supped aland there with sodden Dysters, & a fresh Mullet, and Rice pottage, and came late aboord of all hands.

The 15. day we romaged, and got vp our strong beere out of the formost roome, and placed it by the maine masse.

The 16. day in the forenoone, we stricke downe most of our Ordinance, and bestowed most of our things abaft masse in hold: and in the afternoone, we tooke in 4. tunnes of water, and certain things, which I fetched out of the Elizabeth of ours.

The 17. wee romaged, and tooke in water, and I kept my cabbin, being sicke: the Generall came aboord, and supped with me.

The 18. day we tooke in water, & romaged our ship all the forenoone. About noone there came down the riuer a canow with 3. Portingals in it, with whom I had conference aboord ẏ Admiral.

The 19. of August being Sunday, it rained all the night before, and all the day, till 2. a clocke after noone: then I manned our long boat and skiffe, and went a land into the oister baie, where I met captaine Hawkins, captaine Parker, captaine Drake, with all our boats, and 130. men which came all to gather oisters, wherewith we laded our boats, and sent them aboord with the greatest number of our men: and we with the rest went ouer land through the Limmon garden, and gathered many which we caried aboord with vs, and so parted to our charges. The 20. day our companie stowed our pinnace, and fetched certaine things from aboord the Elizabeth: the carpenters set vp one fish of our foremast, our Cooper repaired some of ẏ caske which the spring tide had broken.

The master, pilot and I in our skiffe went along the riuer to the vtternost baie, at the comming in at the West end, where we found a flat baie, yet a crooked chanell in it: and we went a league vp a fresh riuer, which at the vpper end was so thicke of oister trees, that wee could not get to the head of it, so we returned backe againe to the West point, and there I obserued the sunne: which done, we felled two Palmito trees and came to the bathing place, where we washed, and refreshed

our

our ſelues, and came aboorde, where wee had prayer, and ſupped, and ſo went to bedde: but before morning we had much winde and raine.

The 21. day in the morning I went aboord the Admirall to viſite him, and found him gone vp the riuer in his pinneſſe, then I brake my faſte with Captaine Hawkins and the reſt: which done, with our newe made nettes we went a fiſhing into the Dyſter bay, where wee pitched our nettes, meaning to haue made a draught: and as wee waded with our nettes, wee ſawe in the water among vs a Crocodile or Alligato, which we aſſaulted, and within 3. houres after many wounds with fiſgigs, pikes, and ſhot, we ſlew him, and brought him aboorde the Admirall, where hee was opened, and flayed, in whoſe body we found many ſmall ſtones, and of Palmito nuts. *An Alligato killed.*

This day alſo we went a hunting, and being wearie we brought ſome oyſters aboorde the Admirall, and there M. Walker, M. Lewis and I ſupped: which done we came aboord.

The 22. day the Portingals which had bene with vs before, came downe and brought ſome other Portingals and Negroes with them in a ſhippe boate, wherein they brought vs 80. mewes of rice, 500. and odde waight of Oliphants teeth, and a boy Negro, which boy they gaue the Generall, and the rice and teeth for the Elizabeth which wee ſolde them, with all her tackle, and ſailes, hauing neede of the rice, becauſe our meale which we brought out of England, was decayed and naught, whereof we had into the Edward 30. buſhels, which is a mew and a halfe: the Francis had 5. buſhels, and the Gallion had the reſt. And wee had 200. waight of Oliphants teeth, and the Gallion 300. and a halfe, and 6. li. During this time wee ſent our ſkiffe with the Admirals pinneſſe vp the riuer to meete with a Gondall, which the Portingals had ſent for freſh victuals for vs: who not finding her, returned at night: All this day I with M. Walker remained aboorde with the Admirall, and after their dinner and ſupper we ended our buſineſſe, and returned aboord, hauing had many good ſpeaches with the Portingals. *Their traficke here with the Portingals.*

The 23. day I remained romaging aboorde, in which time the Maſter with the Carpenters, and others went on lande and felled more wood for fiſhes for our maſte, and cut a boates lading of firewood, and brought it aboord.

The 24. day in the forenoone our Generall and Captaine Parker came aboorde, where wee paſſed the forenoone in talke, and after Seruice I ſent for M. Hall, and M. Maddox to dine with them. After dinner Captaine Parker and I, our boates full of men went on lande, and gathered limmons for the companie, which done, wee returned aboorde our ſhippes: in the meane time our boate was brought full of wood aboord, and the Carpenter ſquared timber.

The 25. day of Auguſt I was ſent for to the Generall about furniſhing vp of the Elizabeth, which was fully accompliſhed and deliuered to the Portingals. Out of her our boate brought peaſe, wood, hoopes, and many other ſuch neceſſaries. The Portingals dined with mee: after dinner I cooted my iarre, placed him, and filled him with water: and this day Iohn Iohnſon wrought of the ſettles in my cabbin.

The 26. day being Sunday, Captaine Hawkins, M. Maddox, M. Hall, M. Banniſter, Captaine Drake, M. Euans, M. Hoode, and others came aboorde and heard the Sermon, and dined with me: after dinner we went on ſhoare to the lower point where wee followed the footing of an Oliphant, but ſaw him not, and ſo ſpent the time to and fro till ſupper time, & then came aboorde, and ſupped together, which done, ech man departed to his abode.

This night I was very ſicke, (and ſo were all they that were on ſhoare with mee,) with eating of a fruite of the Countrey, which wee founde on trees like nuttes: Whereof ſome did eate foure, ſome fiue, ſome ſixe, and more, but wee vometted and ſcoured vpon it without reaſon. *Sickenes by eating ſome fruite in Guinea.*

The 27. day in the afternoone, the olde Greeke Franciſco, came aboorde to mee, with requeſt that hee might haue the Francis boate to goe vp for his owne boate, which was not come downe, with whome I talked of this Countrey and Countrey people, vntill fiue of the clocke at night, that the floud was come, and then I went aboorde to the Admirall, and got his conſent, and ſent themſelues in her: viz. Ferdinando the Portingall Maſter, and his Negro: In the meane time I ſent 4. of my men to watch in the Elizabeth all night.

The 28. day in the morning at 4. a clocke, I ſent my ſkiffe with the Admirals pinneſſe downe to the Weſt point to fiſh, who came aboorde againe at one in the afternoone, and brought as much fiſh as all our companies could eate.

During the time that our boates were a fiſhing, came downe the riuer a Canow & the Portingals former boate, with hennes, orenges, plantans, which they preſented the Generall and mee with: and alſo the reſt of the rice due to vs for the paiment of the Elizabeth. For the partitions whereof I went aboord the Admirall, where I dined. After dinner, M. Euans beganne to barter away *The Portingals preſents.* *M. Euans one of our Marchants.*

away certaine of the ships commodities with the Negroes, without acquainting the Generall or any other vntil he had done, whereof grew more words then profit, as by the bookes of Marchandise appeareth. Which done I came aboord, and had 2. of the Portingals to supper with me. About 2. a clocke in the morning we had a Ternado, and much raine.

They search the Countrey.

The 29. about 4. in the morning, I in my skiffe, and Captaine Parker in his pinnesse, went downe to the West point, and there wee landed with 11. men in all well furnished, and searched the woods, plaines and plashes, after an Oliphant, finding the haunt, footing and soyle of many newly done, yet we sawe none of them. We saw hogs, goates, or fawns, and diuers sorts of foules very wilde: and hauing trauailed about two leagues, about noone wee returned to the point, where we landed, and met our boates which had bene at sea, and taken plentie of good fish: there wee refreshed our selues with such victuals as wee had, and came aboorde our seuerall shippes, where I found the Portingals and Negroes, who had dined, and after supped aboorde with me.

After supper I bartred with them certaine linnen cloth, and gaue them 2. redde cappes for 3. Oliphants teeth, as by the notes thereof appeareth.

The 3. day in the morning at three a clocke I sent my pinnesse to sea a fishing, and after our long boate to bee mended and trimmed, which both returned about three in the afternoone: the Generall, Captaine Parker, and Captaine Drake, came aboorde mee at Seruice time, and after examined certaine of the Portingals and Negroes for things by them bought of our companies, and especially for a stolne cloake, which would not be heard of: which done we supped aboorde together, and after they returned to their charges.

The last of August I went on lande, and obserued the sunne, and made proofe of other Instruments, and had the Master, and others with mee: after wee drewe fishe with our nette. In this time Master Shawe, and M. Euans sawe a bullocke and shotte at him: Wee rainged a great deale of grounde, but coulde see none, and so returned aboorde, where supped with mee three of the Portingals. At two of the clocke in the morning, our skiffe went to sea a fishing, and had foule weather.

September.

The first of September about fiue of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and got downe with little winde at Northeast, to the Westwards two miles: then being calme at 9. a clocke wee ancred.

After Seruice, and dinner, in our long boate, the Master, M. Walker, M. Geffreys and others, went on lande into a bay with our nette, where wee drewe aboue 70. fishes, and cut a palmetree. The General being abroade a fishing with his pinnesse came into me, to whom I gaue part of our fish, and returned aboord where wee found plentie of fish taken in our skiffe, for which wee thanked God, and supped. About 7. at night wee had a sudden flawe of winde, raine, and lightning, till 9. a clocke: after, a faire night.

The 2. we set saile at 6. in the morning, and went out West, betwene 7. and 10. fathome, with a pretie gale at East till 8. then it waxed calme, wee being shotte out of the harbour a league and a halfe. It continued calme this day till one in the afternoone, and then it blew vp at West southwest, a good gale, so we stood of North Northwest, and Northwest, til 5. in the afternoone, then we ancred in 12. fathome, being 6. leagues off the point West by North.

This afternoone Captaine Hawkins came aboord to me and brought the samples of clothes, which he desired to haue put into the aduenture, and to haue our Marchants praise them, which to do the better I sent them aboord the Admirall, to conferre with the Generall and the rest. Where they supped, and returned without taking them into the venture, for that they could not agree to Captaine Hawkins liking.

They returne to Sierra leona againe.

The 3. day about 8. a clocke in the forenoone the Generall came aboorde to mee, complayning that his maine crosse trees were broken, and therefore determined to goe into Sierra leona againe when the winde blew: at 12. at noone we set saile, and went in East southeast, and Southeast, and Southsoutheast, being carried to the Northwarde with the floud. And at 7. at night wee ancred in 8. fathome 3. leagues of the entrance, West Northwest.

All this day the General remained aboord with me, dinner supper, and Seruice, til we ancred, which time we discoursed, &c.

The 4. day about 11. at noone we set saile, and stood in Southeast with the ebb vntill we were within a mile of the entrance, and then finding it calme wee ancred in 14. fathome 2. mile of the West point: in comming to ancre, our quarter Masters, let slip an ancre, and newe cable, ende for ende through negligence: Captaine Drake being a shoare with his boat a fishing, put off thinking to recouer his barke but could not, and with much paine got aboorde me where he supped, and his companie, and stayed all night.

The

The 5. of September in the forenoone about 8. a clocke we sweeped, & dragged for our ancre, and cable, but found it not: likewise at 3. in the afternoone till 4. then wee set saile, and went into the riuer, and came in Southeast from 4. fathomes and a halfe, to 14. fathome, and moored by our Admirall thwart of the Oyster bay in 8. fathome at 5. a clocke at night, hauing left a barrell boy where we ridde, for a marke to finde our ancre. The oyster bay.

About 6. came the olde Portingall, and 3. more with him, and brought me Orenges, and Plantans, and supped with me. After supper they went aboord the barke.

The 6. before day, both our boates went downe with the Admirals boates to fishe, and dragge for our ancre and cable, and found it not: after our skiffe went a fishing, and tooke plentie. I being aboord at dinner, the Portingals came and dined with me. After dinner, in the boate I went aboord the Generall, and there left my Carpenter: my selfe, with M. Walker, M. Maddox, and others, with our net drew good plentie of fish, wherof I carried part aboord the General and supped with him. After supper M. Walker and I came aboord.

The 7. day in the morning I ended many ordinarie businesses: after dinner I called the General, and went downe with the net into the accustomed bay, & there drew 120. fish, wherof were some great mullets. The Generall went aboorde to suppe with Captaine Drake in the Francis: I staied late on shoare, and supped aboord with our companie, all sauing M. Walker, who supped and remained all night with the Generall aboorde Captaine Drake in the Francis.

The 8. day our companies of all handes went on shoare, and set vp a Smiths forge, and an ouen to bake bread: I went in to the Cockle bay with our net, and finding no plentie of fish there, went to the other bay, and brought aboord plentie of fish, and Captaine Drake with mee whome I met there without a boate, and 4. men with him. A Smiths forge and an ouen set vp in Sierra leona.

The 9. day being Sunday, M. Walker went aboorde the Francis to minister the Communion to that companie, and there he dined: I went aboorde the Admirall, and there heard Seruice, and there dined: after dinner most part of our people went on land, with the Generall to plash trees, and make place for the Carpenters and Smithes on shoare: and I in my skiffe went downe and tooke fish in our nette for supper, and returned before night, and sent the Generall part for his supper. Certaine of our men lay on lande to keepe watche with Captaine Parker, to garde the Smiths and Carpenters. Watch on land.

The 10. day at 4. a clocke in the morning I went downe in our skiffe, and stoode till 11. at noone to kill a Pellicane, but coulde not: in the meane time our long boate went along with the net, and at noone with both the boates we returned aboord well fished, where I founde M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and M. Hall, who eate there, and at night went aboord their shippe: after supper I sent 6. men to watch on shoare with Captaine Parker.

The 11. day at 6. a clocke in the morning I went downe with my boate, & the Admirals boat, and dragged for our ancre, but found no hope thereof, and returned aboord at 3. in the afternoone: at 5. came M. Walker in our skiffe, and brought the Generall, and M. Maddox aboord with him, where we supped and were merry together: after supper eche returned to his place: about 11. a clocke at night, we had a great storme of winde, and raine at East Southeast.

The 12. day about 8. in the forenoone came downe the riuer a boat with three other Portingals with whome the Generall bargained, to let them haue 3. barrels of salt, for 5. barrels of rice, and after that rate to exchange for 40. barrels, which hee acquainted mee with: afterwards I dined among the Portingals with him, after dinner I went on shoare to the ouen, and to the Carpenters. After I had bene on shoare and seene the worke there, I returned aboord, & there supped with me the General, M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and 7. Portingals, after supper eche returned to his place. Immediatly after it rained and blew much at Northnortheast. About one a clocke after midnight we had a ternado, which continued 3. houres at East next hand. Trafique with 3. other Portingals. viz. 1. Lewis Henriques a dweller here aboue 20. yeeres. 2. Matthew Fernandos Captaine. 3. Pedro Vaz pilot.

The 13. in the afternoone, the Portingals came againe aboord me, and brake their fast with me: after I sent by them vp the riuer in my skiffe 12. barrels of salt, and gaue them a bottle of wine for one of the sauage Queenes. The Carpenters felled a tree, and squared it for planke and board. The M. had our foresaile on land, and began to binde it, but not hauing time to mende the same, brought it aboord, where we supped with fish, which came from the nette.

The 14. day after drinking our boate went on land with our foresaile, and men to pit and sawe the tree, felled & hewed the day before: they came aboord to dinner, & after dinner they went againe and ended the saile, and cut a boate full of wood and at night returned aboord.

The 15. after dinner, the Master, M. Walker, and I, accompanied, with 12. other trauelled ouer a great deale of ground to finde some cattle, but founde none: & comming home thorow the Oyster bay, I founde of my company and of the Admirals together rolling oysters: and going from They enter vp to search the Countrey.

them, Thomas Rutsell one of my companie sawe a strange fishe named Vrelif, which had fought with a Crocodile, and being hurt came neere the shoare where he waded in, and by the taile drew him a lande, and there slewe him, and sent the Generall the hinder halfe of him: the head part I kept, in whose nose is like a sword a bone of two foote long, with 23. prickes of a side, sharpe and strange: The body we did eate, and was like a sharke.

A sword fish killed.

The 16. day being Sunday we all kept aboorde till after Seruice, and dinner, then M. Walker and I with others, went aboorde the Admirall, where I had diuers debatements with the Generall about our affaires, and there supped, about 8. a clocke we returned aboord.

The 17. day in the morning I sent Nicholas Allen, and two more of my Carpenters to helpe the Admirall about their maine maste: I sent our Cooper, and men to helpe him to cut hoopes in the wood. After dinner with my long boate, and the Master with me, we went aboord the Admirall, and there tooke in the nette, and Captaine Parker and the Master Hall, and went ouer to the sande to the Northwards, in the riuer a mile aboue the roade. And sounding when we went of the Southside, had 14. fathome, and sholded by litle and litle, to halfe a fathome and a foote water, on the sand, which is bare two mile long at quarter ebb, hard sand: we drewe there with our nett, but tooke little fish, and so turned aboord.

The 18. day we beganne a newe fishing nette for our selues, and remained busie about it all day aboorde: our Cooper cut hoopes, and the Baker baked bread on lande: M. Walker supped aboord the Admirall.

Pellicane bay.

The 19. day before 3. in the morning, I went downe in the Admirals pinnesse, which went with the net to fish. They landed me besides Pellicane bay, and there I tooke vp my standing vntil 3. afternoone: in which time I sawe a crane, a martine, and diuers other fowles, but shot at none but one hearne, which I killed: after came aboorde the Edward, where the General, M. Maddox, M. Cotton, and Captaine Parker supped with me.

A Portingal caruel.

The 20. day after dinner, I sent my boate with the Master, and companie with him to dragge for our ancre, & cable, who could neither finde the same nor see our booy, which wee left riding by a small cagger, for a marke for the other greater ancre, so I accompt all lost. By the way in their going downe the riuer they put me a lande by the Pellicane bay, and there I stood till their returne about 5. at afternoone, and came backe againe with them, and Hooker killed a monkie with a piece. At my returne aboord I found the Portingals caruel come downe the riuer at ancre by our ships.

The 21. day in the morning the Generall sent for me and M. Walker, who went aboord them, where hee acquainted vs with the faultes founde in his maine maste, perished in the parteners, which to mende I sent him two of my Carpenters, and two ancre stockes to fishe the same: Also hee opened before vs two and M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, certaine wordes which happened betweene him and the Master Hall, howe Hall saide vnto him among other speaches that hee was there appointed Master, as hee was Generall, and that hee woulde be Master, though hee said nay: the which wordes the Master confessed not to speake in effect, but vnfit speaches passed betweene them. Whereupon hee demaunded our opinions, whether he might displace him or not, which wee graunted hee might vpon so iust a cause, but intreated the Generall rather to accept his submission, which Hall willingly yeelded vnto, which followed presently. At Seruice the Master openly before the whole companie acknowledged to haue ouershotte himselfe in vndecent speaches, and craued pardon of the Generall, who willingly forgaue the offence as though it had not bene committed. After dinner I went on laude, the Master, and M. Walker with me, to oversee the Baker, the carpenters, the smith, and our ropemakers, al which were at worke on land.

After I had bene on land, comming aboord, and captaine Parker with me, we went aboord the caruel, and there saw 30. or 40. slaues fettred together, the men: but the women and children went loose. After the view of them, their behauiour & other trifles there seene, I went aboord. At supper came certaine of the Portingals to me & dranke with me, & after vsed long talke, and so departed.

Bees in Guinea.

The 22. day in the morning I sent my workmen alhoare, and about 8. a clocke, I and M. Walker, with others went downe in my boat to the Pellicane bay, but got nothing: in the meane time they in the boat went downe to the point, & gathered a good many of great oysters, and so returned aboorde about 6. at night well wet with raine, and stonge with Bees.

The 23. day being Sunday, while we were at the Sermon came the Portingal Captaine Mathew Fernandos, & brought me a Negro boy of 7. yeeres old, which he gaue me, whose name was Iohn Primero. After he had dined with me, came captaine Hawkins, captaine Drake, M. Hoode, M. Faireweather, M. Tailcboyes, and M. Bannister, with many others to visite me: after we had talked

talked a while together, I went aboorde the Admirall and M. Walker, where wee agreed that the Portingall Captaine shoulde goe to the riuer for our skiffe, who was contented to goe: after many debatements with the Generall, and supper with him I came aboorde.

The 24. day we rommaged to take vp some of our ordinance, & perusing our water caske, which was filled not 20. dayes before, stowed with greene wood cut, in this place found the same to bee eaten with wormes, which caused the greater part of the water to leake out, which troubled vs much. M. Blackoller, & Robert Rose went downe in our boate to dragge for our ancre & cables but found them not: we tooke vp 7. pieces of ordinance, filled some water, and amended some part of our caske. This afternoone the Generall came aboord to me, & conferred about, &c. About 5. a clocke afternoone, among others I went on lande to the buriall of William Marcham M. of the Francis, who died the same afternoone before. Greene wood subiect to wormes. The death of William Marcham.

The 26. we filled water, mended our caske and stowed many things in hold, & ended the corke, and lead, and all things to the net belonging: this afternoone the king Fatama, sent our Generall a monkie, and an Oliphants toothe, by a messenger a Negro of some accompt. Presents sent to our men by K. Fatama.

The 27. day at 3. a clocke in the morning the Master and I, well accompanied went downe in my long boate to the fishing bay, where seeing the footing of many cattle, we drew a rope thwart the necke of the land, & placed men to gard the straight: the rest went into the wood to driue downe the cattle, who came so fast vpō our men that one of them ouerthrew W. Towrson, that he lay dead for a quarter of an houre, and being recouered in 2. houres hee knewe not what he did. Thus we wearied our selues not being able to kill any of them, although we gaue them many stripes, and so returned to our fishing againe, where we tooke more fish then we could eate.

This morning came the same messenger aboorde, to present mee with an Oliphants toothe, which came to the General from king Fatama, but finding me absent, receiued such intertainment as the Marchants and M. Walker gaue him, & so went aboord the Admirall, taking the tooth with him. There he receiued of the General to present the king as much scarlet clothe as would make him a cloake, & certaine canuas: and for ỹ Queene a wrought Moscouy smocke, & a looking glasse.

The 28. day in the morning came M. Maddox and other aboord mee: after breakefast we went downe a fishing with our net, & returned aboord to supper, and when we had supped, they went aboord. The 29. day after dinner M. Walker and I went aboord the Admirall, and grew in argument concerning our going roome to the yles of Cape Verde, or whether it were better to proceed forwards with the prouision we now haue. At this conference was the General, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, M. Maddox, M. Walker and I: after sundry debatements we concluded to proceede, and with this conclusion we supped there together. After supper by the same consent, I went aboord the Elizabeth and the caruel, and brought their sailes aboord the Admiral, fearing they would saile away, and deceiue me of my boate and salt: which done, I imparted to the Master, the pilot, M. Shaw, and M. Geffreis, what had bene determined, and left 6. of my men aboord the Portingals to looke to them.

The 30. and last day of September, the Francis Cooke came aboorde about 7. a clocke in the forenoone from fishing with my net, and brought among other fishe, a sea calfe (as wee called it) with haire and lympits, and barnacles vpon him, being 7. foote long, 4. foote 9. inches about: which to see I sent for the Generall, and such as pleased to come see it out of the Admirall, who came and brought with him M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, and most part of his companie, who hauing viewed the beast, which was ougly being aliue, it being flayed, opened, and dressed, prooued an excellent, faire, and good meate, broyled, rosted, sodde and baked, and sufficed all our companies for that day. A strange fish taken.

This day during the time that our dinner was dressing, the Generall assembled vs before named in Commission into my cabbin, where he propounded diuers questions and doubts touching our going forwards, all which being answered, it was agreed to proceed for the straights of Magellan: and being in the South sea, to deale as occasion should be giuen. In this conference grew many hotte, and disdainfull speaches and comparisons betweene Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, and also the Generall, as offended with Captaine Hawkins, vsed speaches to him very displeasant, which with much adoe was all in the ende pacified, and so went to Seruice, and after to dinner: then ashoare, and aboord againe to Seruice, and supper, so that we passed the latter part of this day in much good fellowship, the more, because my skiffe came downe with another great boate laden with rice for our salt, whereof we tooke in part.

The 1. day of October in the morning, we tooke in to make vp our ful complement of rice 20. barels for the 12. barrels of salt, deliuered ỹ Portingal, Lewis Henriques before. About 7. a clocke in the morning ỹ General sent for me & M. Walker, touching certaine speaches, that Miles Euans October.

one of our Marchants vsed at dinner aboorde the Gallion in the absence of the Generall, which was set downe in Articles, and hee charged with them, whereof hee confessed a great part, which seemed so odious, and vnhonest, that M. Walker, M. Maddox, M. Parker, the Lieutenant, and I, concluded with the Generall that he might displace him, which thing Euans earnestly often desired, saying that he would go into England well ynough, as from hence in the Elizabeth with the Portingals, with whom in the afternoone he made freight, and carried his chest, a barrel, & 2. packs aboord, which I, M. Parker, and Lieutenant Hawkins searched by the Generals order.

Miles Euans departed from the company, promising to remaine with the Portingals.

Hauing done these things, wee found that the Portingals had not brought vs rice for so much salt, as they promised the Generall, who sent Captaine Parker and others to searche for the same in the Elizabeth and the caruell, where was found good store which wee tooke part of, and payed them salt according to our bargaine. Further wee found searching for rice a boye Negro bigger then my boy Iohn Primero, which I changed him for: and by the Generals order we tooke foure men Negroes, 2. for the Edward, and 2. for the Admirall, for which wee gaue the owners certaine carsey, and other things, as pease, biket, &c.

The 2. day about sixe in the morning wee set saile hauing little winde: the Captaine with the Master, and other of their companie of the Portingals came aboorde mee complaining that the carsey by them receiued for the foure Negroes of the Generall was not sufficient for their payment, whereupon I gaue them scarlet caps, and other things to their content, who finding themselues well pleased, departed away in the Gondall, and we hauing litle winde, got downe thwart of the fishing bay, and there came to ancre about nine a clocke the same forenoone.

About one a clocke I sent my skiffe with the nette a fishing, which came aboorde, and brought fish for supper plentie.

Their 2. departure from Guinea, where they remained from the 4. of August.

The 3. day about two a clocke in the morning wee set saile, and went hence Southwest by West till two in the afternoone then being little winde: at 5. we ancred sixe leagues East Southeast of the Southermost part of the lande in fifteene fathome, and there wee ridde till eight a clocke at night, and then set saile with a stiffe gale at Northeast, which sometime blewe, and sometime was litle winde, and so continued all night. This afternoone Captaine Hawkins, and M. Cotton came to supper with me, and before we could set them aboord came a ternado, so that they taried all night aboord with me.

At 7. at night a great Ternado at Northeast.

The fourth day about eight a clocke in the forenoone wee set Captaine Hawkins, and master Cotton aboord the Admirall, and went Southwest by West till two afternoone, then being litle winde, we made small way, or none at all till the next day: in the afternoone we tooke in our boate and skiffe, and at night shifted our companie because some were dead, and wee had taken in more men out of the Elizabeth.

The 5. day it was calme all day till sixe at night, wee lay to and fro diuing, which I can make no allowance of: at sixe at night wee went South by West with a small gale til one at midnight, then wee mette the winde at South Southwest, and went West by North, till three a clocke following: then came a prety gale at Northeast, with which we went South Southwest til sixe in the morning.

The 6. day at 6. in the morning wee had a small gale at West, and went starre boord tacked South a while there being litle winde: we went Southwest by South til 8. a clocke, from 8. we went Southsouthwest, with a small gale all day, and all night.

The 7. day litle winde or none but lay still among great shoales of foules, and sculls of fish all day and night: by our ordinary Compasse in this place the sunne rose at East, and by South, and to the Southwards, and set West by South to the southwards.

The eight day little winde, or none: all day and night wee laye diuing among fishe and foule.

The 9. day we had in the forenoone some raine, and a small gale at Northeast, which continued not long, but was calme till midnight, then we had a Ternado of winde, Northeast and raine: after that a small gale at East and southeast all night.

Winde East Southeast.

The tenth day wee went all the forenoone South Southwest starre-boorde tacked, after the winde shrinking to the Southeast by South, wee went South, till fiue afternoone: this afternoone the Generall in his long boate, accompanied with M. Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, M. Cotton, M. Hoode and others came aboorde to see mee: after drinking departed away againe: but when they were in the boate, their shippe not comming roome for them, I was faine to shoote off two minions to make them looke out. After fiue a clocke in the afternoone it continued calme till after midnight, then had wee a Ternado, and after a small gale for 3. houres, at East Northeast, with which we went South southwest.

The

The 11. day it was calme, till 2. of the clocke afternoone, then it began to blowe a ſmall gale. At 6. it blewe more, and ſo it continued all night large.

The 12. day we had raine at noone: all the reſt of the day, and night, we went as the wind did ſuffer vs, ſometime Weſt, ſometime Southweſt, and ſometime South.

The 13. day we had litle wind all day, and all night, but went our courſe South Southweſt, and ſometime South by Weſt.

The 14. day we had litle wind, or none. In the afternoone came Captaine Hawkins, and other from the Gallion, and Captaine Drake, who brought me a peece of a Porpoſe with him, which we eate to ſupper: after ſupper they departed aboord the Francis: all the night following, it was in manner calme. This day was Iohn Roberts, and Iohn Hillarde whipped at the maſte, for fighting at dinner.

The 15. day it was calme all day, and night, except two howres. In the morning it rained, & blew a ſmall gale, at Northeaſt. This forenoone Captaine Drake ſent for Maſter Walker, and me, to dinner, where we met Captaine Hawkins, and others. After dinner we returned aboord againe, and Captaine Hawkins went aboord the Admirall. Wind northweſt.

The 16. day it was calme, till 7. at night, then we had a prety gale at Southweſt, with which we went Weſt, and ſometime Weſt northweſt, till 2. of the clocke in the morning, then was it calme all the reſt of the night. This day were Robert Parker, Marke Thoughts, Iohn Roberts, and Iohn Collyns, brought to the capſtone, and there whipped naked, for ſtealing certaine victuall out of the Stewards roome, the Sunday night before. Correction.

The 17. day at ten of the clocke, we had a prety gale, at Eaſt northeaſt, which laſted till 4. afternoone, then had we leſſe wind at Southeaſt, which continued all night: ſo we went ſometime Southſoutheaſt, and ſometime Southweſt by South, and Southweſt.

The 18. day it was a ſmall gale all daye, and all night, ſo that wee went our courſe South ſouthweſt.

The 19. day we went our courſe South ſouthweſt, till midnight, then being in manner calme, we went but litle all night.

The 20. day it was calme, till ten of the clocke afternoone, then we went Southweſt, with a ſmall gale, at Eaſt ſoutheaſt, with which we went South ſouthweſt till midnight, there being calme, we went little all night.

The 21. it was calme, til ten afternoone, then a gale till 12. at noone, then calme againe, till 3. afternoone, then it blewe a ſmall gale at Southeaſt, with which we went South ſouthweſt, and Southweſt among til midnight, but then it was calme all the reſt of the night.

The 22. it was calme in maner all day, and night, ſauing at 2. of the clocke after midnight, we had an extreme Ternado of wind, raine, thunder, and lightning. The wind laſted not an howre, but the raine and a calme continued till day.

The 23. day we had much raine, calme, and thicke weather, ſo that being ſeparated the night before in a Ternado, from our Admirall we loſt the ſight of him many times: yet when it cleered vp, we ſawe each other, but hauing no winde, could not come neere together by two leagues. All this night we bare a good ſaile, and had a reaſonable gale, with which wee went betweene the South by Weſt, and the Southweſt. In the morning wee ſawe the Admirall to Leewardes, ſo farre as wee might deſcrye her ſayles, with whome the Francis, and wee went roome. Wind Eaſt Southeaſt.

The 24. day in the forenoone, we went roome to our Admirall, Weſt ſouthweſt, and Weſt, till ten of the clocke. After dinner we hailed her, and went from ten in the forenoone, ſouth ſouthweſt next hand, all day and night following, with a franke gale.

The 25. day we went Southweſt next hand, all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The 26. day and night, we went with a prety gale, betweene the South ſouthweſt, and the Weſt ſouthweſt, but might haue beene neerer the winde, but for going roome with the Admirall.

The 27. day we went Weſt ſouthweſt, and ſouthweſt by Weſt among, with a prety gale, and ſometime ſouthweſt all day, and night.

The 28. day after dinner, our Admirall laye by the Lee, to ſtoppe a leake in his bowes, and was faine to ſlinge three men ouer boord to doe it: in the meane tyme we came vppe, and hayled them: they tolde vs that if the winde ſcanted one point more, they meant to caſt about, which we thought not beſt, for certaine cauſes. Whereupon we tooke in our ſprit ſaile, and hayled aft our ſheetes cloſe, ſo that whereas all day before we went Southweſt, and little better, nowe we went next hand South ſouthweſt, but alwaies better then Southweſt by South all night following.

This

This euening I ſet the Sunne at his going downe, hee ſet more then halfe a point to the South of Weſt by South.

The next morning, I obſerued the Sunnes riſing, which was to the Southwards, a little of Eaſt by South.

The 29. day after dinner, the Francis boate with her Maſter, and Maſter Dore, came aboord of vs, for a hogſhead of porke by the Generals order, which was deliuered them. All this day and night, we went next hand, ſouthweſt by ſouth.

The 30. daye wee went next hande Southſouth Weſt all daye, and all night, with a pretie gale.

The 31. day, and laſt of October, we went all day, and all night, ſouth ſouthweſt, and Southweſt by ſouth among, ſauing two watches, which were calme in the night, after the raine.

Nouember. The firſt day of Nouember, in the forenoone, we tooke in our maine ſaile, to mende it: in the meane time, the Admirall came vp by vs, and deſiring me, with my Maſter, and Maſter Blackcoller, to come aboord to him, about certaine conference, hee ſent his boate for vs, where by him was propounded, whether it were beſt for vs to ſtande on with the coaſt of Braſile, as we did, or els to ſtande about ſtarboord tacked to the Eaſtwards: whereupon diuers of their Charts and reckonings were ſhewed: by ſome it appeared, we were 115. leagues, by ſome 150. leagues, by ſome 140. leagues, and ſome a great deale further short of Braſile, next hand vpeaſt of vs: but all agreed to be within 20. minutes of the line, ſome in the line, ſome to the north, ſome to the ſouth of the line.

After many debatements, it was agreed by moſt conſent to ſtande on for the coaſt of Braſile, except the wind changed, and there to doe, as weather ſhould compell vs. In this conſultation, we had ſpeeches of courſes, and places of meeting, if by miſfortune we ſhould be ſeparated, wherein was no full order concluded, but that we ſhould ſpeake euery night with the Admirall, if we conueniently might, and ſo to appoint our courſe from time to time, if wee loſt compaine, to ſtaye 15. daies in Riuer de Plate, and from thence to goe for the Streights, and there to ride, and water, and trimme our ſhippes (in no certaine place named.)

After dinner, we returned aboord our ſhippe, Captaine Drake, and his Maſter, to their barke, and went hence as neere as we could lie ſouth ſouthweſt, and ſouthweſt by ſouth all night following, with a freſh gale.

The ſecond day and night, we went next hand ſouth by weſt, and ſometime ſouth ſouthweſt among, with a franke gale.

The third day, we went ſouth by weſt next hand, all day and all night.

The fourth day in like manner.

The fift day wee went South by weſt all daye, and all night wee went South with a franke gale.

The ſixt day we went ſouth next hand all day, and night, and ſouth by weſt among.

The ſeuenth day we went ſouth, and ſouth by weſt all day and night, with a franke gale.

The eight day we went ſouth, and ſouth by weſt all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The ninth day we went ſouth next hand all day, and night, with a franke gale.

The 10. day we went ſouth next hand, and ſouth by weſt, all day and night, leſſe wind.

The 11. day, being Sunday, in the forenoone, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Drake, came aboord, and dined with me. After dinner came the General, Maſter Maddox, Maſter Parker, Maſter Banniſter, Maſter Cotton, and diuers others, to viſite Maſter Walker, who ſickened the Friday before of a Callentura. After they had drunke, and eate ſome iunkets, they all departed to their charges. We went all day, and all night, ſouth, and ſouth by weſt among.

M. Walker ſicke of a Calentura.

The 12. in the afternoone, Maſter Maddox, Maſter Hall, Maſter Banniſter, and other, came aboord to viſite Maſter Walker. After a time of abode with him, they returned to the Gallion all againe, except Maſter Maddox, who remained with Maſter Walker here aboord.

This night Maſter Maddox, and I, beheld many conſtellations in the firmament, and ſette downe certaine new ſtarres, raiſed to the ſouthwards. All day and night, we went ſouth, and ſouth by Eaſt among.

Obſeruation of the ſouth Hemiſpheare.

The 13. at 6. in the morning, our millen tie brake, and the yard fell downe, many men being neere the ſame, yet God be thanked, it hurt no man, but it brake in peeces, and was ſplited, and vp againe before noone.

This forenoone the General, M. Banniſter, Captaine Parker, M. Tailboyes, and others, came aboord, & viſited M. Walker, and went aboord the Gallion againe, & M. Maddox with them, leauing M. Banniſter with vs, til afternoone that ẏ boate brought M. Maddox againe: then departed

Maſter

Maſter Banniſter, Captaine Hawkins, and all, except Maſter Maddox, who ſtill remained with Maſter Walker, who made his Will, this afternoone. We went all this day and night South by Eaſt, with a ſlawne sheete, and a franke gale. M. Walkers will made.

The 14. day afternoone, Maſter Walker was let blood againe: afterward, about 9. of the clocke, Maſter Maddox, and Maſter Banniſter, went aboord the Gallion againe. Alſo the ſame forenoone, came the Maſter, and others of the Francis, to ſee maſter Walker, and in the afternoone Maſter Maddox, and Maſter Banniſter, came againe to viſite him. All this day, and night, wee went ſouth by Eaſt, with a franke gale. Wind Eaſt northeaſt.

The 15. day afternoone, came Maſter Maddox, and Maſter Banniſter, aboord, and brought a potion to Maſter Walker. Afternoone the Generall, Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Parker, Maſter Maddox, and others, came aboord to viſite Maſter Walker, &c. All this daye, and night, wee went ſouth by Eaſt our courſe, with a flowne sheete, all ſailes drawing.

The 16. day we went our courſe ſouth by Eaſt, till noone, and then by the Sunne finding our ſelues in vpwards of 17. degrees, we ſhaped our courſe ſouth, and ſo went till next morning, with a large and franke gale. This morning the Sunne roſe Eaſt by ſouth, and to the ſouthwards, and ſet the ſame night betweene the ſouthweſt by Weſt, and the Weſt ſouthweſt, rather to the ſouthwards.

The 17. day afternoone, we ſhot off three peeces of Ordinance, in honour of our Queenes Maieſtie, whome God preſerue, and grant her a long life, and proſperous raigne ouer the Realme of England, and all other of vs her ſubiects. This day after dinner came Maſter Maddox, and Captaine Drake, with others, to take their leaue of Maſter Walker, as I, with all my companie had done before, ſuppoſing him paſt hope of recouerie. At 4. of the clocke, finding our ſelues in 19. degrees to the ſouthwards of the line, and cleere of the ſhoales, called by vs Powles, we went hence ſouth ſouthweſt all night following. 19. degrees of ſoutherly latitude.

The 18. day, being Sunday, after dinner, the Generall, Maſter Maddox, Captaine Parker, & many other, came aboord, and viſited Maſter Walker: which done, they ſranke, & departed aboord againe. All this day, and night, we went our courſe ſouthweſt by ſouth, with a franke gale.

The 19. day, about noone, the Sunne was our Zenith, being declined to the ſouthwards, 21. degrees, and 33. minuts, where we found the aire freſh, and temperate, as in England in June, when a freſh gale of winde doth blowe in the heate of the day, but the euening, the night, and the morning, are more freſh, and colder here, then it is in England, either in June, or Julie. All this day, and night, we went our courſe ſouthweſt by ſouth, with a good gale: the forenoone Maſter Banniſter brought Maſter Walker a potion, and Captaine Hawkins came with him: there paſſed ſpeeches betwixt Maſter Banniſter, and me. Cold euenings

The 20. day we went all day, and all night, ſouthweſt by ſouth our courſe, with a freſh gale, and coole weather, wind ſometime northeaſt, and ſometime Eaſt northeaſt.

The 21. day afternoone, we brought our beſt maine top ſaile to the yard, and cut thole for many vſes: alſo we began to make a newe maine corſe and bonnet, and fitted our ſtancions for our fights, vpon the vpper decks, as afte maſte. This day and night, we went our courſe, with a franke gale, ſouthweſt by ſouth.

The 22. day we went our courſe, ſouthweſt by ſouth, till 8. of the clocke at night: then the wind ſhifted to the ſouth ſoutheaſt, ſo that we could lie but ſouthweſt by weſt, till 12. al night, with a good gale: the reſt till day, was in a manner calme.

The 23. in the morning, it was raine, and calme, till 8. of the clocke, then we went Weſt, with a ſmall gale, till noone, and from noone, till the next morning, we went ſouthweſt by ſouth, & ſouthweſt among, our courſe. Wind northeaſt.

The 24. day we went our courſe all day, and night, ſouthweſt, with a ſmall gale.

The 25. being Sunday, in the morning, the Generall, and Captaine Parker, with Maſter Maddox, came aboord to viſite Maſter Walker: which done, we peruſed our Maſters and Pilots plats, and reckonings, and after I went aboord, and dined with the Generall, where after dinner, we alſo peruſed the Maſter, and Pilots charts and reckonings, aboord the Gallion, whereby wee founde our ſelues farre off the lande, and thought good to edge in with the ſhoare Southweſt, leaſt our water ſhould faile vs, and then being becalmed farre of, might be for want diſtreſſed. After this determination, I returned aboord againe, and went all day, and night, our courſe Southweſt.

The 26. day we went our courſe all day, and night, ſouthweſt: this euening the Admirall hailed vs, and told vs he would put into the Riuer De Plate.

The 27. day we went our courſe all day, and night, ſouthweſt next hand.

The

The 28. day little wind all the forenoone, at noone the wind ſhifted to the South, with raine, til 3. of the clocke afternoone: then it blewe at East ſoutheaſt, till 4. in the morning: at 4. it changed to the East northeast. All this time we went our course ſouthwest, except ſometime we had a lache to the westwards, after the Admirall.

The 29. day at noone, wee altered our course to the West ſouthwest, and ſo haled in with the land all night, being cleere weather, and a faire night, but a ſtoute gale all night.

Great cold in the latitude of 28. degrees.

The 30. being S. Andrewes day, and the laſt of November, at 5. of the clocke in the morning, we had much wind at South, and ſouth by West, and very colde weather, which ſhooke vs into a coarſe, and bonnet of each. At 4. of the clocke afternoone, the wind changed to the ſouthwest, and blewe very much, and rained, being ſo cold, that we were glad to put on winter apparell. So wee ſtood cloſe by northwest, and west northwest all night.

December.

The firſt of December, about ſixe of the clocke in the morning, wee ſawe lande on the coaſt of Braſile, in the height of 28. degrees, or there abouts, which bare northwest, and was 8. leagues from vs very high land. We ſtoode in with it, being much winde, and comming neere, found diuers Iſlands: and ſeeing the Francis, would not come roome, nor runne a heade vs, we ſtoode in with the ſhoare, and ſounded in 30. fathome oaze, three leagues off the lande, bearing from the West northwest to the north northwest of vs, and ſo ſtoode in till it ſhoalded orderly into ſeuen fathome, within a mile of a head lande: then perceauing a breach ouer our bowe, and no hope of a good harbour in that place, we bare vp roome, and our Admirall after vs, whome we haled: then he tolde vs he would ſeeke harbour to Leewards, requiring me to goe a heade. Then ſeeing the barke was a ſterne, I hoiſed out my ſkiffe, and ſette her maſte and ſaile, taking her ging, and Tobias, one of my Maſters Mates with me, and ranne before the ſhippe, ſounding in 15. fathom faire ſand, leauing a ledge of rockes a ſea boord of vs: ſo the ſhippes, and the barke looked vp vnder a head land, and ankered in eight fathome, halfe a mile off the land, hauing brought the head land, which lieth in 27. degrees, 50. minuts, ſouth ſoutheaſt of them, and the North land northeaſt of them.

The latitude of 27. degrees, 50. minuts.

I ſtoode on with the ſkiffe, hoping to find a better harbour to Leeward three leagues, but it proued not ſo: wherefore I returned, and in my way aboord, I met with a rocke in the ſea, where we landed, and killed good ſtore of fowle, and after I went aboord the Admirall, where I preſented him with fowle, and returned aboord to ſupper.

In this time our boates had bene a land, and found water, ballaſte, and two decaied houſes, as they told me, and our men aboord hooked freſh fiſhe. This night we rid quietly.

The ſecond being Sunday, in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Hawkins, Maſter Maddox, and others, came aboord to viſite Maſter Walker: during his being here aboord, a ſudden qualme came ouer his ſtomake, which made him ſcowre vp, and downward: then I ſent for Maſter Parker, and with him came Maſter Banniſter: after he began to be a little better, we all, except the Generall, which remained ſicke in my cabbin, went aboord the Gallion to dinner, which was appointed the night before. This forenoone our Maſters moared our ſhippes further into the Baye. We brought the South point ſoutheaſt of vs, and the northland northeaſt, and ſo rid.

A Baye.

Wels made by our men.

After dinner, Captaine Parker, with my boate, and company, went a lande, and there placed pipes, and made three Wels. In the meane time, I accompanied with Maſter Hawkins, Maſter Maddox, Maſter Cotton, and diuers of mine owne people landed farther within the Baye, and found two riuers of freſh water, and a good fiſhing place. Preſently I ſent a boord for my net, with which at one draught, we drew 600. great Mullets, and fiue great Balles, the like draught was neuer ſeene with ſo ſmall a net: with which we went aboord, giuing to the Admirall 240. to the Francis 80. and the reſt our companie ſpent, and gaue Almightie God thankes for his great goodnes.

An exceeding great draught of fiſhe.

The woods ſet on fire by our men.

All this while was captaine Parker, and others, gone into the land, and fired the woods, which burned extremely: at length we all met, and ſupped aboord the Edward with mee, and after ſupper departed aboord to their charges. All this night we had faire weather.

The third day in the morning, our Carpenter calked without board, and the Maſter, and others, tooke vp all the merchandize in the ſterne ſheetes to the keele, and there put downe a boates loding of ſtone: and ſeeing the merchandize well conditioned, ſtowed the ſame againe: in the meane time, my ſelfe, and others in our boates, ſcraped off the wormes, and waſhed the rudder, and part of one ſide of our ſhip.

After dinner, the Maſter, Pilot, and I, went a ſhoare, and obſerued the Sunne at noone, which being paſt, with our net wee drewe plentie of diuers ſortes of fiſhes, and went from that Baye to the watering place: from thence, aboord the Generall, which had taken Phiſicke, and gaue

them

them and the Francis fiſhe for their companies, and ſo went aboord, where our companie had romaged a foremaſt, ſo that this afternoone we tooke in two boates more lading of ſtones afore maſte.

The 4. day in the morning, I ſent 30. men aland, ſome to cut hoopes, ſome to cut fire wood, and ſome to mend our maine ſaile: the reſt aboord emptied our caſke, which was filled with ſalt water, to ſtiffen the ſhippe, and with Ordinance, and all our meanes trimmed her ouer to port, and lightned her ſtemme, that the Carpenter might the better come to the leake. After dinner we ſcraped and waſhed all her ſtarboord ſide, and tooke in a boates loding of ſtones.

This afternoone the Generall ſent for me to goe aland with him in his Pinneſſe, with whome I went, and tooke my nette with mee, and there tooke good ſtore of fiſhe, eſpecially fiſhes called Dores: after we went to the watring place, and came aboord the ſooner, becauſe the General found himſelfe ſicke, whome I ſet aboord in my ſkiffe, and went aboord my ſelfe, and ſent for our people from ſhoare, and gaue God thankes, and ſupped late. The neceſſarie vſe of nets.

The 5. day betimes in the morning, we ſent our ſaile menders a ſhoare, and trimmed ouer our ſhippe to ſtarboord, and waſhed the other ſide. In the meane while, our Cooper, and others, trimmed our caſke, and others placed it in holde. Alſo we tooke in 2. boates loding more of ſtones, and ſome water, we ſtocked a ſheate anker, and bent a newe cable, for it was very much winde, which hindred our buſines greatly.

The 6. daye in the morning, before 6. of the clocke, wee ſawe a ſaile which went towards the ſouthwards the Admirall not hauing knowledge thereof: I went aboord, and certified him, who appointed me to goe and bring her in, and to take Captaine Parker, and ſome of the Gallions men into the Frauncis, and the Admirals ſkiffe with vs: ſo wee gaue her chaſe, and tooke her ſixe leagues to the Lewards of the place we rode in. Then not being able to fetch the roade againe, we ankered in the ſea. I, intending to come away in the Pinneſſe, and leaue the Francis, and the prize together, being readie to depart, the winde blewe at South, a ſtoute gale, and raine, ſo that about ſixe of the clocke, we ankered in the roade, where our ſhips rode in. A ſaile ſeene and taken.

After we had taken them, and that Captaine Parker, and I, were aboord, we had much talke with them, before they came to the ſhippes, and being ankered there, the chiefe men were carried aboord the Generall, which was a Gentleman, named Don Franciſco de Vera, Nephew to the Gouernour of the Riuer De Plate, named Don Iohn de Torre Vera.

We founde an Engliſhman, named Richard Carter, borne in Limehouſe, who had bene out of England foure and twentie yeeres, and hath bene neere twelue yeeres dwelling in the Riuer of Plate, at a Towne named Aſcenſion, three hundreth leagues vp in the Riuer, whither they were nowe determined to goe, and inhabite, hauing two women, and two yong children, ſeuen Friers, the reſt boyes, and saylers, to the number of 21. perſons. Richard Carter an Engliſh man taken in the prize. The number of 21. in the prize.

The olde Frier was had in great reuerence among the reſt: inſomuch that they called him the Holie Father, he was abiding in no place, but as Viſitor, he went viſiting from Monaſterie to Monaſterie.

The ſubſtance of all the ſpeeches was, that the Spaniſh Fleete was before at the Streights of Magellan, as they thought, for they were departed ſixe weekes paſt from the Riuer of Genero, where they had beene ſeuen moneths to refreſh and winter. And that theſe were not of that companie, but came out of Spaine, the 26. of May, 1582. in a Barke of foure ſcore tunne, and foure ſcore perſons of purpoſe, for the Riuer of Plate: the Friers beeing eighteene in number, could not agree, and their Barke was a ground at Spirito ſanto, like to be loſt: therefore the olde Frier bought this ſmall barke of 46. tunne, at a port, named Spirito ſanto in Braſile, and ſo deuided themſelues, and comming from thence, loſt companie at ſea, but they thought they were before at Riuer de Plate. After his ſpeeches, I went, and appointed (by the Generals order) men to remaine aboord the prize, with Captaine Parker, and brought one of the Portingals ſayles away with me, and came aboord, where I founde that our men had filled water all day.

The 7. day in the morning, the Generall ſent for me, where he ſhewed me, and Maſter Maddox, certaine articles, which the Friers, and marriners Spaniards were examined of, which tended altogether to the knowledge of the Spaniſh fleetes intent, and of the meanes whereby wee might be diſcouered by way of Riuer de Plate, by land to Peru. In this time came the reſt, after whoſe comming was debated, whether it were beſt to take the boate, and people with vs, or not, which was not determined, but referred till further examination.

Then was determined to paſſe by the ſtreights, notwithſtanding the Spaniards were there, but not to ſet vp forge, nor to build pinneſſe, but water, and ſo thorough.

Further

Further, it was determined that Captaine Hawkins, Master Tailboys, Master Geffries, Master Hoode, Master Blackcoller, and two sailers of each shippe, should romage the prize: about the appointment of whome, grewe vnkinde, and hot speeches, betweene the Generall, and Master Parker, against me, concerning authoritie, and gouernment, and also Captaine Hawkins finding himselfe iniuried, was plaine with them both: so that we were beyond the termes of Commissioners, and fell to plaine brawling, and bragging: the circumstances I omit, as too long, and vnfit to be written. Time being thus spent, the Generall called for wine, and ended all contentions, and so we dined there with him.

After dinner they searched the barke, and found in her diuers trifles, which are noted in a paper by themselues. I went a fishing, and came aboord, from whence the Generall fetched me, and went aboord to the old Frier in the barke: after we had talked with him, we came aboord, and there supped in the Edward with me, the Generall, M. Maddox, Captaine Parker, and Master Hall: wee debated of diuers causes before, and after supper, and so departed, with promise to dine with the Generall the next day.

This day also we tooke vp all the rest of our Ordinance, and placed them, and tooke in a boates lading of stones, and filled water all day.

The 8. day afore noone, Master Walker, and I, went aboord the Admiral to dinner, where was determined to discharge the Spanish barke, named our Ladie of pitie, and all the men except Richard Carter, the English man, and Iohn Pynto, a Portingall, which dwelled at Riuer de Plate.

The Spanish barke dismissed.

After dinner, the Generall appointed me, and Captaine Hawkins, to see them all set aboord their ship, and to receaue from them certaine necessaries, which willingly they imparted with vs, and to leaue them satisfied. Which done, I returned aboord, and hauing deuided the necessaries to each ship his part, we entred into consultation, where Master Walker propounded certaine questions to the Generall of vnkindnes, by me conceaued against him, which moued him to some cholerike termes with me, which I answered: and in the ende, all matters almost being agreed betweene vs, then began he to question with Captaine Hawkins, which contention was tedious, and not fully ended before supper, & began againe after supper: so that about 10. of the clocke after supper, we came aboord,

In this morning before my going foorth, we trimmed our shippe ouer to port, and came to our leakes, and not being able to stop the same without boord, we stopped the same within boord, and after our men filled all our water caske, laded, and placed all our Ordinance, and made all things ready to goe hence.

The 9. day being Sunday, in the morning, I sent master Shawe, and master Geffries, aboord the Admirall, to peruse the Spaniards letters, wherein they found the estate of the Fleete, which was in the Streights of Magellane, as by the note thereof appeareth.

About ten of the clocke, the Generall, master Maddox, Captaine Hawkins, and Captaine Parker, came aboord of me, the Generall began to reproue my Quarter master, for grudging of victuall for the Francis, which was answered, and he wel satisfied. Then sent I for the old Frier, and Don Francisco, who all dined with me, and after dinner, the Spaniards hauing receaued the Canow which was sunke a land, and stones to ballast them, with my boate carried them, and all other things to their liking, and content, they departed from mee: the Generall also departed, and his companie, who being gone, I deuided the suger, and ginger among my people, which the Spaniards gaue vs, and after spent the day in ordinarie busines.

Spanish presents.

The 10. day in the morning, our skiffe went a fishing, whereof we eate as much to supper, as serued the companie, the rest we salted for store, and to proue if they would take salt or not. In the afternoone our skiffe went againe to fishe, and tooke good store: the rest of our people tooke their ease, some aboord, and some on shoare.

The 11. day, betimes in the morning, our skiffe went againe to fishe, & tooke great plentye. About 7. of the clocke, I went a land, taking with me the M. & others of our best men, to the number of 22. persons, & traueled to ỹ place, where our people before had found many great iars of earth, & decaied habitations of the Indians, & trees being dead, and withered, of sweete wood. From that place, we saw ouer the tops of a narrow wood, a faire plaine, which at the request of the M. and the rest, I went with them to see. We passed through a thicke & perillous wood, before we came to the supposed plaine: & when we came to it, wee found the lowest part thereof higher then any of our heads, and so mossie vnder foote, that we slipped to the knees many steps, which so wearied vs, that for my part, I was very sicke, and so hasted aboord, leauing the Master with 15. men, which cut a tree of sweete wood, and brought many peeces thereof aboord.

Things found in the Iland.

About 3. afternoone, M. Walker, and many of our men being a shoare, the winde came faire,

and

and we layd out a warpe to the Northeast, and began to winde a hedd: after we layd out another warpe with a bende, and wound to the platt, and so ridde by it one anker all night.

The 12. day about 5. a clocke in the morning, we set sayle, and as we ranne out betweene the ledge of rockes, & the mayne in 8. fadom water, as we were catting our anker, the cattrope, stopper and all brake, so that we were glad to let slip all the cable, and cast off our boate, and skiffe to way the same: after we had stood out a good way, the Admirall was vnder sayle, then cast we about, and went roome with the Admiral which weaned vs, who sent in his pinnesse, and the Frances to helpe out our boats, so by the helpe of the Admirals pinnesse, with her sayle, wee had our boate the sooner, and about 12. a clocke at noone taken in the anker, cable, our long boate, skiffe, and all, and put out all our sayles bearing after the Admirall, which went hence South by east. About 6. a clocke at night being thick weather we lost sight of ỹ land, being 4. leagues off or there about, all night it was but litle winde, yet went we our course South by west.

The 13. day about 7. a forenoone the wind blewe at South southeast, & was very fogge, with which gale we stood in larboord tacked west, till 10. a clock the same forenoone: then had we sight of the land a hedd, all along (for it waxed cleere weather) it sheweth a farre off, like white cleeues, but is all sandy hilles, and bayes along the sea side: at one a clocke afternoone we were in 16. fadom water and within halfe a league of the shoare, where we saw seuerall fires made by the Indians to giue warning to the other people within the land as we supposed: then we cast about, and stood off, Southeast by east till midnight, that the wind came large: then went wee our course, South by west til next morning.

The 14 day we went our course South by west hauing sight of the land at 6. a clocke in the morning about 7. leagues off, and so went till 6. at night that we saw lande againe, 7. leagues off west, and the wind shifted to the South: then we cast about and stood off East southeast at 7. at night for a while, then came vp the wind at Northwest and blew a good.

This day at 8. a clocke at night we had a prety gale and went our course with it til 12. after, it was in maner calme all night.

The 15. day in the morning, the Admirall was a hedd, as farre as we could almost see her, by whose default I know not, & being litle wind we could not get to her, till 4. a clocke afternoone, then we hayled her, and stood in betweene the South southwest, and the southwest til 6. at night that the wind was variable, and foule weather: then we cast about, and sounded in 23. fadom soft oaze, and stood off a while Northeast: and presently cast about againe, and went south by east larboord tacked, and south southeast among all night: at 4. in the morning 15. fadom sande.

The 16. day being Sunday we saw the land within 3. leagues of vs at 6. a clocke in the morning, at 8. a clocke we cast about and went Northeast till 11. the same forenoone, then wee stood along south by west stil within 3. or 4. leagues of the shoare, and in 12. fadom water, sand about 2. a clocke, the wind larged, so we went south by east: at 6. a clocke we were 6. leagues off the lande which bare west southwest of vs, and was in the 23. fadom, after the wind came vp at Northeast: so we went all night South with our sheats hayled of: a cleere night of starres but cold weather. The Sunne set this night at southwest by west, and to the Northwards a litle, and rose the next morning East by south, and to the Southwards.

The 17. day we went our course South til 11. a clocke afternoone: then the wind scanting we lay betweene the Southeast, and the East southeast, til the next day morning with litle winde.

The 18. day afforenoone, being calme yet a boysting sea, we tooke in all our sayles, and mended them, and riued newe mayne tides, and repaired many decayes, as a Ramme head &c. at 7. a clocke at night it began to blowe at southeast, & so we lay by larboord tacked, southwest by south, and South southwest all night with a good gale.

The 19. day we stood in next hand southwest all day and night.

The 20. day about 10. a clocke afforenoone, we went aboord the Admirall: viz. Master Walker the Master, the Pylot, the two Marchants, and my selfe, being directed so to do by the Generall: vpon our comming the Generall was going to dinner where we also dyned with him: hauing dyned, the General called vs his Assistants into his cabben, and there deliuered to vs in writing two demands, to bee by vs considered vpon, and he to haue our opinions therein.

The effect of the demands were these.

1. Whether it was best for vs to aduenture our selues to passe the Steights of Magelan or not, considering the force of the enemy, which we knew to be there before vs: and also that our determination was there to set vp our pinnesse, make vpon hoopes, carrene our ships, and do all our necessary businesses for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

2. Demand was, if that course were not thought best, which way were meetest for vs to take.

To the first we were of opinion, that it were good to heare the opinions of Captaine Hawkins, Captaine Drake, & the 2. pylots, which had passed the streights, and knew the harbors, and likest places to be fortified, & inhabited or not, who were called, and the 3. Masters with them: their opinions were as diuers as their names, & almuch differed, as before this time they weare wont vsually to do: only they all agreed in this one point, ỳ it was impossible for vs to passe ỳ streights without seeing, and incountring with the ships although the fortification of the lande did not annoy vs, which being long and throughly debated, and their opinions with the 3. Masters demanded, which accorded not scant any one with other, they were dismissed.

Then the General receiued the opinions of vs his Assistants: beginning with the yongest in authority first, which when he had harde them all ouer, & being set downe in writing vnder our hands, he tooke deliberation till after supper to giue his determination.

When we had all supped then he sent for vs downe into his cabben and deliuered in writing his determination, (which was) to victuall, and furnish our selues on this coast before he proceeded any further, and named 2. places Riuer de Plate, or S. Vincent to be chosen.

Richard Carter the English man taken in the pinse, caried along with them.

For the better deciphering of Riuer de Plate, and the commoditis therof, was called before vs Richard Carter, which doth dwel there, who could not assure vs of any wine except we could stay 4. moneths for it, but other victuals plenty: the riuer shoale & dangerous, ỳ road 7. leagues from any towne, or place of commoditie: which considered with the trecherie that might from thence be vsed, into the Streights by sea, & into Peru by land, we all concluded to go to S. Vincent, which place is inhabited with Portingals, and where in honest sort we might comeniently haue all our busines done.

They returne in the latitude of 33.

With this resolution we tooke our leaues about 8. a clocke at night, & being come aboord presently bare vp, & went roome, hauing all the day before beate vp the winde larboord tacked East southeast til at night: after it was a litle winde all night, we went North next hande.

The 21. day after seruice, I declared vnto my company, the intent of our returne to the Port of S. Vincent, wherewith they were wel satisfied being before doubtfull that we should not proceede, but returne without performance of our voyage. It continued calme all day till 6. at night, then we went Northwest by west, till 8. at night: and then we cast about, and stood off East southeast, and East by South all night with a good gale.

John Drake in the Francis went to the riuer of Plate wherein his ship was cast away, but the men gatt to land, and liued 15. moneths among the Sauages.

The 22. day in the morning, we missed the Francis, which by all presumption went roome in the beginning of the night.

About sixe afternoone we cast about, and stood in Northwest, till sixe a clocke at night: then we went about, and stood of East by South, and East Southeast among all night, till foure a clocke next morning.

The 23. day at foure a clocke in the morning, we cast about, and stood in West northwest, and West by north, till twelue at noone: Then we stoode about larboorde tacked a while, and presently the winde came large, so we went North by east, & North northeast all day & night following.

The 24. day we went North northeast, and North by east, til one a clocke after midnight: then we cast about, and stood of East southeast, and Southeast by east, all the rest of the night.

The 25. day being Christmas day, it was little winde in the forenoone till ten a clocke, then it blewe a fresh gale, with which we went our course North northeast: in the afternoone it was lesse winde: yet went we our course North by east, and North northeast and North and North by west till midnight. Then being in shoaled water, wee cast about, and lay South southeast, and Southeast by south an houre, & seeing our Admiral came not after vs, we cast about back againe & presently met him, so we went both together next hand South southeast, al the rest of the night.

Infinite number of fishe.

This afternoone we saw the skimme of fishes so thicke in the sea, that it seemed a water troubled with trampling of horses, which was thicke, and slimy, for we had taken vp some of it.

The 26. day at 7. afternoone we cast about, and stood in North by west, and North northwest: about 11. at noone we saw the Land which lay Northwest of vs 4. leagues, at one a clocke wee cast about, and stood of Southeast with a South gale all night.

The 27. day we stood off into the sea between the Southeast, and the East by North all day and night with a foule gale of wind at North.

The 28. day it was calme all the forenoone till 12. a clocke then we went West northwest: during this calme we tooke in our mayne Sayle and toppe sayles, and mended them: all the day and night follwing much winde.

The 29. day we went West northwest with a south gale, till 6. a clocke at night: then it thundred, lightned and rained, the winde almost calme and shifting, wherewith we went all night, betweene the East, and the North northeast.

The

The 30. day being Sunday, after Sermon, dinner, and obſeruation of the Sunne at noone, we hoyſed out our ſkiffe: the Maſter, M. Walker, and I went aboord the Admirall where wee had a banket of ſweete meates: after that ended, the General and I fell into familiar conference ſeueral by our ſelues of the ſtate of our voyage, & debated long of the ſame in good ſoyt: then being neere 4. of the clocke we tooke our leaues, & came aboord, & tooke in our ſkiffe, and went Noyth noyth-weſt till 8. at night, then we caſt about, and went ſoutheaſt, and ſoutheaſt by ſouth al night ſmooth ſea, much fogge.

The 21. & laſt of Decẽber at 6. afoyenoone we caſt about, & ſtood in noytheaſt til 5. afternoone: then ſeeing the land 3. leagues off vs, we caſt about, & ſtood off eaſt ſoutheaſt al night w̃ litle wind.

The firſt day of January, we had litle wind all day and night, but we layd our courſe withall next hand Noyth noytheaſt. January.

The 2. day, our foyetoppmaſt being periſhed, we tooke it downe, & the cap of ẏ Maſt, which the Carpẽter wrought vpon al day, & night: we wẽt our courſe next hand, noyth noytheaſt litle wind.

The 3. day we went our courſe till 11. a clocke at night Noyth by eaſt, then the wind ſcanted, & we ſtood off Eaſt ſoutheaſt till 4. next morning.

The 4. day at 4. a clocke afoyenoone we went Noyth next hand, till 5. a clocke at night, hauing runne in ſight of land all day, then being in 15. fadom water within 2. mile of the ſhoare, we caſt about and ſtood of South ſoutheaſt, and Southeaſt all night, with a reaſonable gale.

This foyenoone we ſet vp our foyetopmaſt againe, being wel mended.

The 5. day at 9. a clocke afoyenoone, we caſt about: & whereas all the morning before we went Southeaſt by eaſt now we went Noyth till 5. afternoone: then being in ſight of land, 3. leagues ſhoyt of the place were we were the day before at that time we caſt about, and went Southeaſt all night with a ſtout gale of wind. This afternoone our mainetoppſayle ſplit from the boltropes, and was greatly toyne wich we got downe, and began to mende.

The 6. day after dinner we gatt vp our mainetoppſaile againe, and went all day and night, betweene the ſoutheaſt, and the Eaſt by ſouth with much winde.

The 7. day we went between the eaſt by ſouth, & the eaſt all the day & night with a ſtoute gale.

The 8. day we went next hand, Eaſt til 5. a clocke afternoone, then we caſt about, and ſtood in Noythweſt, and betweene that and the Weſt all night.

The 9. day after we had ſtricken and mended our maineſayle we went noyth by eaſt, litle wind foy a while, but afternoone it blew a ſtout gale: ſo we went our courſe all day, and night next hand Noyth noytheaſt.

The 10. day we went all day and night our courſe Noyth noytheaſt with a ſtout gale of wind.

The 11. day we went our courſe Noyth, and Noyth by eaſt all day, and night with a ſtout gale of winde.

The 12. day we went betweene the noyth, and the Noythweſt till 12. at midnight: then we being neere the land caſt about, and ſtood of Eaſt noytheaſt till 4. in the morning.

The 13. day we went about after 4. a clocke in the morning, and ſtood in weſt hauing ſight of the lande Weſt by noyth till one a clocke afternoone: then being within 4. leagues of the ſhoare: where we ſaw a white pinnacle like a watch towye, which bare Weſt noythweſt of vs: we caſt about and ſtood off eaſt, till 10. a clocke at night litle winde.

About 3. a clock this afternoone I hoyſed out my ſkyffe and ſent her with the Maſter, & Pylot aboord the Admiral, to conferre with them there, who ſhewing them that I was not well at eaſe, cauſed the General, M. Maddox, and Captaine Parker, to come aboord and viſit me, where they ſupped: & hauing had ſome conference with him about our dealings at S. Vincent &c. he departed and the ſkiffe brought the Maſter & Pylot aboord againe who ſupped aboord the Gallion.

At 10. a clocke the winde came large and we went all night betweene the Noytheaſt by eaſt, and the Noytheaſt to goe cleare of the land we ſaw ouer night.

The 14. day in the morning it was hayſie and thicke weather, ſo we ſawe not the land till 9. a clocke in the foyenoone, vntill which time we halled in Weſt noythweſt: but then ſeeing lande beare Noyth noythweſt of vs we ſtood hence eaſt noytheaſt til 7. a clocke at night: then our Admirall would needs come to anker vpon the hed land, but I thought it not beſt and lay cloſe by all night, ſo that at 6. a clocke in the morning we were 4. myles to wyndward of her.

The 15. day we plyed off and on in the entrance of the bay, and got litle or nothing all day and night, but kept ſight of our Admiral which ridde at anker till 12. at noone: then ſet ſayle, and lay cloſe by the wind as we did.

The 16. day hauing turned to winde wards all night before, we found our ſelues in the morning a league to leewards of the place, where we were ouernight by the ſhiftings of the winds to

our disaduantage, this forenoone about tenne a clocke we mett a change of waters, which runne out South southeast into the sea which wee supposed to be some freshet which came out of the Bay, and lyeth along the coast North northeast and South southwest with a great difference both of couler and rypling.

This afternoone we stoode in North northeast, into eight fadomes and a halfe on the West side of the Bay, and about 4. a clocke we stood out againe South southeast, in hope to see our Admiral, whose sight we lost the night before, but seeing we went so fast to leewards we ankred at 7. a clocke vnder a small Iland, a myle off West: our ship caped East northeast, & Northeast most part of the night, which we iudge was some streame which came ỳ way, for it was litle wind.

The 17. day about 7. a clocke the Master, master Blaccoller, and I went in our skiffe and rowed, and sounded round about the Ile, and found 16. fadomes within a stones cast hard aborde the shoare, and faire ground: after we landed, and found nothing but woods and bushes, and strange wormes: we saw a faulcon, and one other small birde, and therefore named it Faulcon Ile: it is ample about, with a rocke on the East side, which lyeth close to it, and it is in sight without danger, after we came aboord, and dyned, at two a clocke, we set saile with winde Southeast, & ranne in Northeast a while till the winde skanted: then we went in North northeast, till we were in 7. fadome and a halfe of water, within a league of the shoare: then we cast about, and stood off south southeast all night till 6. a clocke next morning.

A small Iland which our men called Faulcon Isle.

The 18. day at 6. a clocke a forenoone we cast about and stood in North by east, North northeast, and sometime Northeast, being sometime a gale, sometime calme: about three a clocke afore day we saw our Admirall againe, and kept her company till day.

Citron Isle.

The 19. day being within a league of the Citron Ile about 8. a clocke a forenoone we went aborde the Generall viz. M. Walker the Master, the Pylot, and my selfe reioycing of our good meeting, who tolde me of their euil roade, where they lost an anker, a cable and a hawser: and how the day before their Pynnesse was a shoare on the same Iland and found fowle, and water there, whither now they had sent their boate, and Pinnesse for more water, where I knowe they had small store.

Their arriuall at S. Vincent.

I also taking captaine Parker, the Master, and M. Wilkes with me went a shoare, & trauelled to the top of the Ile, which is wooded, & high gras, but euil water, & litle on it, but pong fowle plenty, & dangerous comming to them. By this time I hauing set the Isles, & hed lands about in sight with a compasse, came a smal gale, at South southeast, then our Admiral shot off a peece for the boats & hence he went, and dyned aborde with him: & came after aborde, and went in North northeast and Northeast til morning, at which time we were within a league of the Isle, entring before S. Vincent, but knew not how much water was vpon the barre to goe ouer.

3. Canowes of Portingals and Indians.

The 20. day in the morning being calme, the Generals pinnesse came into the shoare, with intent to sound the entrance, but seeing 3. Canows with each at the least 20. men, wherof the greater part were naked Indians which rowed, the rest Portingals, they returned aborde againe: the Canowes came with a flagge of truce win calling of our ship, & we shewed them the like, asking what we weare & of what nation, at length one Portingall went aboord the Admiral, by whom the General sent a letter to the Gouernor crauing a Pylot to bring in our ship of curtesie and to haue traffike. About noone hauing the wind at South we bare in Northwest, & so to the Northeast as the chanel trended: but cõming into 7. fadom water we ankred, vntil our boats had sounded the barre. During which time I wẽt aboord ỳ Admiral to conferre wỉ him about our procedings.

After I had staied a while aboord the Admiral the General came aboord with me, where wee published vnto all my company very good rules for their behauior & profit, to their great satisfaction: after he went downe into my cabbin, where with al his assistants he conferred of diuers particulers of our voyage: by which time the boate being returned from sounding, we departed, & set saile following our skiffes, and with our ships got within the barre into 7. fadome, then being becalmed ankred againe before a sandy bay, wherein standes a Castle and houses: wee ryd within musket shot of it: and ankred about 4. a clocke afternoone.

A Canow with 10. Indians and ii. christians whereof one was an old Genouoise.

Then went I forwards with my skiffe vntill a farther point, sounding along: before my returne, the General had sent for me to supper, & thither I went: but being reddy to sit downe there came out to vs a Canow wherein were 10. Indians and ii. christians, the one an auncient Genoa the other a Portingal, who came aboord, & there receiued a smal banket, declaring their comming was to vnderstand our intents and what we sought, who being satisfied departed with a farewell of three great peeces from each ship.

Then went we to supper, and after I got me aboord being weary, but before I went to bedde came diuers cõplaints vnto me of the euil speeches & practises vsed by Thomas Russell, which I partly

partly examined before Maſter Walker, the Maſter, and M. Ieffries, and finding cauſe of correction, I committed him to the bilbowes, vntill further leaſure to examine the cauſe: ſo placing a carefull watch with charge to haue care of the ſande, we paſſed ẏ night very wel, God be prayſed.

The 21. day betimes in the morning, I went aland in the ſkiffe, and tooke good plentie of freſh fiſh on the North ſide: for we prooued on the South ſide and found litle or none. At nine a clocke after ſeruice, I ſent to bury Robert Reſe, one of the Maſters mates, which died this morning: and alſo after dinner died Griffyn who was there buried.

After dinner I conferred with the Maſter and Pilot about the choyſe of another Mate for them, but concluded that father Kyd ſhould be aſſiſtant in the watch, but no Maſters mate more.

Alſo in the preſence of the Maſter, M. Walker, the Pilot, M. Ieffries, M. Shawe, and Tobias the Maſters mate, was Thomas Ruſſell examined, and his accuſers, which examinations were written by M. Walker, and reſt to be further conſidered of hereafter.

About three a clocke after noone, came a Canoa, with the old Genouoys, named Ioſeph Dory, a Fleming named Paul Badeues, and Steuen Repoſe a Portingale, and brought a letter from the Generall, and withall anſwere of feare and doubtes of vs, &c. After many ſpeeches and requeſts a banket was made them, and the Generall in his Pinneſſe with his muſike, and trumpets, and I in my Skiffe with trumpets, drum and fife, and tabor, and pipe, accompanied them a mile vp the riuer: at going off, ſaluted them with a volye of three great pieces out of eche ſhip: and after vs came Captaine Parker with the Admirals long boat, and certaine ſhot in the ſame, to attende on the Generall. So we returned aboorde the Edwarde, and then ſupped together, and made our ſelues merry, and after ſupper they departed. John Whitehalle an Engliſhmã which dwelleth at Santos, hath married this Ioſeph Dories daughter.

The 22. day betimes in the morning, I went aboord the Admirall to conferre about the ſending of ſome token and preſent to the Gouernour, which was by all the Aſſiſtants determined to ſend him three yards of fine ſkarlet, and three yards of fine murrie cloth, and to Ioſeph Dory the old Genouoys, Steuen Repoſe the Portingale, & to Paul Badeues the Fleming, eche of them three yards of fine blacke cloth, which our marchants went vp to Santos withall, in the Admirals Skiffe, about nine a clocke afternoone. Santos.

Alſo this afternoone we being minded to goe vp higher with our ſhippes into harbor, I aduiſed them to goe view the place, and ſound the road before we went vp, which we did, where were found the place both vnconuenient, and the road worſe, and ſo we returned and left the firſt determination. This day we tooke downe our maine tops, and top maſte, and all the ſhrowds.

About two a clocke afternoone our marchants returned with their preſents, not hauing bene at the Towne becauſe Steuen Repoſe by the way met them on the Riuer, and aduiſed them to ſtay vntill there had bene worde ſent to the Gouernour, who was vnwilling to ſpeake with them yet, but ſhortly would ſend their anſwere.

The reſt of this afternoone, wee ſpent in communication about the appointing of a Purſer, for the Edward. Alſo we ſigned an aſſent for comming to this place: about which thing grewe foule ſpeeches betweene the Generall, and his Lieutenant after the olde cuſtome. After being at leaſure I reuealed vnto him Ruſſels offences.

Then went we to ſupper, and being at ſupper, certaine Indians came aboorde, and brought the Generall a ſtrange Crowe, and Potatos, and Sugar canes, to whom he gaue looking glaſſes, great pins, and biſket, and ſo we departed being late. Alſo this afternoone I ranne ouer towards Saint Vincent, and ſounded the Bay a league ouer, and found the chanell and flats and returned aboorde againe within two houres, hauing a good gale of winde. The Indians preſents. The chanell of S. Vincent ſounded.

The 23. day our Skiffe went a ſhoare to fiſh, and tooke prettie ſtore: we ſent our mayne top a ſhoare to be mended, and many of our men to waſh their clothes: alſo I went my ſelfe with them aland, to take order, that no man ſhould any wayes offend the Indians. In the meane time the Generall with all the reſt of the chiefeſt Gentlemen, came a ſhoare, and viewed the place, and appointed out the fitteſt roome, to ſet vp our ſmithes forge, and ouens to bake our biſket, & place for our coopers to trim our water caſke.

After the well peruſing of the place, and ſome familiar conference with the Indians, the Generall, M. Parker, M. Walker and I came aboorde, and dyned in the Edward: after dinner wee had ſome priuate conference, and about one a clocke they went aboorde the Gallion: I ſpent the reſt of this day in putting many things in order.

The 24. day at foure a clocke before day, we heard one call for a boate on the North ſhoare, to whome I ſent my Skiffe, who brought aboorde one named John Whitehall an Engliſh man, which is married here in this place, and with him two of his Indians: whom I interteined vntil I ſent worde to the Generall to prepare himſelfe to receiue him, in which time he and I talked of John Whitehall.

many seuerall particulers.

About sixe a clocke I conueyed him aborde the Admirall: there he discouered vnto vs, what had bene done at the Towne, as fortification, and sending their wiues away, &c. aduising vs to receiue no more delayes, but to come vp presently before the Towne with our shippes.

Good counsell by the foresaid Englishman giuen to our men.

About ten a clocke, came a canoa, and brought downe Ioseph Dory, and Steuen Reposse, who tolde vs that on Saturday the Gouernour would meete our General, and talke with him, praying vs in the meane time to vse our ordinarie businesse of cooperage, carpenters worke, filling water, fishing, and washing, &c. but not to set vp forge, nor ouen, vntill speech had with our Gouernour. After this answere we dyned together aborde the Gallion: After dinner we left the Messengers sitting in the cabbin, and went vpon the poop, where the Generall demaunded the aduise of his assistants, whether it were not best to stay these men while we had them or not, or whether it were best to goe vp with our ships to the Towne or no.

Whereunto eche man paused to make answere: wherefore I deliuered my opinion, which was, that we were forbidden to vse violence to any nation for trade.

The Minion of London sometime in Brasill for traffike.

Secondly, I considered that diuers of our nation worshipfull marchants, and nowe aduenturers in this voyage, had set out the Minion hither, and begun a trade, which with our forcible dealing might be spoyled, and our nation brought in hatred.

Lastly, that with force we were not like to attaine to so much commoditie, as we were in possibilitie to haue with courtesie.

Hereupon all was concluded, and they suffered to passe away: to whome the Generall gaue the three cloke clothes, to Ioseph Dory, to Paul Baudeuese, and to Steuen Reposse, to eche of them one, which were before cut out for them: and so friendly we and they departed about two a clocke afternoone: which done, I went aborde, and prepared for the entertainement of certaine of the Gallions men, which determined to sup with me.

Three Spanish ships discouered.

About foure a clocke this afternoone we sawe three sayle of ships come bearing in about the point, which assoone as they sawe vs, ankred vpon the barre, and put themselues in readines, sending from one ship to another with their boats, and blowing off their ordinance, meaning to take vs: and we before night, getting our men and other necessaries from the shoare which were busie aland, armed our ships to defend our selues. Then went I aborde ỳ Admiral to know what he meant to doe: who determined to set his watch in warlike sort, and so hee did, for after the trumpets and drumme had sounded he shot off a great piece, as they before had done: And presently the Viceadmirall shot at me, whome I answered with another, and so ceased. We then set vp our mayne top, and top masse rigged before 11. clocke the same night: In the meane while they let slip their ankers and cables, and came driuing and towing with their boats in vpon vs meaning to haue boarded vs: and being neere our Admirall he hailed them, who refused to tell of whence they were, thinking by spending of time to get aborde of him, to whome I called still to beware, and to shoote at them in time. At length he let flee at them, yet was glad to let an anker and cable slip to auoyde them: then came they all driuing downe thwart my hawse, so that I was faine to let slip an anker and cable to shun the Gallion: all this while the ordinance & small shot plyed of all parts, and I was faine to send the Gallion my Skiffe with a hawser to ride by, for she was loose, and with the flood drawe vp within me. Then was the Viceadmirall on my broad side who was well payde before, yet I left not gawling of him, till I thought our pouder spent in vaine to shoote at him, he was so torne and broken downe by vs. About foure a clocke it rayned so fast, that we could scant discerne one the other the Moone being gone downe, yet ryd the Admirall, and the Reareadmirall, but a little ahead of vs: during which time we paused, and made ready all our munition.

The fight betwixt the English, & Spanish Ships at S. Vincent.

The Spanish Viceadmirall sunke by the English.

The 25. day, by day light, we sawe the Viceadmiral sunke hard by vs, so that his yards which were hoysed acrosse, and his tops, and that ouer head was aboue water: most of their men were gotten away in their boats, sauing about fourtie persons which hung in the shrowds, and tops, whom I aduised our Generall to send for away, and had made ready, and well manned our Pinnesses: but being vpon the way going, the General called them backe, and would not suffer them to goe: there were three of their boats also going for them from their shippes, at whome I shot, and made them to retyre and leaue them vpon the shrowds. At length our Generall sent for two of the men away, which his Pinnesse brought to him, the one was heaued ouer borde because he was sore hurt not like to liue, and he was a Marsillian, the other was a Greeke borne in Zante, boatswaine of the Viceadmirall: the rest of the men, some swamme away vpon rafts, some were drowned, and some remained still hanging on her. By this time it was fayre day light,

This Greeke tolde the Generall, that there were 600. and odde in the three Spanish ships

and

and I called to our Generall to waye, and driue downe to them, who required mee to goe firſt and anker on their quarter, and hee would followe, and anker on their bowes. I wayed, and went downe, & ankred by them, yet not ſo nere as I meant, for the ebbe put me off to the Northwards. There ryd I alone ſpending ſhot at them, and they both at mee foure houres, before our Admirals anker would come vp, during which time I had ſome ſpoyle done, but when our Admirall came, ſhe had her part, and eaſed me very well.

At length our Admiral began to warpe away, and being come without mee ſet ſayle, and began to ſtand out into the Sea: I went aboorde of him to knowe his pleaſure, who determined to get out of ſhot, but could not becauſe the winde ſcanted on them: the Edward before ſhe could get vp her ankers endured many more ſhot, after the Gallion was further off a good way then ſhee, and ſometime the Gallion had two or three: thus we ended about two a clocke afternoone. The reſt of this day and part of the night we ſpent in mending, fitting, and putting our ordinance and furniture in order for the next morning, thinking they woulde haue bene with vs.

The 26. day in the morning wee could not ſee them, becauſe they were gone vp the Riuer: wee manned our boats, and Pinneſſes, and wayed two ankers, and one cable that they let ſlippe the night before: as our men were waying the thirde anker, the booyrope brake, and ſo wee loſt that anker. Our Admirall had an anker of twelue hundreth, and a good cable of eleuen inches, and wee had an anker about ſixe hundreth, with a piece of a baſſe cable, and booyrope nothing worth.

After dinner I went aboorde the Admirall, to conferre with him, who determined to goe off to Sea, and thither I carried Senior Pinto, to interprete the Indian language, with an Indian named Peter, which fledde from the Bay where wee ryd in a canoa, and brought with him a Spaniards caliuer, flaſke, and touchboxe, to goe with vs, whome our Admirals boate met, and brought him aboorde to the Admirall. Hee tolde vs that the Spaniards had brought many dead men on lande and buryed them, and alſo landed many hurt men in their Bay, and that there were certaine Spaniards gone ouer thorowe the woods to looke after vs. Then the Generall, Captaine Hawkins, and Maſter Maddox came aboorde of mee to viewe my hurt men, and harmes of my ſhippes, both men, ſhippe, and tackle, and I alſo went aboorde him to peruſe his hurtes, who had but one man a ſayler ſlaine.

The 27. day wee ſet ſayle, and ran South by eaſt, and ſometime North by eaſt.

The 28. day in the morning dyed Lancelot Aſhe of a hurt, who departed very godly. This day we ſtoode to the Northwards, and in getting in our ankers and ſkiffe, wee were put three leagues to leewarde of Fiddle Ile, but the Gallion ryd ſtill.

The 29. day in the morning, ſeeing my ſelfe put to ſea from the Admiral, I aſſembled Maſter Walker, Maſter Shawe, Maſter Ieffries, the Maſter, the Maſters mate, and the Pilote, to whome I ſhewed, that I was deſirous to goe backe to ſeeke our Admirall, whereunto the maſter Pilot, and Maſters mate anſwered directly, that we could not fetch the Ile where wee left them, and to meete them in going backe it was very vnlikely and to vs dangerous many wayes, aſwell for falling into the laps of the Spaniards, as to bee put on a lee ſhoare: Whereupon all the reſt aduiſed mee to ſtand off into Sea, whereunto I aſſented, remembring withall, that time ſpent conſumed victuall, and howe long we had beaten vp and downe in the ſame Bay before, to get in with calmes and contrary windes. *Here the Gallion and the Edward Bonauenture were ſeuered, and neuer met afterward.*

Thus we concluded that Maſter Walker ſhould ſet downe each mans opinion, and we ſet to our hands, and from henceforth he to keepe a Regiſter of all our proceeding, as Maſter Maddox doth aboord the Admirall.

The 30. day our Carpenters wrought in repairing the ſides of our ſhip, which were ſomewhat bruſed, and torne with ſhot.

The 31. day the like was done, and we went Eaſt ſoutheaſt.

The firſt day of February, we went Eaſt by ſouth, and Eaſt ſoutheaſt with a ſtout gale: and went the ſame courſe the 3. 4. and 5. dayes following. *Februarie.*

The 5. day about 10. a clocke in the forenoone Maſter Walker dyed, who had bene weake and ſicke of the bloody flix 6. dayes, wee tooke a view of his things, and priſed them, and heaued him ouer boord, and ſhot a piece for his knell. *M. Walker the preacher dieth.*

From the 6. day to the 11. day we went Northeaſt and North northeaſt.

The 12. day hauing conſidered the lacke of water, the company were contented to haue the peaſe boyled, with three iacks of freſhe water, and two iacks of ſalte water, for the prolonging of the ſame.

The

The 13. day we went North with a sweete gale.

The 14. day I called into my cabbin the two marchants, the Master and the Pilot shewing them our wants of victuals and other necessaries, whereupon they and I concluded, that it was best for vs to returne to our Countrey, with as little losse of time and expense of virtuals as might be, being without hope of relieke vpon this coast, and yet to keepe the coast of Brasill to friende for feare of extremitie.

The 15. and 16. dayes we went our course Northeast.

The 17. day in the morning hauing much raine, we saued aboue two tunne of water, of which we were very glad.

Variation of the compasse. The 18. day I obserued the variation of the compasse, which varied one point, and a halfe to the Southwards, by our ordinarie compasse of London.

From the 19. day to the 27. we went our course Northeast, and North, as the winde serued.

The 27. day, I allowed a certaine portion of wine to our men, to wit, halfe a canne of wine to euery sixe men euery night at eight of the clocke, at the setting of the watche, to strengthen their weakenesse.

M. Wylks dyeth. The 28. day M. William Wylks hauing bene sick of the flixe a moneth before, grewe impatient and outragious in his disease, but by prayer and good perswasions we recouered him to his former good and quiet minde, and at night after nine a clocke he meekely departed the seruant of God.

March. The 1. of March wee heaued him ouer boorde, and gaue him a piece.

The 2. day the Master, Pilot, and I, agreed to fetch the Ile of Fernando Lorona.

From the 3. day to the 10. day we went West, and by South, and ran in for the shoare.

The 10. day we sawe the land, which was sandy hilles with woods on it.

The 11. day seeking to goe a shoare, we sawe foure men, which weaued to vs with a white shirte, and we weaued to them with a flag of truce: At length one of them swamme to our boats side, and there lay in the sea talking with vs, almost an houre: in the ende, being partly perswaded by Pinto, who talked with them in the Indian tongue, and partly entised with such trifles as I shewed him, he came into our Skiffe, and called to his companions on shoare, who came aboorde swimming: we deliuered them certaine barricos to fetch vs them full of fresh water: after, there came downe 40. Indians, boyes, women, and men, and with them a French boy, but the former Indians deceiued vs of our barrecos. Whereupon Pinto and Russell swamme a shoare to seeke water, but found none.

The same day we sayled to a place where boats might land, and I went a land in my Skiffe, and found the Indians, and Frenchman which were with me the day before, and they brought our three barricos ful of fresh water: for which I rewarded them with some trifles. In ꝑ meane time our boate went a shoare, and our men with some of the Indians brought vs twentie barricos more of fresh water, and I my selfe went to shoare and brought 23. hennes of India.

The 12. day betimes in the morning, we manned our boate and Skiffe, & tooke some trifling things to shoare, and barricos: at our first arriuall the rude Indians flocked together, wading to the Skiffe wherein I was, begging, and wondring about vs: First I caused them to fetch 27. barricos of water, whom I rewarded with small belles, &c. In the meane time they brought hens to me, wading to the Skiffe, for I kept my selfe alwayes a float, and for their hens I gaue them a knife, and a small looking glasse. All this while M. Blackcoller our Pilot, Thomas Russell, Marke Thawghts were still on shoare, and would not tarry aboord: In the ende, fearing some treacherie, because all the Indians were slipped on shoare from me, I called our men away, and suddenly they laide hands on our men a shoare, & with their bowes shot thicke at vs in the boats, and waded into the water to vs, laying hands on our Skiffe, yet God of his mercy deliuered vs from their hands, with the losse of fiue men slaine, and others hurt.

Treason of the Indians.

Thus we got aboorde with fourtie Hens, Ducks, Turkies, and Parrats, and three hogsheads of water: and I carried a Frenchman aboorde with me, named Iaques Humfrey, who was by chance in the boate with me when this fray began.

Iaques Humfrey a Frenchman saued.

The 13. day we set sayle, and went Northeast.

The 14. day, the Master shaped our course North northeast, to recouer the coast of Guyny, then the next shoare to vs.

The 15. day we went the same course.

The 16. day it rained, and we saued a butte of water

The 17. day we tooke three sharks in the morning.

From that day to the first of April, we went our course, sometime with raine, and sometime with

with variable winds, and ſo til the 4. of Aprll, which day wee ſaw foure byrds with long tailes, which houered about the ſhip, and in the afternoone we ſawe and tooke vp many weedes which drawe thicke in the ſea, which wee iudged to bee driuen with the Eaſt windes from the yles of Cape verde.

From this day till the 11. day wee went our courſe ſometime Northeaſt, ſometime Northweſt according to the winds: vpon this 11. day George Coxe one of our carpenters, hauing the night before broken vp the hold, and ſtolen wine, and drunken himſelfe drunke, being taken in the roome, lept ouerboord out of the beake heade, and ſo drowned himſelfe: this day and night we went betwixt the North by Weſt, and the North with much winde. A deſperate act.

The 12 day wee eſpyed our foremaſt to bee periſhed in the hownes, and durſt not beare our foretop ſayle vpon him but went hence with our ſayles, next hand, North all day, and night.

From hence to the 20. day wee went Northeaſt, and by North. This day I obſerued the variation of the compaſſe: and I noted that the ſouth poynt of the compaſſe caried more then halfe a poynt to the Weſtwardes. Variation of the compaſſe.

From this day to the 25. wee went our courſe North northeaſt, with a reaſonable gale of winde: this 25 day was litle winde ſtirring.

The 26 day it was in a maner calme, till ſeuen a clock at night, then it began to blowe a good gale at Eaſt ſoutheaſt all night, with which wee went Northeaſt, and Northeaſt by eaſt, and at night betweene the Northeaſt, and the Northeaſt by eaſt.

The 28 day about 10 a clocke in the forenoone, our mayne yarde brake in ſunder in the middeſt and ſplit our ſayle with being put to great treſſe, which wee got in and all the ſayle, and tackle, without the hurt of any man God be thanked. After dinner our Carpenters wrought vpon it, who were fayne to take our bowet, and anker ſtocke, the boats maſts, pinnes thawts, capſton barres, &c. So we went all day & night following with our foreſayle, and miſſen betweene the Northeaſt, and the North eaſt by eaſt, with a ſtoute gale.

The 29. day, our carpenter wrought all day, we went with our foreſayle, and miſſen next hand North northeaſt, leſſe winde then before, and rayne.

The 30 day with great labour in the rayne, about 6. a clocke afternoone, wee ſet our mayne courſe which was mended, and other of our ſayles hauing made ſmall way, or none the day before: after we went all night betweene the North northeaſt, and the Northeaſt thicke and moyſt weather.

The firſt day of May, it was a great fogge calme, and thicke myſte till 4. afteruoone, then the winde blewe a ſtiffe gale at Eaſt, and ſtill ſcanted to the Northwards, that we could lye all night but North, and North by weaſt, with much winde and fogge. May.

The 2. day it continued very foggie, and much winde, ſo that at 9. a clocke afternoone wee ſhooke off our bonnets: at 12. at noone wee caſt about, and went larboorde tacked betwene the Eaſt Southeaſt, and the Southeaſt all day, and night.

The 3. day wee continued in the morning our courſe with much winde, and went betweene the Eaſt Northeaſt, and the Eaſt all day, and night.

The 4. day it was leſſe winde, ſo that betimes in the morning, wee laced on our bonnets, and put abroade all our other ſayles, and went Eaſt Northeaſt till 8. at night, then hauing the winde large, and a good gale we went all night our courſe Eaſt by North.

The 5. day being Sunday wee had a ſtout gale till 5. a clocke afternoone, then it was leſſe winde but large, with which we went our courſe all day, and night Eaſt by North.

The 6. day it was foggie, and blewe a ſtiffe gale, with which wee went our courſe Eaſt by North, all day and night.

The 7. day and night we went our courſe Eaſt by North, with a ſtoute gale.

The 8. day and night, wee went our courſe Eaſt by North with a franke gale, but all the day was foggie, and ſometime raine, the winde ſhifting betweene Southweſt, and the Weſt Southweſt.

The 9. day it rayned till noone, and blewe a ſtout gale, at Weſt ſouthweſt till 12 a clocke at night with which wee went our courſe Eaſt by North, then it ſhifted to the Eaſt, and Eaſt Northeaſt with which wee went the reſt of the night, betweene the North, and the North Northeaſt.

The 10. day it rained, and blewe much aforenoone: about 9. a clocke we caſt about, and went Eaſt Southeaſt larboord tacked, at 12. at noone with bearing ouer much ſayle, wee brake our pritſayle yarde, and with much paine ſaued the peeces, and the torne ſayle: ſo wee went all day and night following Eaſt Northeaſt, and ſometime Eaſt by North, and ſometime Eaſt with

our

our foꝛecoarſe, and the mayne coarſe, and bonnet.

The 11. day it was leſſe winde and dꝛy weather till noone: then it blewe a good gale, and in the night very much winde, and colde weather: all this day wee made ſhyft, and made another ſpꝛitſayle yarde of our Top gallant maſte, our Myſſen topmaſt, our mayne Flagſtaffe, oars, &c. and went our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth, all day and night.

The 12. being ſunday, it was hayzie afoꝛenoone and much winde, ſo that hauing out our topſayles, and ſpꝛitſayles, wee tooke them in at noone, and went all day and night our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth with a ſtoute gale.

The 13. day in the moꝛning it was ſomewhat leſſe winde, and we tooke off, and mended our foꝛebonnet, which was toꝛne the night befoꝛe, and at noone bꝛought it to the yarde againe, and after dinner put out our topſayles, being litle winde and rayne, ſo went all day, and night our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth with a ſmall gale.

The 14. day we went our courſe Eaſt by Noꝛth, till 12. at midnight with a pꝛetty gale, then was it ſtarke calme.

The 15. day it was calme till 9. a clocke afoꝛenoone, then it blewe a ſmal gale, at Eaſt ſoutheaſt, with which we went Noꝛtheaſt till noone, then came by the winde, at South ſoutheaſt, and at midnight blewe ſo much, that wee meaning to haue ſhaken of our bonnets, tooke in all our ſayles, and ſeeing the winde ſtill increaſed, we lay to hull from midnight till 6. next moꝛning hauing gone befoꝛe Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and Eaſt by Noꝛth, and Eaſt amongſt: this afternoone we ſaw a ſayle but ſpake not with them.

The 16 at 6. afoꝛenoone we ſet ſayle with much winde at South ſouthweſt, and went Eaſt our courſe, with a coarſe and bonnet of each, all day and night with very much winde.

The 17. day about 8. at night wee ſounded, and had no ground, in 160 fathome, ſo wee kept our courſe on Eaſt till 12 at midnight, then the winde began to ſcant, ſo we went betweene the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and the Eaſt by Noꝛth, all the reſt of the night.

The 18. day at 8 at night we ſounded againe, but had no ground, ſo we went all day & night, betweene the Noꝛtheaſt, and the Noꝛth by Eaſt with a ſkant winde.

The 19. being Sunday at 6. afoꝛenoone, the wind came to the Southeaſt, ſo we went Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt til 8. at night, then it was flat calme, and all night litle winde at Noꝛth, with which wee went next hand Eaſt ſoutheaſt fayꝛe weather.

The 20. day it was little wind all the foꝛenoone at Noꝛth, then it changed to the Noꝛth noꝛtheaſt, and blewe but little: ſo we were all day, and night betweene the Eaſt by South, and the Southeaſt with a ſmall gale fayꝛe weather.

The 21. day was fayꝛe weather and litle winde betweene the Eaſt and the Noꝛtheaſt with which we went all day and night betweene the Southeaſt by South, and the South by Eaſt ſtil ſhifting: this day wee ſaw a Turtle doue.

The 22. day it was a pꝛettie gale, and fayꝛe weather: wee went all day till 8. at night Eaſt ſoutheaſt, then the winde being ſomewhat larger, wee went all night Eaſt.

The 23. day wee went Eaſt by Noꝛth till 8. at night, then hauing ſounding in 66. fathome fine ſande, we ſhaped our courſe Noꝛtheaſt, but would not lye ſo neere, but as we might, went all night betweene the Noꝛtheaſt by Eaſt, and the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt.

The 24. day we went Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, & Eaſt by Noꝛth, till 7. at afternoone, then we ſownded and had 65. fathome gray ſand, hauing ſayled by many weedes, & burton beds all day befoꝛe: after we went all night as the day befoꝛe Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and Eaſt by Noꝛth with litle winde.

The 25. day we went betweene the Eaſt noꝛtheaſt, and the Noꝛtheaſt with a ſmall gale till 5. a clock afternoone: then had we ſight of land, which roſe ragged to the Noꝛthwards like bꝛoken land, we being about 5. leagues off: that Iſle, bare Noꝛtheaſt by Noꝛth of vs, and the Noꝛthermoſt part bare Noꝛth by Eaſt of vs, with a rock a ſea booꝛd: we then ſounded, & had 55. fathome grey ſande, and maze great ſtoꝛe in it: ſo we ſtood in Noꝛtheaſt till 8. a clocke, and then beheld it againe being vbin 4. leagues of it, bearing as befoꝛe, but we could not make it, foꝛ ſome thought it to be the foꝛeland of Fontenay, ſome iudged it the Iſle of Vſſant: then wee ſownded againe, in 55. fathome bꝛowne ſand, and little maze in it: at 8. a clocke at night we went about, and ſtoode of South ſouthweſt one watche, then the winde ſhinked to the Southweſt, that we could lye but South ſouthweſt 6. glaſſes, ſo that at 3. a clock we caſt about, and lay Noꝛthweſt 6. glaſſes, and Noꝛth noꝛthweſt a watche being then 8. a clocke the next day.

The 26. day we lay as nigh as we could betweene the Noꝛth and the Noꝛth noꝛtheaſt, and ſawe the ſame land againe, and made it to be the foꝛelande of Fontenay, and the ragges to bee the Seames, which bare nowe Eaſt Noꝛtheaſt of vs: and wee ſtoode on till 10. a clocke, then being

being within two leagues of the rockes and leſſe, we caſt about and ſtoode of ſouthweſt, becauſe we could not dubble the vttermoſt rockes: when we were about wee drawe to the Southwardes very faſte, for the ebbe ſet vs Weſt ſouthweſt, and being ſpring tydes, it hoyſed vs a pace to leewardes, for the ſpace of on houre: then with the flood which was come, we drawe againe to windwards: at twelue at noone it was calme till 6. afternoone, then we ſtoode about larboord tacked, South ſouthweſt one watche, then at midnight wee caſt about and ſtood ouer Northe till foure afternoone.

The 27 day, hauing brought the lande Eaſt ſoutheaſt of vs, wee made it to be Syllye being before deceiued, and went hence Eaſt by north to dubble Grymſbie, leauing the Biſhop, and his clearkes to the Southweſtwards, which wee before tooke to be the Seames. The yle of Sylly.

At 7. a clocke afternoone wee ſawe the landes ende of England, which bare Eaſt by North of vs, and is 7. leagues off from Syllye.

Abaut 9. a clocke, we ſhewing our flags, and enſigne, and ſhoting of a peece, there came two boats abooard vs, of whome we bought fiſh, and ſome other trifling freſh victuals, with refreſhed our men though it were but little.

But hearing newes of them of the health of our Queenes maieſtie, and our country in peace, we gaue God thankes, and ſtoode hence Eaſt by South hauing brought the Iſland of Syllye, Weſt, and Weſt by South 3. leagues off vs. At eight at night wee had brought the lands ende North by Weſt, and the Lyſſard bare Eaſt of vs 6. leagues, ſo wee ſtoode along all night Eaſt, being little winde.

The 28. wee had brought the Lyzzarde Weſt Northweſt of vs, a league and a halfe of, wee hoyſſed out our ſkiffe at 8. in the morning, and went along Northeaſt by Eaſt: at 12 a clocke at noone wee had brought Helforde, and the Manacles rockes which lye two miles of the mayne North of vs, paſſing by Falmouth: at 2. a clocke afternoone, wee brought Dudman North of vs 2. leagues of. The Lyſard.

Then we had ſight of Ramme head, and ſtoode on Northeaſt by eaſt, and ſometime Northeaſt, with little winde all day and night following.

This night about 2. a clocke after Midnight dyed Robert Webbe, and Maſter Skeuington of the Skuruie.

The 29. day at 6. afternoone wee had brought the Ramhead North of vs, and weare within a league of it, and went in Northeaſt next hande, being thicke and foggie, and little winde: ſo that at eleuen of clocke wee got in within the Iſland, and their by miſtaking of a ſownding, our ſhip came aground betweene the yle, and the mayne, and there ſate till 4. a clocke afternoone that it was halfe fludde. Wee came to Plymmouth.

In this meane time I ſent M. Blaccoller, and Johnſon a ſhore to prouide men, and freſh victuall, and neceſſaries for our preſent neede.

The Maior, M. Bronkorne, M. Martyn, and many other of the towne, came abooarde to viſite me, and dyned with mee about 5. a clocke the ſhip being moored in 7. fadom water, the caſtle in the yle being South by Eaſt of vs, I went a lande and ſawe M. Skeuington, and Robert Webbe buried in the Churchyard, and ſupped with M. Geffryes, and Maſter Symberbe, at Maſter Bronckhornes, and not hauing a boate to come abooarde, I lay a ſhore all night at that houſe.

The 30. day about 9. a clocke, with much a doe I furniſhed away M. Jeffries, M. Symberbe, and William Towreſon with letters, after dyned at M. Blaccollers, and made many ſalutations with diuers gentlemen.

Betimes this morning I ſawe a cable bought, tymber for a Dauet, and anker ſtocke, and diſpatched many buſineſſes and at 12. a cloke I came abooard, and ſet a cooper to worke, and other things were done: a great many of our weake men went a ſhore, to refreſh themſelues, and to lye a ſhoare.

The 31. I wrought abooarde all day, and put our ſhip, and things in order: Afternoone I hauing pittie of ſome poore men of Mylbrooke which were robbed the night before by a Pyrat named Purſer, which rid in Cawſon bay, I conſented to go out with the Edward in companie of a ſmall ſhip, which they had furniſhed to be their Maſter, ſo about 5. afteruoone, came 100. men of theirs abooard of mee: about 12. a clocke we ſet ſayle, and by 3. afterday wee were gotten to windwards of him, then he ſet ſayle, and went hence to the Eaſtwards, and outſayled vs, becauſe our conſort would not come neere him: after a ſmall chaſe which we gaue him to no effect we returned into our old roade, and there moared the ſhip about 9. afternoone, and hence went all the Mylbrooke men againe a ſhore from mee, and thus I ended a troubleſome voyage.

An

An extract out of the discourse of one Lopez a Spaniard before spoken of, touching the foresayd fight of M. Fenton with the Spanish ships together with a report of the proceeding of M. Iohn Drake after his departing from him.

VPon the relation of Pedro Sarmiento concerning the Streights, and for that the king hard, that there were shippes in England preparing for the same Streights, hee commanded Diego Flores de Valdes a noble man of Spaine, to passe thither with 23. ships, and 3500. men to stoppe the passage of the English men.

There went in this fleete the gouernour of Chile with 500. olde Souldiers ẏ came out of Flanders: but this fleete was the vnhappiest ships that euer went out of Spayne: for before they came from the coast of Spaine a storme tooke them, and cast away 5. of the fleete, and in them aboue 800. men, and the rest came into Cales. But the king sent them worde that they should proceede: and so there went out on the voyage 16. of the ships, for 2. more of their fleete were much spoyled by the storme which they had.

5. Ships of this fleete cast away on the coast of Spaine.

In these 16. ships, Pedro Sarmiento was sent to bee gouernour in the streights, & had assigned vnto him 500. men to stay there with him, and he carryed with him all kinde of Artificers to make him forts, and other necessaries, with great store of ordinance and other munition.

This Fleete because it was late, did winter on the coaste of Brasill, in the riuer of Genero: and from thence they went when the winter was paste, and about the height of 42. degrees they had a sudden storme, so that Diego Flores beat it vp and downe 22. dayes, in which time he lost one of the best ships that he had, which had in her 300 men, and 20. women, that went to inhabite the streights: and in this shippe also was most part of the munition which should haue bene left in the streights, so in the end the storme grewe to be so great, that the ships were not able to endure it at any longer, but were put backe vnto an Island, called Sancta Catelina: and there hee found a barke wherein were some Fryers going for the riuer of Plate: which Fryers tolde him of two great English shippes, and a Pynnesse, which had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but onely asked them for the king of Spaynes ships.

M. Fenton tooke these Fryers.

Hereupon Diego Flores, knowing that these English ships would goe for the Streights, determined to goe thither although it was in the moneth of Februarie, and choosing 10. shippes of the 15. that were left, he left two ships which were not in case to goe to sea at the Island, and the other three ships which were old, and shaken with the storme he put into them all the women, and sicke men, in all the fleete, and sent them to the riuer of Genero, and he with the other 10. returned againe for the Streights.

The 3. ships in which the sicke men and women were, went to Brasill, and there they founde with in the port of S. Vincent the two English ships before mentioned.

They would haue had the English men to haue gone out of the harbour, and thereupon they fell to fight, and because that these 3. ships were weake with the storme, and the men that they had were the worst in all the Fleete, the English men easely put them to the worste, and suncke one of them, and might haue sunke another, if the English men would: but they minded not the destruction of any man: for that is the greatest vertue that can be in a man, that when he may do hurt, yet hee will not doe it: so the English men went from this port to Spirito Sancto, where they had victuals for their Marchandise, and so they went backe for England, without doing of any harme in the country.

A fight betwixt our 2. English ships & three Spanish ships

The cause why these English shippes vnder the conduct of Master Fenton went not to the streights, I know not: but some say that they were put backe by foule weather: other some say that it was for feare of the kings ships.

But the pynnesse of these two ships went from them, in which was Captaine Iohn Drake: the cause why they parted I know not, but the Pinnesse came into the riuer of Plate, and within 5. leagues of seale Island, not far from the place where the Earle of Cumberlands ships did take in fresh water, she was cast away vpon a ledge of rocks: but the men were saued in their boate, which were in number 18. who went a shoare on the Northside, and went a dales iourney into the land, and met with the Sauages, which are no men eaters, but take all the Christians that they can, and make them slaues.

But the English men fought with them, and the sauages slew 5. of them, and tooke 13 aliue, which were with the Sauages about 15. moneths. But the Master of the pynnesse, whose name was Richard Fayreweather being not willing to indure the misery that hee was in, and hauing knowledge that there was a towne of Christians on the other side of the riuer, he in a night called

led Iohn Drake, and another young man which was with them, & tooke a very little Canow, which had but two oares, and ſo paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer, which is about 9. leagues broad, and were 3. dayes before they could get ouer without meate, and comming to land, they hit vpon an high way that went towards the chriſtians: and ſeeing the footing of horſes, they followed it, and at laſt came to an houſe where there was come ſowed, and there they met with Indians ſeruaunts vnto the Spaniards, which gaue them to eate, and clothes to couer them, for they were all naked, and one of the Indians went to the towne, and told them of the Engliſhmen: ſo the captaine ſent 4. horſemen, and brought them to the towne behind them.

This captain clothed them, and prouided lodging for them, and Iohn Drake dieted at the captains table, and they were all very well intreated, the captaine purpoſing to ſend thē for Spaine. But the Uiceroy of Peru hauing newes hereof, ſent for them, and ſo Iohn Drake was ſent to him, but the other two were kept there, becauſe they were maried in the countrey, ſo that I know no more of their affaires. *Iohn Drake ſent to the Uiceroy of Peru.*

Upon this comming of the Engliſhmen, there were prepared 50. horſemen to goe ouer the riuer to ſeeke the reſt of the Engliſhmen, and alſo certain Spaniards that were among the ſauage people, but I am not certaine whether they went forward or not.

A letter written to M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple,

conteining a report of the true ſtate and commodities of New found land, by M. Anthonie Parkhurſt Gentleman, 1578.

MAſter Hakluyt, after moſt heartie commendations, with like thankes for your manifold kindneſſe to me ſhewed, not for any merites that hitherto haue bene mine, but wholy proceeding, I muſt needs confeſſe, of your owne good nature, which is ſo readie preſt to benefit your country and al ſuch poore men as haue any ſparke in them of good deſires, that you do not onely become their friend, but alſo humble your ſelfe as a ſeruant in their affaires: for which I would to God I were once in place where I might cauſe your burning zeale to bee knowen to thoſe that haue authoritie, power, and abilitie to recompence your trauelling mind and pen, wherwith you ceaſe not day nor night to labour and trauell to bring your good and godly deſires to ſome paſſe, though not poſſiblie to that happy ende that you moſt thirſt for: for ſuch is the malice of wicked men, the diuels inſtruments in this our age, that they cannot ſuffer any thing (or at leaſt few) to proceed and proſper, that tendeth to the ſetting forth of Gods glory, & the amplifying of the chriſtian faith, wherein hitherto princes haue not bene ſo diligent as their calling required. Alas, the labourers as yet are few, the harueſt great, I truſt God hath made you an inſtrument to increaſe the number, and to moone men of power, to redeeme the people of New found land, and thoſe parts from out of the captiuitie of that ſpirituall Pharao, the diuell.

Now to anſwer ſome part of your letter touching the ſundry nauies that come to New found land, or Terra noua, for fiſh: you ſhall vnderſtand that ſome fiſh not neere the other by 200. leagues, and therefore the certaintie is not knowen, & ſome yeeres come many more then other ſome, as I ſee the like among vs: who, ſince my firſt trauell being but 4. yeeres, are increaſed from 30. ſaple to 50. which commeth to paſſe chiefly by the imagination of the Weſterne men, who thinke their neighbors haue had greater gaines then in very deed they haue, for that they ſee me to take ſuch paines purely to go in proper perſon, they alſo ſuppoſe that I find ſome ſecret commoditie by reaſon that I do ſearch the harbors, creekes and hauens, and alſo the land much more then euer any Engliſhman hath done. Surely I am glad that it ſo increaſeth, whereof ſoeuer it ſpringeth. But to let this paſſe, you ſhall vnderſtand that I am informed that there are aboue 100. ſaile of Spaniards that come to take Cod (who make all wet, and doe drie it when they come home) beſides 20. or 30. more that come frō Biſkaie, to kil Whale for traine. Theſe be better appointed for ſhipping and furniture of munition, then any nation, ſauing the Engliſhmen, who commonly are lordes of the harbors where they fiſh, and do vſe all ſtrangers helpe in fiſhing if need require, according to an old cuſtome of the country, which thing they do willingly, ſo that you take nothing from them more then a boat or twaine of ſalt, in reſpect of your protection of them againſt rouers or other violent intruders, who do often put them from good harbour, &c. As touching their tunnage, I thinke it may be well neere fiue or ſixe thouſand: but of Portingals there are not lightly aboue 50. ſaile, and they make all wet in like ſorte, whoſe tunnage may amount to three thouſand tunnes and vpwarde. Of the French nation and Buttons, are about one hundred and fiftie ſailes, the moſt of their ſhipping is very ſmall, not paſt fortie tunne, among which ſome are great and reaſonably well appointed, better then the Portingals, and not ſo well as the Spaniards, and the

burden of them may be ſome 7000. tunne. Their ſhipping is from all partes of France and Britaine, and the Spaniards from moſt parts of Spaine, the Portingals from Aueiro and Viana, and from 2. or 3. portes more. The trade that our nation hath to Iſland, maketh that the Engliſh are not there in ſuch numbers as other nations.

Now to certifie you of the fertilitie and goodneſſe of the countrey, you ſhall vnderſtand that I haue in ſundry places ſowen Wheate, Barlie, Rie, Oates, Beanes, Peaſe and ſeedes of herbes, kernels, plumſtones, nuts, all which haue proſpered as in England. The country yeeldeth many good trees of fruite, as Filberds in ſome places, but in all places Cherie trees, and a kind of peare tree meete to graffe on. As for Roſes, they are as common as Brambles here: Strawberies, Dewberies, and Raſpis, as common as graſſe. The timber is moſt Firre, yet plentie of Pineapple trees: few of theſe two kindes meete to maſte a ſhip of three ſcore and ten: but neere the grand baie or Cape Britton big, and ſufficient for any ſhip. There bee alſo okes and thornes, there is in all the countrey plentie of Birch and Alder, which be the meeteſt wood for cole, and alſo Willow which will ſerue for many other purpoſes. As touching the kindes of fiſh beſide Cod, there are Herrings, Salmons, Thornebacke, Plaſe, or rather wee ſhould call them Flounders, Dog fiſh, and another moſt excellent of taſte, called of vs a Cat, Diſters, & Muſkles, in which I haue found pearles aboue 40. in one Muſkle, and generally all haue ſome, great or ſmall. I heard of a Portingall that found one worth 300. duckets: There are alſo other kinds of Shel fiſh, as limpets, cockle, wilkes, lobſters, and crabs: alſo a fiſh like a *Smelt which commeth on ſhore, and another that hath the like propertie called a Squid: theſe be the fiſhes, which (when I pleaſe to bee merie with my old companions) I ſay, doe come on ſhore when I commaund them in the name of the 5. ports, and coniure them by ſuch like words: Theſe alſo bee the fiſhes which I may ſweepe with broomes on a heape, and neuer wet my foote, onely pronouncing two or three wordes whatſoeuer they be appointed by any man, ſo they heare my voyce: the vertue of the wordes bee ſmall, but the nature of the fiſh great and ſtrange. For the Squid, whoſe nature is to come by night as well as by day, I tell them, I ſet him a candle to ſee his way, with which he is much delighted, or els commeth to wonder at it, as doe our freſh water fiſh, the other commeth alſo in the night, but chiefly in the day, being forced by the Cod that would deuour him, and therefore for feare comming ſo neere the ſhore, is driuen drie by the ſurge of the Sea on the pibble and ſands. Of theſe beyng as good as the Smelt, you may take vp with a ſhoue net, as plentifully as you doe Wheate in a ſhouell, ſufficient in three or foure howers for a whole Citie. There bee alſo other fiſhes which I tell thoſe that are deſirous of ſtrange newes that I take as faſt as one would gather vp ſtones, and them I take with a long pole and hooke. Yea marrie ſay they, wee beleeue ſo, and that you catch all the reſt you bring home in that ſort, from Portingals and Frenchmen. No ſurely, but thus I doe: with three hookes ſtretched foorth in the ende of a pole, I make as it were an Eele ſpeare, with which I pricke thoſe Flounders as faſt as you would take vp fritters, with a ſharpe pointed ſticke, and with that toole I may take vp in leſſe then halfe a day Lobſters ſufficient to finde three hundred men for a dayes meate. This paſtime ended, I ſhew them that for my pleaſure I take a great Maſtiue I haue, and ſay no more to him then thus: Goe fetch me this rebellious fiſh that obeieth not this Gentleman that commeth from Kent and Chriſtendome, bringing them to the high water marke, and when hee doubteth that any of thoſe great Coddes by reaſon of sheluing ground bee like to tumble into the Sea againe, hee will warily take heede and carrie him vp backe to the heape of his fellowes. This doeth cauſe my friendes to wonder, and at the firſt hearing to iudge them notorious lies, but they laugh and are merie when they heare the meanes how each tale is true.

*Called by the Spaniards Anchouas, and by the Portingals Capelinas.

I told you once I doe remember how in my trauell into Affrica and America, I found trees that bare Diſters, which was ſtrange to you, till I told you that their boughes hung in the water, on which both Diſters and Muſkles did ſticke faſt, as their propertie is to ſtakes and timber.

Now we to let theſe merie tales paſſe, and to come to earneſt matters againe, you ſhall vnderſtand that New found land is in a temperate Climate, and not ſo colde as fooliſh Mariners doe ſay, who finde it colde ſometimes when plentie of Iſles of Ice lie neere the ſhore: but vp in the land they ſhall finde it hotter then in England in many partes of the countrey toward the South. This colde commeth by an accidentall meanes, as by the Ice that commeth fleeting from the North partes of the worlde, and not by the ſituation of the countrey, or nature of the Climate. The countrey is full of litle ſmall riuers all the yeere long proceeding from the mountaines, ingendered both of ſnow and raine: few ſprings that euer I could finde or heare of, except it bee towards the South: in ſome places or rather in moſt places, great lakes with plentie of fiſh, the countrey

trey moſt couered with woods of firre, yet in many places indifferent good graſſe, and plentie of Beares euery where, ſo that you may kill of them as oft as you liſt: their fleſh is as good as yong beefe, and hardly you may know the one from the other, if it be poudered but two dayes. Of Otters we may take like ſtore. There are Sea Guls, Murres, Duckes, wilde geeſe, and many other kind of birdes ſtore, too long to write, eſpecially at one Iſland named Penguin, where wee may driue them on a planke into our ſhip as many as ſhall lade her. Theſe birdes are alſo called Penguins, and cannot flie, there is more meate in one of theſe, then in a gooſe: the Frenchmen that fiſh neere the grand baie, doe bring ſmall ſtore of fleſh with them, but victuall themſelues alwayes with theſe birdes. Nowe againe, for Ueniſon plentie, eſpecially to the North about the grand baie, and in the South neere Cape Race, and Pleſance: there are many other kind of beaſts, as Luzarnes and other mightie beaſtes like to Camels in greatneſſe, and their feete clouen, I did ſee them farre off not able to diſcerne them perfectly, but their ſteps ſhewed that their feete were clouen, and bigger then the feete of Camels, I ſuppoſe them to be a kind of Buffes which I read to bee in the countreys adiacent, and very many in the firme land. There bee alſo to the Northward, Hares and Foxes in all partes ſo plentifully, that at noone dayes they take away our fleſh before our faces, within leſſe then halfe a paire of buts length, where foure and twentie perſons were turning of drie fiſh, and two dogges in ſight, yet ſtoode they not in feare till wee gaue ſhoot and ſet the dogges vpon them: the Beares be alſo as bold, which will not ſpare at middaie to take your fiſh before your face, and I beleeue aſſuredly would not hurt any bodie vnleſſe they be forced.

Now to ſhew you my fanſie what places I ſuppoſe meeteſt to inhabite in thoſe partes diſcouered of late by our nation: There is neere about the mouth of the grand baie, an excellent harbour called of the Frenchmen Chaſteau, and one Iſland in the very entrie of the ſtreight called Bell Iſle, which places if they be peopled and well fortified (as there are ſtone and things meete for it throughout all New found land) we ſhall be lordes of the whole fiſhing in ſmall time, if it doe ſo pleaſe the Queenes maieſtie, and from thence ſend wood and cole with all neceſſaries to Labrador lately diſcouered: but I am of opinion, and doe moſt ſtedfaſtly beleeue that we ſhall finde as rich Mines in more temperate places and Climates, and more profitable for fiſhing then any yet we haue vſed, where we ſhall haue not farre from thence plentie of ſalt made by fire vndoubtedly, and very likely by the heate of the Sunne, by reaſon I finde ſalte kerned on the rockes in nine and fortie and better: theſe places may bee found for ſalte in three and fortie. I know more touching theſe two commodities laſt remembred, then any man of our nation doth: for that I haue ſome knowledge in ſuch matters, and haue moſt deſired the finding of them by painefull trauell, and moſt diligent inquirie. Now to be ſhort, for I haue bene ouerlong by maſter Butlers meanes, who cried on mee to write at large, and of as many things as I call to minde worthy of remembraunce: wherefore this one thing more. I could wiſh the Iſland in the mouth of the riuer of Canada, ſhould be inhabited, and the riuer ſearched, for that there are many things which may riſe thereof, as I will ſhew you hereafter. I could find in my heart to make proofe whether it be true or no that I haue red and heard of Frenchmen and Portingals to bee in that riuer, and about Cape Britton. I had almoſt forgot to ſpeake of the plentie of wolues, & to ſhew you that there be Foxes, black, white & gray: other beaſtes I know none ſaue thoſe before remembred. I found alſo certaine Mines of iron and copper in S. Johns, and in the Iſland of Iron, which things might turne to our great benefite, if our men had deſire to plant thereabout, for proofe whereof I haue brought home ſome of the oare of both ſortes. And thus I ende aſſuring you on my faith, that if I had not bene deceiued by the vile Portingals, deſcending of the Iewes and Iudas kind, I had not failed to haue ſearched this riuer, and all the coaſt of Cape Britton, what might haue bene found to haue benefited our countrey: but they breaking their bands, and falſifying their faith and promiſe, diſappointed me of the ſalt they ſhould haue brought me in part of recompence of my good ſeruice in defending them two yeeres againſt French Rouers that had ſpoyled them, if I had not defended them.

By meanes whereof they made me looſe not onely the ſearching of the countrey, but alſo forced me to come home with great loſſe aboue, 600. li. for recompence whereof I haue ſent my man into Portingall, to demaund iuſtice at the kings hand, if not, I muſt put vp my ſupplication to the Queenes maieſtie & her honourable counſell, to grant me leaue to ſtay here ſo much of their goods as they haue damnified mee, or els that I may take of them in New found land, as much fiſhe as ſhall be worth, 600. li. or as much as the ſalte might haue made. I pray you aduertiſe mee what way I were beſt to take, and what hope there may be of a recompence if I follow the ſuite: many there are that doe comfort mee, and doe bidde mee proceede, for that her Maieſtie and the

counsell doe tender poore fishermen, who with me haue sustained 300. pound losse in that voyage. And to conclude, if you and your friend shall thinke me a man sufficient and of credite, to seeke the Isle of S. Iohn, or the riuer of Canada, with any part of the firme land of Cape Britton, I shall giue my diligence for the true and perfect discouerie, and leaue some part of mine owne business to further the same, and thus I end committing you to God. From Bristow the 13. of Nouember, 1578.

Yours to vse and commaund,
Anthonie Parkhurst.

The Letters Patents graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, for the inhabiting and planting of our people in America.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To all people to whom these presents shal come, greeting. Know ye that of our especiall grace, certaine science and meere motion, we haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruaunt sir Humfrey Gilbert of Compton, in our Countie of Deuonshire knight, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, finde, search out, and view such remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories not actually possessed of any Christian prince or people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them, shall seeme good, and the same to haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all commodities, iurisdictions and royalties both by sea and land: and the said sir Humfrey and all such as from time to time by licence of vs, our heires and successours, shall goe or trauell thither, to inhabite or remaine there, to build and fortifie at the discretion of the sayd sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, the statutes or actes of parliament made against Fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other acte, statute, lawe, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And we doe likewise by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, giue full authoritie and power to the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery, or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time and times hereafter, haue, take, and lead in the same voyages, to trauell thitherward, or to inhabite there and then, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our Subiects as shall willingly accompany him and them, and euery or any of them with sufficient shipping, and furniture for their transportations, so that none of the same persons, nor any of them be such as hereafter shall be specially restrained by vs, our heires and successours. And further, that hee the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them shall haue, hold, occupie and enioy to him, his heires or assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soile of all such landes, countries and territories so to bee discouered or possessed as aforesayd, and of all Cities, Castles, Townes and villages, and places in the same, with the rites, royalties and iurisdictions, as well marine as other, within the sayde landes or countries of the Seas thereunto adioyning, to be had or vsed with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part thereof in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any person then beyng, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires & successors, paying vnto vs for all seruices, duties & demands, the fift part of all the oare of gold & siluer, that from time to time, & at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing shall be there gotten: all which lands, countries and territories, shall for euer be holde̅ by the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successours by homage, and by the sayd paiment of the sayd fift part before reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt licence to the sayde sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes, & to euery of them, that hee and they, and euery or any of them shall, and may from time to time, and all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter, expulse, repell, and resist, as well by Sea as by land, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the speciall licence and liking of the sayd sir Humfrey, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the sayd countries, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues

neere

neere to the place or places within ſuch countries as aforeſayd, if they ſhall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limites aforeſaid, with the ſubiects of any chriſtian prince, being in amitie with her Maieſty, where the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of their aſſociates or companies, ſhall within ſixe yeeres next enſuing, make their dwellings and abidings, or that ſhall enterpriſe or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy either by Sea or land, the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, or any of them, or his, or their, or any of their companies: giuing and graunting by theſe preſents, further power and authoritie to the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and euery of them from time to time, & at all times for euer hereafter to take and ſurpriſe by all maner of meanes whatſoeuer, all and euery perſon and perſons, with their ſhippes, veſſels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, or his heires or aſſignes, as aforeſayd, ſhall be found traffiquing into any harborough or harboroughs, creeke or creekes, within the limites aforeſayde, (the ſubiectes of our Realmes and dominions, and all other perſons in amitie with vs, being driuen by force of tempeſt or ſhipwracke onely excepted) and thoſe perſons and euery of them with their ſhips, veſſels, goods, and furniture, to detaine and poſſeſſe, as of good and lawfull prize, according to the diſcretion of him the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and of euery or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie of ſuch countreys, landes and territories ſo to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayde, with our Realmes of England and Ireland, and for the better incouragement of men to this enterpriſe: wee doe by theſe preſents graunt, and declare, that all ſuch countreys ſo hereafter to bee poſſeſſed and inhabited as aforeſayd, from thencefoorth ſhal bee of the alleagiance of vs, our heires, and ſucceſſours. And we doe graunt to the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, and to all and euery of them, and to all and euery other perſon and perſons, being of our allegiance, whoſe names ſhall be noted or entred in ſome of our courts of Record within this our Realme of England, and that with the aſſent of the ſayd ſir Humfrey, his heires or aſſignes, ſhall now in this iourney for diſcouerie, or in the ſecond iourney for conqueſt hereafter, trauel to ſuch lands, countries and territories as aforeſaid, and to their and euery of their heires, that they and euery or any of them being either borne within our ſaid realmes of England, or Ireland, or within any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter ſhall be inhabiting within any the lands, countries and territories, with ſuch licence as aforeſaid, ſhall, and may haue, and enioy all the priuiledges of free denizens and perſons natiue of England, and within our allegiance, any law, cuſtome, or vſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

And foraſmuch as vpon the finding out, diſcouering, and inhabiting of ſuch remote lands, countries and territories as aforeſayd, it ſhall be neceſſarie for the ſafetie of all men that ſhall aduenture themſelues in thoſe iourneis or voiages, to determine to liue together in Chriſtian peace and ciuill quietneſſe each with other, whereby euery one may with more pleaſure and profit, enioy that whereunto they ſhall attaine with great paine and perill: we for vs, our heires and ſucceſſours are likewiſe pleaſed and contented, and by theſe preſents doe giue and graunt to the ſaid ſir Humfrey and his heires and aſſignes for euer, that he and they, and euery or any of them, ſhal and may from time to time for euer hereafter within the ſaid mentioned remote lands and countreys, and in the way by the Seas thither, and from thence, haue ful and meere power and authoritie to correct, puniſh, pardon, gouerne and rule by their, and euery or any of their good diſcretions and pollicies, as well in cauſes capitall or criminall, as ciuill, both marine, and other, all ſuch our ſubiects and others, as ſhall from time to time hereafter aduenture themſelues in the ſaid iournies or voiages habitatiue or poſſeſſiue, or that ſhall at any time hereafter inhabite any ſuch lands, countreys or territories as aforeſayd, or that ſhall abide within two hundred leagues of any the ſaid place or places, where the ſaid ſir Humfrey or his heires, or aſſignes, or any of them, or any of his or their aſſociates or companies, ſhall inhabite within ſixe yeeres next enſuing the date hereof, according to ſuch ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances, as ſhall be by him the ſaid ſir Humfrey, his heires and aſſignes, or euery, or any of them deuiſed or eſtabliſhed for the better gouernment of the ſaid people as aforeſayd: ſo alwaies that the ſaid ſtatutes, lawes and ordinances may be, as neere as conueniently may, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, & pollicie of England: and alſo, ſo as they be not againſt the true chriſtian faith or religiõ now profeſſed in the church of England, nor in any wiſe to withdraw any of the ſubiects or people of thoſe lands or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, as their immediate ſoueraignes vnder God. And further we do by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, giue and graunt ful power and authoritie to our truſtie and welbeloued counſeller, ſir William Cicill knight, lord Burleigh, our high treaſurer of England, and to the lord treaſurer of England, of vs for the time being, and to the priuie counſell of vs, our heires and ſucceſſours, or any foure of them for the time being, that hee, they, or any foure of them, ſhall, and may from

time to time and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the sayd sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him and themselues, or by their or any of their sufficient attornies, deputies, officers, ministers, factors and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our realmes of England and Ireland, all, or any of his or their goods, and all or any the goods of his or their associates and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the sayd lord Treasurer or foure of the priuie counsell of vs, our heyres or successors for the time being, as aforesaid, shall be from time to time by his or their wisdoms or discretions thought meete and conuenient for the better relieke and supportation of him the sayde sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his and their, and euery or any of their said associates and companies, any acte, statute, law, or other thing to the contrarie in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shal at any time or times hereafter robbe or spoile by Sea or by land, or doe any acte of vniust and vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the subiects of vs, our heires, or successors, or any of the subiectes of any king, prince, ruler, gouernour or state beyng then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires or successours, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such prince, ruler, gouernour or state, or their subiectes, we, our heyres or successours shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England commodious, that the sayd Sir Humfrey, his heires or assignes, or any other to whom these our letters patents may extend, shall within the terme to be limited by such proclamations, make full restitution and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, so as both wee and the sayd princes, or others so complaining, may hold vs and themselues fully contented: And that if the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to bee made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to bee limited: that then it shall be lawfull to vs, our heires & successors, to put the sayd sir Humfrey, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the said places to bee discouered as is aforesaid, or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection the sayde sir Humfrey, and his heires, assignes, adherents and others so to be put out, and the sayd places within their habitation, possession and rule, shall bee out of our protection and allegiance, and free for all princes and others, to pursue with hostilitie as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to bee aduowed, maintained or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, dominion or allegiaunce any way belonging, for that expresse mention, &c. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse our selfe at Westminster the 11. day of June, the 20. yeere of our raigne. Per ipsam Reginam, &c.

A report of the voyage and successe thereof, attempted in the yeere of our Lord, 1583. by Sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, with other Gentlemen assisting him in that action, intended to discouer and to plant Christian inhabitants in place conuenient, vpon those large and ample countries extended Northward from the Cape of Florida, lying vnder very temperate Climes, esteemed fertile and rich in Minerals, yet not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, written by M. Edward Haies Gentleman, and principal actor in the same voyage, who alone continued vnto the end, and by Gods speciall assistance returned home with his retinue safe and entire.

MAny voiages haue bene pretended, yet hitherto neuer any throughly accomplished by our nation, of exact discouerie into the bowels of those maine, ample, and vast countries, extended infinitely into the North from 30. degrees, or rather from 25. deg. of Septentrionall latitude, neither hath a right way bin taken of planting a Christian habitation and regiment vpon the same, as well may appeare both by the litle we yet do actually possesse therein, and by our ignorance of the riches and secrets within those landes, which vnto this day we know chiefly by the trauel & report of other nations, & most of the French, whoalbeit they cannot chalẽge such right and interest vnto the said countries, as we, neither these many yeeres haue had opportunitie nor means so great, to discouer & to plant (being vexed with the calamities of intestine warres) as we haue had by the inestimable benefit of our long & happy peace: yet haue they both waies performed more, & had long since attained a sure possession and setled gouernment of many prouinces in those Northerly parts of America, if their many attempts into those forren and remote landes had not bene impeached by their garboils at home.

The

The firſt diſcouery of theſe coaſts (neuer heard of before) was well begun by Iohn Cabot the father, and Sebaſtian his ſonne, an Engliſhman borne, who were the firſt finders out of all that great tract of land ſtretching from the cape of Florida vnto thoſe Iſlands which we now call the Newfoundland: all which they brought and annexed vnto the crowne of England. Since when, if with like diligence the ſearch of Inland countries had beene followed, as the diſcouery vpon the coaſt, and out parts thereof was perfourmed by thoſe two men: no doubt her Maieſties territories and reuenue had beene mightily inlarged and aduanced by this day. And which more is: the ſeed of Chriſtian religion had beene ſowed amongſt thoſe pagans, which by this time might haue brought forth a moſt plentifull harueſt and copious congregation of Chriſtians. Which muſt be the chiefe intent of ſuch as ſhall make any attempt that way: or els whatſoeuer is builded vpon other foundation ſhall neuer obtaine happy ſucceſſe nor continuance.

The coaſts frō Florida northward, firſt diſcouered by the Engliſh natiō.

And although we can not preciſely iudge (which onely belongeth to God) what haue beene the humors of men ſtyred vp to great attempts of diſcouering & planting in thoſe remote countries: yet the euents do ſhew that either Gods cauſe hath not beene chiefly preferred by them, or els God hath not permitted ſo abundant grace as the light of his word and knowledge of him to be yet reuealed vnto thoſe Infidels before the appointed time.

But moſt aſſuredly, the onely cauſe of religion hitherto hath kept backe, and will alſo bring forward at the time aſſigned by God, an effectuall and complet diſcouery and poſſeſſion by Chriſtians both of thoſe ample countries and the riches within them, hitherto concealed: whereof notwithſtanding God in his wiſedome hath permitted to be reuealed, from time to time, a certaine obſcure and milky knowledge, by little and little, to allure the mindes of men that way (which els will be dull enough in the zeale of his cauſe) and thereby to prepare vs vnto a readineſſe for the execution of his will againſt the due time ordained, of calling thoſe pagans vnto Chriſtianity.

In the meane while, it behoueth euery man of great calling, in whom is any inſtinct of inclination vnto this attempt, to examine his owne motions: which if the ſame proceed of ambition or auarice, he may aſſure himſelfe it commeth not of God, and therefore can not haue confidence of Gods protection and aſſiſtance againſt the violence (els irreſiſtable) both of ſea, and infinite perils vpon the land: whom God yet may vſe an inſtrument to further his cauſe and glory ſome way, but not to build vpon ſo bad a foundation.

A fit conſideration.

Otherwiſe, if his motiues be deriued from a vertuous & heroycall minde, preferring chiefly the honor of God, compaſſion of poore Infidels captiued by the deuill, tyrannizing in moſt woonderfull and dreadfull maner ouer their bodyes and ſoules: aduancement of his honeſt and well diſpoſed countreymen, willing to accompany him in ſuch honourable actions: reliefe of ſundry people within this realme diſtreſſed: All theſe be honorable purpoſes, imitating the nature of the munificent God, wherewith he is well pleaſed, who will aſſiſt ſuch an actour beyonde expectation of man:

And the ſame, who feeleth this inclination in himſelfe, by all likelyhood, may hope, or rather confidently repoſe in the preordinance of God, that in this laſt age of the world (or likely neuer) the time is complet of receiuing alſo theſe Gentils into his mercy: And that God will raiſe him an inſtrument to effect the ſame. It ſeeming probable by euent of precedent attempts made by the Spanyardes and French ſundry times: that the countryes lying North of Florida, God hath reſerued the ſame to be reduced vnto Chriſtian ciuilitie by the Engliſh nation.

Probable coniecturesꝑ theſe lands north of Florida, are reſerued for the Engliſh natiō to poſſeſſe.

For not long after that Chriſtopher Columbus had diſcouered the Iſlands and continent of the Weſt Indies for Spaine, Iohn and Sebaſtian Cabot made diſcouery alſo of the reſt from Florida Northwards, to the behooſe of England.

And whenſoeuer afterwards the Spanyards (very proſperous in all their Southerne diſcoueries) did attempt any thing into Florida and thoſe regions inclining towards the North: they prooued moſt vnhappy, and were at length diſcouraged vtterly by the hard and lamentable ſucceſſe of many both religious and valiant in armes, endeuoring to bring thoſe Northerly regions alſo vnder the Spaniſh iuriſdiction: as if God had preſcribed limits vnto the Spaniſh nation which they might not exceed: as by their owne geſts recorded may be aptly gathered.

The Spanyards proſperous in the Southerne diſcoueries, yet vnhappy in theſe Northerne.

The French, as they can pretend leſſe title vnto theſe Northerne parts then the Spanyard, by how much the Spanyard made the firſt diſcouery of the ſame continent ſo farre Northward as vnto Florida, and the French did but reuiew that before diſcouered by the Engliſh nation, vſurping vpon our right, and impoſing names vpon countryes, riuers, bayes, capes, or headlands, as if they had beene the firſt finders of thoſe coaſts, which iniurie we offered not vnto the Spanyards, but left off to diſcouer when we approched the Spaniſh limits: euen ſo God hath not hitherto permitted them to eſtabliſh a poſſeſſion permanent vpon an others right, notwithſtanding their manifold

The French are but vſurpers vpon our right.

manifolde attempts, in which the issue hath beene no lesse tragicall then that of the Spanyards, as by theyr owne reports is extant.

The French also infortunat in those North parts of America.

Then seeing the English nation onely hath right vnto these countryes of America from the cape of Florida Northward by the priuilege of first discouery, vnto which Cabot was authorised by regall authority, & set forth by the expence of our late famous king Henry the seuenth: Which right also seemeth strongly defended on our behalfe, by the powerfull hand of almighty God, withstanding the enterprises of other nations: It may greatly incourage vs, vpon so iust ground, as is our right, and vpon so sacred an intent, as to plant religion, (our right and intent being meet foundations for the same:) to prosecute effectually vnto a full possession of those so ample & pleasant countries apperteining vnto the crowne of England: the same (as is to be coniectured by infallible arguments of the worlds end approching) being now arriued vnto the time by God prescribed of theyr vocation, if euer theyr calling vnto the knowledge of God may be expected. Which also is very probable by the reuolution and course of Gods word and religion, which from the beginning hath mooued from the East, towards, and at last vnto the West, where it is like to end, vnlesse the same begin againe where it did in the East, which were to expect a like world againe. But we are assured of the contrary by the prophesie of Christ, whereby we gather, that after his word preached throughout the world, shall be the end. And as the Gospell when it descended Westward beganne in the South, and afterward spred into the North of Europe: euen so, as the same hath begunne in the South countries of America, no lesse hope may be gathered that it will also spred into the North.

A good incouragement for the English nation, to proceed in the conquests of the North of America.

The due time approcheth by all likelihood of calling these heathens vnto Christianity.

The word of God mooueth circularly.

These considerations may helpe to suppresse all dreads rising of hard euents in attempts made this way by other nations, as also of the heauie successe and issue in the late enterprise made by a worthy gentleman our country man sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, who was the first that of our nation carried people to erect an habitation and gouernement in those Northerly countries of America. About which, albeit he had consumed much substance, and lost his life at last, his people also perishing for the most part: yet the mystery thereof we must leaue vnto God, and iudge charitably both of the cause (which was iust in all pretence) and of the person, who was very zealous in prosecuting the same, deseruing honourable remembrance for his good minde, and expence of life in so vertuous an enterprise. Whereby neuertheless, least any man should be dismaid by example of other folks calamity, and misdeeme that God doth resist all attempts intended that way: I thought good, so farre as my selfe was an eye witnesse, to deliuer the circumstance and maner of our proceedings in that action: in which the gentleman was so infortunately incombred with wants, and worse matched with many ill disposed people, that his rare iudgement and regiment premeditated for those affayres, was subiected to tollerate abuses, & in sundry extremities to holde on a course, more to vpholde credit, then likely in his owne conceit, happely to succeed.

The planting of Gods word must be handled with reuerence.

The issue of such actions being alwayes miserable, not guided by God, who abhorreth confusion and disorder, hath left this for admonition (being the first attempt by our nation to plant) vnto such as shall take the same cause in hand hereafter, not to be discouraged from it: but to make men well aduised how they handle his so high and excellent matters, as the carriage is of his word into those very mighty and vast countryes. An action doubtlesse not to be intermedled with base purposes, as many haue made the same but a colour to shadow actions, otherwise scarse iustifiable: which doth excite Gods heauy iudgements in the end, to the terrifying of weake mindes from the cause, without pondering his iust proceedings: and doth also incense forren princes against our attempts how iust soeuer, who can not but deeme the sequele very dangerous vnto theyr state (if in those parts we should grow to strength) seeing the very beginnings are entred with spoile.

Ill actions coloured by pretence of planting vpon remote lands.

And with this admonition denounced vpon zeale towards Gods cause, also towards such in whom appeareth disposition honorable vnto this action of planting Christian people and religion in those remote and barbarous nations of America (vnto whom I wish all happinesse) I will now proceed to make relation briefly, yet particularly, of our voyage vndertaken with sir Humfry Gilbert, begun, continued, and ended aduersly.

The first and great preparation of sir H. Gilbert.

When first sir Humfry Gilbert vndertooke the Westerne discouery of America, and had procured from her Maiesty a very large commission to inhabit, and possesse at his choise all remote and heathen lands not in the actuall possession of any Christian prince, the same commission exemplified with many priuileges, such as in his discretion he might demand: Very many gentlemen of good estimation drew vnto him, to associate him in so commendable an enterprise, so that the preparation was expected to grow vnto a puissant fleet, able to encounter a kings power by sea: neuertheless, amongst a multitude of voluntary men, theyr dispositions were diuers, which bred a iarre,

and

and made a diuiſion in the end, to the confuſion of that attempt euen before the ſame was begunne, and when the ſhipping was in a maner prepared, & men ready vpon the coaſt to go aboord: at what time ſome brake conſort and followed courſes degenerating from the voyage before pretended. Others failed of their purpoſes contracted, and the greater number were diſperſed, leauing the generall with few of his aſſured friends, with whome he aduentured to ſea: where hauing taſted of no leſſe miſfortune, he was ſhortly driuen to retyre home with the loſſe of a tall ſhippe, and (more to his griefe) of a valiant gentleman Miles Morgan.

A conſtant reſolution of Sir H. Gilbert.

Hauing buryed onely in a preparation a great maſſe of ſubſtance, wherby his eſtate was impaired, his minde yet not diſmaid, he continued his former deſignment and purpoſe to reuiue this enterpriſe, good occaſion ſeruing. Vpon which determination ſtanding long, without meanes to ſatisfie his deſire: at laſt he granted certaine aſſignemẽts out of his commiſſion to ſundry perſons of meane ability, deſiring the priuilege of his grant, to plant and fortifie in the North parts of America about the riuer of Canada, to whom if God gaue good ſucceſſe in the North parts (where then no matter of moment was expected) the ſame (he thought) would greatly aduance the hope of the South, and be a furtherance vnto his determination that way. And the worſt that might happen in that courſe, might be excuſed without preiudice vnto him by the former ſuppoſition, that thoſe North regions were of no regard: but chiefly a poſſeſſion taken in any parcell of thoſe heathen countries by vertue of his grant, did inueſt him of territories extending euery way two hundred leagues: which induced ſir Humfrey Gilbert to make thoſe aſſignements, deſiring greatly their expedition, becauſe his commiſſion did expyre after ſixe yeeres, if in that ſpace he had not gotten actuall poſſeſſion.

A ſecond preparation of Sir H. Gilbert.

Time went away without any thing done by his aſſignes: inſomuch at laſt he muſt reſolue himſelfe to take a voyage in perſon, for more aſſurance to keepe his patent in force, which then almoſt was expired or within two yeeres.

In furtherance of his determination, amongſt others, ſir George Peckam knight ſhewed himſelfe very zealous to the action, greatly aiding both by his aduiſe and in the charge. Other gentlemen to their abilitie ioyned vnto him, reſolued to aduenture their ſubſtance and liues in the ſame cauſe. Who beginning their preparation from that time, both of ſhipping, munition, victuall, men, and things requiſit, ſome of them continued the charge two yeeres complet, without intermiſſion. Such were the difficulties and croſſe accidents, oppoſing theſe proceedings, which tooke not end in leſſe then two yeeres: many of which circumſtances I will omit.

The laſt place of our aſſembly, before we left the coaſt of England, was in Cauſet bay, neere vnto Plymmouth: then reſolued to put vnto the ſea with ſhipping and proviſion, ſuch as we had, before our ſtore yet remayning, but chiefly the time and ſeaſon of the yeere were too farre ſpent. Neuertheleſſe it ſeemed firſt very doubtfull, by what way to ſhape our courſe, and to beginne our intended diſcouery, either from the South Northward, or from the North Southward.

Conſultation about our courſe.

The firſt (that is beginning South) without all controuerſy was the likelieſt, wherein we were aſſured to haue commodity of the currant, which from the cape of Florida ſetteth Northward, and would haue furthered greatly our nauigation, diſcouering from the foreſaid cape along towards cape Britton, and all thoſe lands lying to the North.

Commodities in diſcouering from South Northward.

Alſo the yeere being farre ſpent, and arriued to the moneth of June, we were not to ſpend time in Northerly courſes, where we ſhould be ſurpriſed with timely winter: but to couet the South, which we had ſpace enough, then to haue attained: and there might with leſſe detriment haue wintred that ſeaſon, being more milde and ſhort in the South then in the North, where winter is both long and rigorous.

These & other like reaſons alleged in fauor of the Southerne courſe, firſt to be taken, to the contrary was inferred: that foraſmuch as both our victuals, and many other needfull proviſions were diminiſhed and left inſufficient for ſo long a voyage, and for the wintring of ſo many men, we ought to ſhape a courſe moſt likely to miniſter ſupply: and that was to take the Newfound land in our way, which was but ſeuen hundred leagues from our Engliſh coaſt. Where being vſually at that time of the yeere, and vntill the fine of Auguſt, a multitude of ſhippes repayring thither for fiſh: we ſhould be relieued abundantly with many neceſſaries, which after the fiſhing ended, they might well ſpare, and freely impart vnto vs.

Cauſe why we began our diſcouery frõ the North. Incommodities in beginning North.

Not ſtaying long vpon that New land coaſt, we might proceed Southward, and follow ſtill the Sunne, vntill we arriued at places more temperate to our content.

By which reaſons we were the rather induced to follow this Northerly courſe, obeying vnto neceſſitie, which muſt be ſupplyed. Other wiſe, we doubted that ſudden approch of winter, bringing with it continuall fogge, and thicke miſts, tempeſt and rage of weather: alſo contrarietie of

currants

currants descending from the cape of Florida vnto cape Britton and cape Rase, would fall out to be great and irresistable impediments vnto our further proceeding for that yeere, and compell vs to winter in those North and colde regions.

Wherefore suppressing all obiections to the contrary, we resolued to beginne our course Northward, and to follow directly as we might, the trade way vnto Newfound land: from whence after our refreshing and reparation of wants, we intended without delay (by Gods permission) to proceed into the South, not omitting any riuer or bay, which in all that large tract of land appeared to our view woorthy of search. Immediatly we agreed vpon the maner of our course and orders to be obserued in our voyage: which were deliuered in writing vnto the captaines and maisters of euery shippe a copie in maner following.

Euery shippe had deliuered two bollets or scrowles, the one sealed vp in ware, the other left open: in both which were included seuerall watchwords: that open, serving vpon our owne coast or the coast of Ireland: the other sealed, was promised on all hands not to be broken vp vntill we should be cleere of the Irish coast: which from thencefoorth did serue vntill we arriued and met altogether in such harbours of the Newfoundland as were agreed for our Rendevous. The said watchwords being requisite to know our consorts, whensoeuer by night, either by fortune of weather, our fleet dispersed should come together againe: or one should hale another: or if by ill watch and stearedge one shippe chance to fall aboord of another in the darke.

The reason of the bollet sealed, was to keepe secret that watchword while we were vpon our owne coast, least any of the company, stealing from the fleete, might bewray the same: which knowen to an enemy, he might boord vs by night without mistrust, hauing our owne watchword.

Orders agreed vpon by the Captaines and Maisters to be *obserued by the fleet of sir Humfrey Gilbert.*

FIrst the Admirall to carry his flagge by day, and his light by night.

2 Item, if the Admirall shall shorten his saile by night, then to shew two lights vntill he be answered againe by euery shippe shewing one light for a short time.

3 Item, if the Admirall after his shortning of saile, as afore said, shall make more saile againe: then he to shew three lights one aboue another.

4 Item, if the Admirall shall happen to hull in the night: then to make a wauering light ouer his other light, wauering the light vpon a pole.

5 Item, if the fleet should happen to be scattered by weather, or other mishap, then so soone as one shall descry another, to hoise both toppe sailes twise, if the weather will serue, and to strike them twise againe: but if the weather serue not, then to hoise the maine toppe saile twise, and forthwith to strike it twise againe.

6 Item, if it shall happen a great fogge to fall, then presently euery shippe to beare vp with the admirall, if there be winde: but if it be a calme, then euery shippe to hull, and so to lie at hull till it be cleare. And if the fogge do continue long, then the Admirall to shoot off two pieces euery euening, and euery shippe to answere it with one shot: and euery man bearing to the shippe, that is to leeward so neere as he may.

7 Item, euery maister to giue charge vnto the watch to looke out well, for laying aboord one of another in the night, and in fogges.

8 Item, euery euening euery shippe to haile the Admirall, and so to fall astearne him, sayling through the Ocean: and being on the coast, euery shippe to haile him both morning and euening.

9 Item, if any shippe be in danger any way, by leake or otherwise, then she to shoot off a piece, and presently to hang out one light, whereupon euery man to beare towards her, answering her with one light, for a short time, and so to put it out againe, thereby to giue knowledge that they haue seene her token.

10 Item, whensoeuer the Admirall shall hang out her ensigne in the maine shrowds, then euery man to come aboord her, as a token of counsell.

11 Item, if there happen any stormе or contrary winde to the fleete after the discouery, whereby they are separated: then euery shippe to repayre vnto their last good port, there to meete agayne.

Our

Our courſe agreed vpon.

THe courſe firſt to be taken for the diſcouery is to beare directly to cape Raſe the moſt Southerly cape of Newfound land. And there to harbor our ſelues either in Rogneux or Fermous, being the firſt places appointed for our Rende vous, and the next harbors vnto the Northward of cape Raſe. And therefore euery ſhippe ſeparated from the fleet, to repayre to that place ſo faſt as God ſhall permit, whether you ſhall fall to the Southward, or Northward of it: and there to ſtay for the meeting of the whole fleet the ſpace of tenne dayes, and when you ſhall depart, to leaue marks.

A direction of our courſe vnto the New found land.

BEginning our courſe from Silley, the neereſt is by Weſt ſouthweſt (if the winde ſerue) vntill ſuch time as we haue brought our ſelues in the latitude of 43 or 44 degrees, becauſe the Ocean is ſubiect much to Southerly windes in June and July. Then to take trauerſe from 45 to 47 degrees of latitude, if we be inforced by contrary windes: and not to go to the Northward of the height of 47 degrees of Septentrional latitude by no meanes, if God ſhall not inforce the contrary: but to do your indeuor to keepe in the height of 46 degrees, ſo neere as you can poſſibly, becauſe cape Raſe lyeth about that height.

Notes.

IF by contrary windes we be driuen backe vpon the coaſt of England, then to repayre vnto Silley for a place of our aſſembly and meeting.

If we be driuen backe by contrary windes, that we can not paſſe the coaſt of Ireland: then the place of our aſſembly to be at Beare hauen or Baltimore hauen.

If we ſhall not happen to meet at cape Raſe, then the place of Rende vous to be at cape Britton, or the neereſt harbor vnto the Weſtward of cape Britton.

If by meanes of other ſhipping we may not ſafely ſtay there, then to reſt at the very next ſafe port to the Weſtward, euery ſhippe leauing theyr marks behinde them for the more certaintie of the after commers to know where to finde them.

The marks that euery man ought to leaue in ſuch a caſe, were of the Generals priuate deuice, written by himſelfe, ſealed alſo cloſe in waxe, and deliuered vnto euery ſhippe one ſcroule, which was not to be opened vntill occaſion required, whereby euery man was certified what to leaue for inſtruction of after commers: and euery of vs comming into any harbour or riuer, might know who had beene there, or whether any were ſtill there vp higher into the riuer, or departed, and which way.

Orders thus determined, and promiſes mutually giuen to be obſerued, euery man withdrew himſelfe vnto his charge, the ankers being already weyed, and our ſhippe vnder ſaile, hauing a ſoft gale of winde, we began our voyage vpon Tueſday the eleuenth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, hauing in our fleet (at our departure from Cauſet bay) theſe ſhippes, whoſe names and burthens, with the names of the captaines and maiſters of them, I haue alſo inſerted, as followeth: Beginning of the voyage.

1 The delight (aliàs) the George, of burthen 120 tunnes, was Admirall: in which went the Generall, and William Winter captaine in her, and part owner, and Richard Clearke maiſter.

2 The Barke Rawley, ſet foorth by M. Walter Rawley, of the burthen of 200 tunnes, was then Vice admirall: in which went M. Butler captaine, and Robert Dauis of Briſtoll, maiſter.

3 The Golden hinde, of burthen 40 tunnes, was then Reare admirall: In which went Edward Hayes captaine and owner, and William Coxe of Limehouſe maiſter.

4 The Swallow, of burthen 40 tunnes: in her was captaine Maurice Browne.

5 The Squirill, of burthen tenne tunnes: in which went captaine William Andrewes, and one Cade maſter.

We were in number in all, about 260 men: among whom we had of euery faculty good choice, as Shipwights, Maſons, Carpenters, Smithes, and ſuch like, requiſit to ſuch an action: alſo Minerall men and Refiners. Beſides, for ſolace of our people, and allurement of the Sauages, we were prouided of Muſike in good variety: Not omitting the leaſt toyes, as Morris dancers, Hobby horſſe, and Maylike conceits to delight the Sauage people, whom we intended to winne by Our fleet conſiſted of fiue ſailes, in which we had about 260 men. Prouiſions fit for ſuch diſcoueries.

by all kayne meanes possible. And to that end we were indifferently furnished of all petty haberdashrie wares to barter with those simple people.

June 11. In this maner we set forward, departing (as hath beene said) out of Causon bay the eleuenth day of June, being Tuesday, the weather and winde kayne and good all day, but a great storme of thunder and winde fell the same night.

June 13. Thursday following, when we hailed one another in the euening (according to the order before specified) they signified vnto vs out of the Vice admirall, that both the captaine, and very many of the men were fallen sicke. And about midnight the Vice admirall forsooke vs, notwithstanding we had the winde East, kayne and good. But it was after credibly reported, that they were infected with a contagious sicknesse, and arriued greatly distressed at Plymmouth: the reason I could neuer vnderstand. Sure I am, no cost was spared by their owner M. Raleigh, in setting them forth: Therefore I leaue it vnto God.

Obserue.

By this time we were in 48 degrees of latitude, not a little grieued with the losse of the most puissant shippe in our fleet: after whose departure, the Golden hinde succeeded in the place of Vice admirall, and remoued her flagge from the mizon vnto the fore toppe.

June 15. From Saturday the 15 of June vntill the 28, which was vpon a Friday, we neuer had kayne day without fogge or raine, and windes bad, much to the West northwest, whereby we were driuen Southward vnto 41 degrees scarse.

About this time of the yere the windes are commonly West towards the Newfound land, keeping ordinarily within two points of West to the South or to the North, whereby the course thither falleth out to be long and tedious after June, which in March, Aprill & May, hath beene performed out of England in 22 dayes and lesse. We had winde alwayes so scant from West northwest, and from West southwest againe, that our trauerse was great, running South vnto 41 degrees almost, and afterward North into 51 degrees.

July 20. Great fogges vpon the Ocean sea Northward. Also we were incumbred with much fogge and mists in maner palpable, in which we could not keepe so well together, but were disseuered, losing the company of the Swallow and the Squirill vpon the 20 day of July, whom we met againe at seuerall places vpon the Newfound land coast the third of August, as shalbe declared in place conuenient.

July 27 Saturday the 27 of July, we might descry not farre from vs, as it were, mountaines of ise driuen vpon the sea, being then in 50 degrees, which were carried Southward to the weather of vs: whereby may be coniectured that some currant doth set that way from the North.

The banke in length vnknowen, stretcheth from North into South, in bredth 10 leagues, in depth of water vpon it 30 fathome. Before we come to Newfound land about 50 leagues on this side, we passe the banke, which are high grounds rising within the sea, and vnder water, yet deepe enough, and without danger, being commonly not lesse then 25 and 30 fathome water vpon them: the same (as it were some vaine of mountaines within the sea) doe runne along, and from the Newfound land, beginning Northward about 52 or 53 degrees of latitude, & do extend into the South infinitly. The bredth of this banke is somewhere more, and somewhere lesse: but we found the same about 10 leagues ouer, hauing sounded both on this side thereof, and the other toward Newfound land, but found no ground, with almost 200 fathome of line, both before and after we had passed the banke. The Portingalles, and French chiefly, haue a notable trade of fishing vpon this banke, where are sometimes an hundred or more sailes of shippes: who commonly beginne the fishing in Aprill, and haue ended by July. That fish is large, alwayes wet, hauing no land neere to drie, and is called Corre fish.

A great fishing vpon ꝑ banke.

During the time of fishing, a man shall know without sounding when he is vpon the banke, by the incredible multitude of sea fowle houering ouer the same, to pray vpon the offalles and garbish of fish throwen out by fisher men, and floting vpon the sea.

Abundance of fowles.

July 30. Upon Tuesday the 11 of June, we forsooke the coast of England. So againe Tuesday the 30 of July (seuen weeks after) we got sight of land, being immediatly embayed in the Grand bay, or some other great bay: the certeinty wherof we could not iudge, so great hase and fogge did hang vpon the coast, as neither we might discerne the land well, nor take the Sunnes height. But by our best computation we were then in 51 degrees of latitude.

First sight of land.

Forsaking this bay and vncomfortable coast (nothing appearing vnto vs but hideous rocks and mountaines, bare of trees, and void of any greene herbe) we followed the coast to the South, with weather kayne and cleere.

Iland and a fowle named Penguin. We had sight of an Iland named Penguin, of a fowle there breeding in abundance, almost incredible, which can not flie, their wings not able to carry their body, being very large (not much lesse then a goose) and exceeding fat: which the French men vse to take without difficulty vpon that Iland, and to barrell them vp with salt. But for lingering of time we had made vs there the like prouision.

Trending

Trending this coaſt, we came to the Iſland called Baccaleu, the ſame not paſt 2. leagues from the maine: to the South wherof lieth Cape S. Francis, 5. leagues diſtant from Baccaleu, betwene which goeth in a great bay, by the vulgar ſort called the bay of Conception. Here we met with the Swallow againe, whome we had loſt in the fogge, and all her men altered into other apparell: wherof it ſeemed their ſtore was ſo amended, that for ioy & cõgratulation of our meeting, they ſpared not to caſt vp into the aire and ouerboord, their caps and hats in good plentie. The Captaine albeit himſelfe was very honeſt and religious, yet was he not appointed of men to his humor and deſert: who for the moſt part were ſuch as had bene by vs ſurpriſed vpon the narrow ſeas of England, being pirats, and had taken at that inſtant certaine Frenchmen laden, one barke with wines, and another with ſalt. Both which we reſcued, & tooke the man of warre with all her men, which was the ſame ſhip now called the Swallow, following ſtill their kinde ſo oft, as (being ſeparated from the General) they found opportunitie to robbe and ſpoile. And becauſe Gods iuſtice did follow the ſame companie, euen to deſtruction, and to the ouerthrow alſo of the Captaine (though not conſenting to their miſdemeanor:) I wil not conceale any thing that maketh to the manifeſtation and approbation of his iudgements, for examples of others, perſwaded that God more ſharpely tooke reuenge vpon them, and hath tollerated longer as great outrage in others: by howe much theſe went vnder protection of his cauſe and religion, which was then pretended.

An Iſland called Baccaleu, of the fiſh taken there.

Therfore vpõ further enquirie it was knowen, how this company met with a barke returning home after the fiſhing with his fraight: and becauſe the men in the Swallow were very neere ſcanted of victual, and chiefly of apparel, doubtful withal where or when to finde and meete with their Admiral, they beſought the captaine they might go aboord this Newlander, only to borrow what might be ſpared, the rather becauſe the ſame was bound homeward. Leaue giuen, not without charge to deale fauorably, they came aboord the fiſherman, whom they rifled of tackle, ſailes, cables, vitailes, and the men of their apparel: not ſparing by torture (winding cords about their heads) to drawe out elſe what they thought good. This done with expedition (like men ſkilfull in ſuch miſchiefe) as they tooke their cocke boat to goe aboord their owne ſhip, it was ouerwhelmed in the ſea, and certaine of theſe men there drowned: the reſt were preſerued euen by thoſe ſeely ſoules whom they had before ſpoiled, who ſaued and deliuered them aboord the Swallow. What became afterward of the poore Newlander, perhaps deſtitute of ſailes & furniture ſufficient to cary them home (whither they had not leſſe to runne then 750. leagues) God alone knoweth, who tooke vengeance not long after of the reſt that eſcaped at this inſtant, to reueile the fact, and iuſtifie to the world Gods iudgements inflicted vpon them, as ſhalbe declared in place conuenient.

Miſdemeanor of them in the Swallow.

Thus after we had met with the Swallow, we held on our courſe Southward, vntil we came againſt the harbor called S. Iohns, about 5. leagues from the former Cape of S. Francis: where before the entrance into the harbor, we found alſo the frigate or Squirril lying at ancre. Whome the Engliſh marchãts (that were & alwayes be Admirals by turnes interchangeably ouer the fleetes of fiſhermen within the ſame harbor) would not permit to enter into the harbor. Glad of ſo happy meeting both of the Swallow and frigate in one day (being Saturday the 3. of Auguſt) we made ready our ſights, & prepared to enter the harbor, any reſiſtance to the contrary notwithſtanding, there being within of all nations, to the nomber of 36. ſailes. But firſt the General diſpatched a boate to giue them knowledge of his comming for no ill intent, hauing Commiſſion from her Maieſtie for his voyage he had in hand. And immediatly we folowed with a ſlacke gale, and in the very entrance (which is but narrow, not aboue 2. buts length) the Admiral fell vpon a rocke on the lareboord ſide by great ouerſight, in that the weather was faire, the rocke much aboue water faſt by the ſhoare, where neither went any ſea gate. But wee found ſuch readineſſe in the Engliſh Marchants to helpe vs in that danger, that without delaye there were brought a nomber of boates, which towed off the ſhip, and cleared her of danger.

Engliſh ſhips are the ſtrongeſt and Admirals of other fleetes, fiſhing vpon the South parts of Newfound land.

Hauing taken place conuenient in the road, we let fall ancres, the Captaines & maſters repairing aboord our Admiral: whither alſo came immediatly the Maſters and owners of the fiſhing fleete of Engliſhmen, to vnderſtand the Generals intent & cauſe of our arrival there. They were all ſatisfied when the general had ſhewed his cõmiſſion, & purpoſe to take poſſeſſion of thoſe lands to the behalfe of ẏ crowne of England, & the aduancement of Chriſtian religion in thoſe paganiſh regions, requiring but their lawful ayd for repairing of his fleete, & ſupply of ſome neceſſaries, ſo farre as conueniently might be afoarded him, both out of that & other harbors adioyning. In lieu wherof, he made offer to gratifie them with any fauor & priuiledge, which vpon their better aduiſe they ſhould demaund, ẏ like being not to be obteined hereafter for greater price. So craving expedition of his demaund, minding to proceed further ſouth wbout long detention in thoſe parts, he diſmiſſed them, after promiſe giuẽ of their beſt indeuour to ſatiſfie ſpeedily his ſo reaſonable requeſt.

The marchants with their Maisters departed, they caused forthwith to be discharged all the great Ordinance of their fleete in token of our welcome.

Good order taken by English marchats for our supply in New found land.

It was further determined, that euery ship of our fleete should deliuer vnto the marchants and Maisters of that harbour, a note of all their wants: which done, the ships aswell English as strangers, were taxed at an easie rate to make supply. And besides, Commissioners were appointed, part of our owne company, and part of theirs, to goe into other harbours adioyning, (for our English marchants commaund all there) to leauie our prouision: whereunto the Portingals (aboue other nations) did most willingly and liberally contribute. Insomuch as we were presented (aboue our allowance) with wines, marmalads, most fine ruske or bisket, sweet oyles, and sundry delicacies. Also we wanted not of fresh salmons, troutes, lobsters, and other fresh fish brought dayly vnto vs. Moreouer, as the maner is in their fishing, euery weeke to choose their Admirall a new, or rather they succeed in orderly course, and haue weekely their Admirals feast solemnized: euen so the General, Captaines and maisters of our fleete, were continually inuited and feasted. To growe short, in our abundance at home, the intertainment had bene delightful, but after our wants and tedious passage through the Ocean, it seemed more acceptable and of greater contentation, by how much the same was vnexpected in that desolate corner of the worlde: where at other times of the yeere, wilde beastes and birds haue onely the fruition of all those Countreis, which now seemed a place very populous and much frequented.

Good entertainment in New found land.

No Sauages in the South part of Newe found land.

August 4. The next morning being Sunday & ỳ 4. of August, the General & his company were brought on lande by English marchants, who shewed vnto vs their accustomed walkes vnto a place they cal the Garden. But nothing appeared more then Nature it selfe without art: who confusedly hath brought foorth roses abundantly, wilde, but odoriferous, and to sense very comfortable. Also the like plentie of raspis berries, which do grow in euery place.

August 5. Sunday following, the General had his tent set vp, who being accompanied with his owne followers, summoned the marchants, and maisters, both English and strangers to be present at his taking possession of those Countreis. Before whom openly was read & interpreted vnto the straungers, his Commission: by vertue whereof he tooke possession in the same harbour of S. Iohns, and 200. leagues euery way, inuested the Queenes Maiestie with the title and dignitie thereof, had deliuered vnto him (after the custome of England) a rod and a turffe of the same soile, entring possession also for him, his heires and assignes for euer: And signified vnto al men, that from that time forward, they should take the same lande as a territorie appertaining to the Queene of England, and himselfe authorized vnder her Maiestie to possesse and enioy it, And to ordeine lawes for the gouernment thereof, agreeable (so neere as conueniently might be) vnto the lawes of England: vnder which all people comming thither hereafter, either to inhabite, or by way of traffique, should be subiected and gouerned. And especially at the same time for a beginning, he posed and deliuered three lawes to be in force immediatly. That is to say: the first for Religion, which in publique exercise should be according to the Church of England. The 2. for maintenance of her Maiesties right and possession of those territories, against which if any thing were attempted preiudiciall, the partie or parties offending, should be adiudged and executed as in case of high treason, according to the lawes of England. The 3. if any person should vtter words sounding to the dishonour of her Maiestie, he should loose his eares, and haue his ship and goods confiscate.

Possession taken.

Three lawes.

These contents published, obedience was promised by general voice & consent of the multitude aswel of Englishmen as strãgers, praying for cõtinuance of this possession & gouernment begun. After this, the assembly was dismissed. And afterward were erected not farre from that place the Armes of England ingrauen in lead, & infixed vpon a pillar of wood. Yet further & actually to establish this possession taken in the right of her Maiestie, & to the behoofe of sir Humfrey Gilbert knight, his heires and assignes for euer: the General graunted in fee farme diuers parcels of land lying by the water side, both in this harbor of S. Iohns, & elsewhere, which was to ỳ owners a great commoditie, being therby assured (by their proper inheritance) of grounds conuenient to dresse and to drie their fish, whereof many times before they did faile, being preuented by them that came first into the harbor. For which grounds they did couenant to pay a certaine rent and seruice vnto sir Humfrey Gilbert, his heires or assignes for euer, and yeerely to mainteine possession of the same, by themselues or their assignes.

Actuall possession maintained in Newe found land.

Now remained only to take in prouision graunted, according as euery shippe was taxed which did fish vpon the coast adioyning. In the meane while, the Generall appointed men vnto their charge: some to repaire and trim the ships, others to attend in gathering together our supply and prouisions: others, to search the cõmodities and singularities of the countrey, to be found by sea or land, & to make relation vnto the General what either themselues could knowe by their owne trauaile

Men appointed to make search.

uaile and experience, or by good intelligence of men Engliſh or ſtrangers, who had longeſt frequented the ſame coaſt. Alſo ſome obſerued the eleuation of the pole, and drewe plattes of the coũtrey exactly graded. And by that I could gather by ech mans ſeueral relation, I haue drawen a briefe deſcription of the New found land, with the commodities by ſea or lande already made, and ſuch alſo as are in poſſibilitie and great likelyhoode to be made: Neuertheleſſe the Cards and plats that were drawing, with the due gradation of the harbors, bayes, & capes, did periſh with the Admiral: wherefore in the deſcription folowing, I muſt omit the particulers of ſuch things.

A briefe relation of the New found land and commodities thereof.

THat which we do call the Newfound land, and the Frenchmen Bacalaos, is an Iſland, or rather (after the opinion of ſome) it conſiſteth of ſundry Iſlands & broken lands, ſituate in the North regions of America, vpon the gulfe & entrance of the great riuer called S. Laurence in Canada. Into the which, nauigation may be made both on the South and North ſide of this Iſland. The land lieth South & North, containing in length betwene 3. and 400. miles, accompting from Cape race (which is in 46. deg. 25. min.) vnto the Grand bay in 52. deg. of Septentrional latitude. The Iſland round about hath very many goodly bayes and harbors, ſafe roades for ſhips, the like not to be found in any part of the knowen world.

Newfound land is of Iſlands or broken lands.

Goodly roads and harbors.

The cõmon opinion that is had of intemperature & extreeme cold that ſhould be in this coũtrey, as of ſome part it may be verified, namely the North, where I grant it is more cold then in countries of Europe, which are vnder the ſame eleuation: euen ſo it cannot ſtand with reaſon & nature of the clime, that the South parts ſhould be ſo intemperat as the brute hath gone. For, as ẏ ſame do lie vnder the climats of Britton, Aniou, Poictou in France, betwene 46. & 49. deg. ſo can they not ſo much differ from the temperature of thoſe countreis: vnleſſe vpon the outcoaſts lying open vnto the Ocean & ſharpe winds, it muſt in deede be ſubiect to more colde, then further within the land, Where the mountaines are interpoſed, as walles and bulwarkes, to defende and to reſiſt the aſperitie and rigor of the ſea and weather. Some holde opinion, that the Newfound land might be the more ſubiect to cold, by how much it lieth high and neere vnto the middle region. I graunt, that not in Newfound land alone, but in Germany, Italy & Affricke, euen vnder the Equinoctial line, the mountaines are extreeme cold, and ſeldome vncouered of ſnow, in their culme & higheſt tops, which commeth to paſſe by the ſame reaſon that they are extended towards the middle region: yet in the countreis lying beneath them, it is found quite contrary. Euen ſo all hilles hauing their diſcents, the valleis alſo and low grounds muſt be likewiſe hot or temperate, as the clime doeth giue in Newfoundland: though I am of opinion that the Sunnes reflection is much cooled, and cannot be ſo forcible in the Newfound land, nor generally throughout America, as in Europe or Affricke: by howe much the Sunne in his diurnal courſe from Eaſt to Weſt, paſſeth ouer (for the moſt part) dry land and ſandie countries, before hee arriueth at the Weſt of Europe or Affricke, whereby his motion increaſeth heate, with litle or no qualification by moyſt vapours. Where, on the contrary, he paſſeth from Europe and Affricke vnto America ouer the Ocean, from whence it draweth and carieth with him abundance of moyſt vapours, which do qualifie and infeeble greatly the Sunnes reuerberation vpon this countrey chiefly of Newfound land, being ſo much to the Northward. Neuertheles (as I ſaid before) the cold cãnot be ſo intollerable vnder the latitude of 46. 47. and 48. (eſpecially within land) that it ſhould be vnhabitable, as ſome doe ſuppoſe, ſeeing alſo there are very many people more to the North by a great deale. And in theſe South parts there be certaine beaſts, ounces or leopards, & birds in like maner, which in the Sommer we haue ſeene, not heard of in countreis of extreeme and vehement coldneſſe. Beſides, as in the moneths of June, July, Auguſt & September, the heate is ſomewhat more then in England at thoſe ſeaſons: ſo men remaining vpon the South parts neere vnto Cape Race, vntil after Hollantide, haue not found the cold ſo extreeme, nor much differing from the temperature of England. Thoſe which haue arriued there after Nouember & December, haue found the ſnowe exceeding deepe, whereat no marueile, conſidering the ground vpon the coaſt, is rough & vneuen, and the ſnow is driuen into the places moſt declining, as the like is to be ſeene with vs. The like depth of ſnow happily ſhall not be found within lande vpon the plainer countreis, which alſo are defended by the mountaines, breaking off the violence of winds & weather. But admitting extraordinary colde in thoſe South parts, abone that with vs here: it can not be ſo great as in Sweueland, much leſſe in Moſcouia or Ruſſia: yet are the ſame countreis very populous, and the rigor of colde is diſpenſed with by the commoditie of Stoues, warme clothing, meates and drinkes: all which neede not to be wanting in the Newfound land, if we had intent there to inhabite.

Newfound land habitable.

Cold by accidẽtal meanes.

Commodities

In the South parts we found no inhabitants, which by all likelyhoode haue abandoned those coastes, the same being so much frequented by Christians: But in the North are sauages altogether harmelesse. Touching the commodities of this Countrey, seruing either for sustentation of inhabitants, or for maintenance of traffique, there are & may be made diuers: that it seemeth Nature hath recompensed that only desert and inconmoditie of some sharpe cold, by many benefits:

Fish of sea and fresh water.

viz. With incredible quantitie, and no lesse varietie of kindes of fish in the sea and fresh waters, as trouts, salmons & other fish to vs vnknowen: Also codde, which alone draweth many nations thither, and is become the most famous fishing of the world. Abundance of whales, for which also is a very great trade in ỹ bayes of Placentia & Grand bay, where is made Trane oyles of the whale: Herring the largest that haue bene heard of, and exceeding the Malstrond herring of Norway: but hitherto was neuer benefit taken of the herring fishing. There are sundry other fish very delicate, namely the Bonito, lobsters, turbut, with others infinite not sought after: Oysters hauing pearle but not orient in colour: I tooke it by reason they were not gathered in season.

Concerning the inland commodities, aswell to be drawen from this land, as from the exceeding large Countries adioyning: there is nothing which our East and Northerly countreis of Europe doe yeeld, but the like also may be made in them as plentifully by time and industrie: Namely, rosen, pitche, tarre, soapeashes, dealboord, mastes for shippes, hides, furres, flaxe, hempe, cozne, cables, cordage, linen cloth, mettals and many more. All which the Countries will afoarde, and the soyle is apt to yeelde.

The trees for the most in those South parts, are firretrees, pine and Cypresse, all yeelding gumme and turpentine.

Cherrie trees bearing fruit no bigger then a small pease. Also peare trees but fruitlesse. Other trees of some sortes to vs vnknowen.

The soyle along the coast is not deepe of earth, bringing foorth abundantly peason small, yet good feeding for cattle. Roses passing sweete, like vnto our muske roses in forme, raspases, a berrie we call hurts, good and holesome to eate. The grasse and hearbe doth fat sheepe in very short space, proued by English marchants which haue caried sheepe thither for fresh vitaile, & had them raised exceeding fat in lesse then 3. weekes. Peason which our countreymen haue sowen in the time of May, haue come vp faire, & bene gathered in the beginning of August, of which our Generall had a present acceptable for the rarenesse, being the first fruits comming vp by art and industrie in that desolate and inhabited land.

Lakes or pooles of fresh water, both on the toppes of mountaines and in the valleis. In which are said to be muskels not vnlike to haue pearle, which I had put in triall, if by mischance falling vnto me, I had not bene letted from that and other good experiments I was minded to make.

Foule both of water & land in great plentie and diuersitie. Al kinde of greene foule: Others as bigge as bustards, yet not the same. A great white foule called of some a Gaunt.

Upon the land diuers sorts of haukes, as faulcons, and others by report: Partridges most plentifully larger then ours, gray and white of colour, and rough footed like doues, which our men after one flight did kil with cougels, they were so fat and vnable to flie. Birds some like blackbirds, linnets, canary birds, and others very small. Beasts of sundry kinds, red deare, buttolses or a beast it seemeth by the tract and foote very large in maner of an oxe. Beares, ounces or leopards, some greater & some lesser, wolfes, foxes, which to the Northward a litle further are blacke, whose furre is esteemed in some Countreis of Europe very rich. Otters, beuers, marternes: And in the opinion of most men that saw it, the General had brought vnto him a Sable aliue, which he sent vnto his brother Sir Iohn Gilbert knight of Deuonshire: but it was neuer deliuered, as after I vnderstood. We could not obserue the hundreth part of creatures in those vnhabited landes: but these mentioned may induce vs to glorifie the magnificent God, who hath superabundantly repleniſhed the earth with creatures seruing for the vse of man, though man hath not vsed the fift part of the same, which the more doth aggrauate the fault and foolish slouth in many of our nation, chusing rather to liue indirectly, and very miserably to liue and die within this Realme pestered with inhabitants, then to aduenture as becommeth men, to obteine a habitation in those remote landes, in

New found land doth minister commodities abundantly for art and industrie.

which Nature very prodigally doth minister vnto mens endeuors, and for art to worke vpon.

For besides these already recounted and infinite moe, the mountaines generally make shewe of mineral substance: Iron very common, lead, & some where copper. I wil not auere of richer mettals: albeit, by the circumstance following, more then hope may be conceiued thereof.

For amongst other charges giuen to inquire out the singularities of this countrey, the Generall was most curious in the search of mettals, commanding the minerall man and refiner, especially to be diligent. The same was a Saxon borne, honest, and religious, named Daniel. Who

after

after ſearch brought at firſt ſome ſorts of oare, ſeeming rather to be yron then other mettall. The next time he found oare, which with no ſmall ſhew of contentment he deliuered vnto the General, vſing proteſtation, that if ſiluer were the thing which might ſatiſfie the General & his followers, there it was, aduiſing him to ſeeke no further: the peril whereof hee vndertooke vpon his life (as deare vnto him as the Crowne of England vnto her Maieſtie, that I may vſe his owne words) if it fell not out accordingly. Siluer oare brought vnto the General.

My ſelfe at this inſtant liker to die then to liue, by a miſchance, could not follow this confident opinion of our refiner to my owne ſatisfaction: but afterward demanding our Generals opinion therein, and to haue ſome part of the oare, he replied: Content your ſelfe, I haue ſeene ynough, and were it but to ſatiſfie my priuate humor, I would proceed no further. The promiſe vnto my friends, and neceſſitie, to bring alſo the South countreis within compaſſe of my Patent (neere expired) as we haue already done theſe North parts, do onely perſwade me further. And touching the oare, I haue ſent it aboorde, whereof I would haue no ſpeach to be made ſo long as we remaine within harbor being here both Portingals, Biſcayes and Frenchmen not farre off, from whome muſt be kept any bruite or muttering of ſuch matter. When we are at ſea proofe ſhalbe made: if it be to our deſire, we may returne the ſooner hither againe. Whoſe anſwere I iudged reaſonable, and contenting me well: wherewith I will conclude this narration and deſcription of the New found-land, and proceede to the reſt of our voyage, which ended tragically. Reaſons why no further ſearch was made for the ſiluer mine.

WHile the better ſort of vs were ſeriouſly occupied in repairing our wants, and contriuing of matters for the commoditie of our voyage: others of an other ſort & diſpoſition, were plotting of miſchiefe. Some caſting to ſteale away our ſhipping by night, watching opportunitie by the Generals and captaines lying on the ſhoare: whoſe conſpiracies diſcouered, they were preuented. Others drew together in company, and caried away out of the harbors adioyning, a ſhip laden with fiſh, ſetting the poore men on ſhoare. A great many more of our people ſtole into the woods to hide themſelues, attending time and meanes to returne home by ſuch ſhipping as dayly departed from the coaſt. Some were ſicke of fluxes, and many dead: and in briefe, by one meanes or other our company was diminiſhed, and many by the Generall licenſed to returne home. Inſomuch as after we had renewed our people, reſolued to ſee an ende of our voyage, we grewe ſcant of men to furniſh all our ſhipping: it ſeemed good therefore vnto the Generall to leaue the Swallowe with ſuch prouiſion as might be ſpared for tranſporting home the ſicke people. Wilde meanor in our company.

The Captaine of the Delight or Admirall returned into Englande, in whoſe ſteade was appointed Captaine, Maurice Browne, before Captaine of the Swallowe: who alſo brought with him into the Delight, all his men of the Swallowe, which before haue bene noted of outrage perpetrated and committed vpon fiſhermen there mette at ſea. God brought together theſe men into the ſhip, ordained to periſh, who before had committed ſuch outrage.

The Generall made choiſe to goe in his frigate the Squirrell, (whereof the Captaine alſo was amongſt them that returned into England,) the ſame frigate being moſt conuenient to diſcouer vpon the coaſt, and to ſearche into euery harbour or creeke, which a great ſhippe could not doe. Therefore the frigate was prepared with her nettings and fights, and ouer charged with baſes and ſuch ſmall Ordinance, more to giue a ſhewe, then with iudgement to foreſee vnto the ſafetie of her and the men, which afterward was an occaſion alſo of their ouerthrow. Why ſir H. Gilbert went in the frigate.

Nowe hauing made ready our ſhipping, that is to ſay, the Delight, the golden Hinde, and the Squirrell, and put aboorde our prouiſion, which was wines, bread or ruſke, fiſhe wette and drie, ſweete oyles: beſides many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons, barrelled and ſuch like: Alſo wee had other neceſſary prouiſions for trimming our ſhippes, nettes and lines to fiſhe withall, boates or pinneſſes fit for diſcouerie. In briefe, wee were ſupplied of our wants commodiouſly, as if we had bene in a Countrey or ſome Citie populous and plentifull of all things. Liberalitie of the Portingals.

We departed from this harbour of S. Iohns vpon Tueſday the twentieth of Auguſt, which we found by exact obſeruation to be in 47. degrees 40. minutes. And the next day by night we were at Cape Race, 25. leagues from the ſame harborough. Auguſt 20. S. Johns in 47. deg. 40. min.

This Cape lyeth South Southweſt from S. Iohns: it is a low land, being off from the Cape about halfe a league: within the ſea, riſeth vp a rocke againſt the point of the Cape, which thereby is eaſily knowen: It is in latitude 46. deg. 25. min. Cape Race in 46. deg. 25. min.

Under this Cape we were becalmed a ſmall time, during which we layde out hookes and lines to take codde, and drew in leſſe then two houres, fiſhe ſo large and in ſuch abundance, that many dayes after we fedde vpon no other prouiſion. Fiſh large and plentiful.

From hence we ſhaped our courſe vnto the Iſland of Sabla, if conueniently it would ſo fall out, alſo directly to Cape Britton.

Cattel in the Iſle of Sabla.

Sabla lieth to the Seaward of Cape Britton about 25. leagues, whither we were determined to goe vpon intelligence wee had of a Portingall, (during our abode in S. Iohns,) who was himſelfe preſent, when the Portingals (aboue 30. yeeres paſt) did put into the ſame Iſlande both Neat and ſwine to breede, which were ſince exceedingly multiplied. This ſeemed vnto vs very happy tidings, to haue in an Iſlande lying ſo neere vnto the maine, which wee intended to plant vpon, ſuch ſtore of cattel, whereby we might at al times conueniently be relieued of victual, and ſerued of ſtoare for breed.

In this courſe wee trended along the coaſt, which from Cape Race ſtretcheth into the Northweſt, making a baye, which ſome called Trepaſſa. Then goeth out againe towarde the Weſt, and maketh a point, which with Cape Race lie in maner Eaſt and Weſt. But this point inclineth to the North: to the Weſt of which goeth in the bay of Placentia. We ſent men on land to take view

Good ſoile.

of the ſoyle along this coaſt, whereof they made good report, and ſome of them had will to be planted there. They ſawe growing peaſe in great abundance euery where.

The diſtance betweene Cape Race, and Cape Britton is 100. leagues. In which Nauigation we ſpent 8. dayes: hauing many times the wind indifferent good, yet could we neuer attaine ſight of any land all that time, ſeeing we were hindered by the currant. At laſt we fel into ſuch flats and dangers, that hardly any of vs eſcaped: where neuertheleſſe we loſt our Admiral with all the men and prouiſion, not knowing certainly the place. Yet for inducing men of ſkill to make coniecture, by our courſe and way we held from Cape Race thither, And thereby the flats and dangers may be inſerted in ſea Cards, for warning to others that may follow the ſame courſe hereafter: I haue ſet downe the beſt reckonings that were kept by expert men, William Coxe Maſter of the Hind, and Iohn Paul his mate, both of Limehouſe.

Reckonings kept in our courſe from Cape Race towards *the Iſland of Sabla, or Cape Britton, to the time and* place where we loſt our Admirall.

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
	Weſt and by South,	25.
	Weſt Northweſt,	25.
	Weſt Northweſt,	9.
	South Southweſt,	10.
	Southweſt,	12.
	South Southweſt,	10.
Auguſt 29.	Weſt Northweſt,	12. Here we loſt our Admirall.

Summe of theſe leagues, 117.

The reckoning of Iohn Paul Maſters mate, *from Cape Race.*

Auguſt 22.	Weſt,	14. leagues.
23.	Northweſt and by Weſt,	9.
24.	Southweſt & by South,	5.
25.	Weſt and by South,	40.
26.	Weſt and by North,	7.
27.	Southweſt,	3.
28.	Southweſt,	9.
	Southweſt,	7.
	Weſt Southweſt,	7.
29.	Northweſt and by Weſt,	20. Here we loſt the Admiral.

Summe of all theſe leagues 121.

Our courſe we helde in clearing vs of theſe flats was Eaſt Southeaſt, and Southeaſt, and South 14. leagues with a marueilous ſcant winde.

The

The manner how our Admirall was loſt.

VPon Tewſdaye the 27. of Auguſt, toward the euening, our Generall cauſed them in his frigat to ſownd, who found white ſande at 35. fathome, beeing then in latitude about 44. degrees. Auguſt. 27.

Wenſday towards night, the winde came South, and we bare with the lande all that night, Weſt northweſt, contrarie to the minde of Maſter Coxe: neuertheles wee followed the Admirall, depriued of power to auoide a miſchiefe, which by no contradiction coulde be brought to holde other courſe, alleaging they could not make the ſhippe to worke better, nor to lye otherwaies. 28

The euening was faire, and pleaſant, yet not without token of ſtorme to enſue, and moſt part of this Wenſday night, like the Swanne that ſingeth before her death, they in the Admirall, or Delight, continued in ſounding of Trumpets, with Drummes, and Fifes: alſo winding the Cornets, Haughtboyes: and in the ende of their iolitie, left with the battell and ringing of dolefull knels. Predictions before the wracke.

Towards the euening alſo, we caught in the Golden Hinde a very mightie Porpoſe, with a harping yron, hauing firſt ſtriken diuers of them, and brought away part of their fleſh, ſticking vpon the yron, but could recouer onely that one. Theſe alſo paſſing through the Ocean, in heardes, did portend ſtorme. I omit to recite friuolous reportes by them in the Frigat, of ſtrange voyces, the ſame night, which ſcarred ſome from the helme.

Thurſday the 29. of Auguſt, the winde roſe, and blewe vehemently at South and by Eaſt, bringing withall raine, and thicke miſte, that wee could not ſee a Cable length before vs. And betimes in the morning, wee were altogether runne and folded in amongeſt flats and ſandes, amongeſt which, wee found ſhoale and deepe in euery three or foure ſhippes length, after wee beganne to ſownd: but firſt wee were vpon them vnwares, vntill Maſter Coxe looking out, diſcerned (in his iudgement) white cliffs, crying (lande) withall, though we could not afterward deſcry any land, it being very likely the breaking of the ſea white, which ſeemed to be white cliffes, through the haſe and thicke weather. 29 Loſſe of our Admirall.

Immediatly tokens were giuen vnto the Delight, to caſt about to Seaward, which, being the greater ſhippe, and of burden 120. tunnes, was yet formoſt vpon the breach, keeping ſo il watch, that they knewe not the danger, before they felt the ſame, too late to recouer it: for preſently the Admirall ſtroke a grounde, and had ſoone after her ſterne and hinder partes beaten in peeces: whereupon the reſt (that is to ſay, the Frigat, in which was the Generall and the Golden Hinde) caſt about Eaſt ſoutheaſt, bearing to the South, euen for our liues into the windes eye, becauſe that way carried vs to Seaward. Making out from this danger, we ſownded one while ſeuen fathome, then fiue fathome, then foure fathome and leſſe, againe deeper, immediatly foure fathome, then but three fathome, the ſea going mightily and high. At laſt we recouered (God be thanked) in ſome deſpaire, to ſea roome enough.

In this diſtreſſe, wee had vigilant eie vnto the Admirall, whom we ſawe caſt away, without power to giue the men ſuccour, neither could wee eſpie any of the men that leaped ouer boord to ſaue themſelues, either in the ſame Pinneſſe or Cocke, or vppon rafters, and ſuch like meanes, preſenting themſelues to men in thoſe extremities: for we deſired to ſaue the men by euery poſſible meanes. But all in vaine, ſith God had determined their ruine: yet all that day, and part of the next, we beate vp and downe as neere vnto the wracke as was poſſible for vs, looking out, if by good hap we might eſpie any of them.

This was a heauie and grieuous euent, to loſe at one blowe our chiefe ſhippe fraighted with great prouiſion, gathered together with much trauell, care, long time, and difficultie. But more was the loſſe of our men, which periſhed, to the number almoſt of a hundreth ſoules. Amongeſt whome was drowned a learned man, an Hungarian, borne in the Citie of Buda, called thereof Budæus, who of pietie and zeale to good attemptes, aduentured in this action, minding to record in the Latine tongue, the geſts and things worthy of remembrance, happening in this diſcouerie, to the honour of our nation, the ſame being adorned with the eloquent ſtile of this Orator, and rare Poet of our time. Budeus a Hungarian.

Here alſo periſhed our Saxon Refiner and Diſcouerer of inеſtimable riches, as it was left amongſt ſome of vs in vndoubted hope. Daniel a refiner of mettals.

No leſſe heauie was the loſſe of the Captaine Mawrice Browne, a vertuous, honeſt, and diſcreete Gentleman, ouerſeene onely in libertie giuen late before to men that ought to haue bene reſtrained, who ſhewed himſelfe a man reſolued, and neuer vnprepared for death, as by his laſt act

of

of this tragedie appeared, by report of them that escaped this wracke miraculously, as shall be hereafter declared. For when all hope was past of recouering the shippe, and that men began to giue ouer, and to saue themselues, the Captaine was aduised before to shift also for his life, by the Pinnesse at the sterne of the shippe: but refusing that counsell, would not giue example with the first to leaue the shippe, but vsed all meanes to exhort his people not to despaire, nor so to leaue off their labour, chosing rather to die, then to incurre infame, by forsaking his charge, which then might be thought to haue perished through his default, shewing an ill president vnto his men, by leauing the shippe first himselfe. With this minde he mounted vpon the highest decke, where he attended imminent death, and vnauoidable: how long, I leaue it to God, who withdraweth not his comfort from his seruants at such times.

A wonderfull scape and deliuerance.
A great distresse.
A desperate resolution.

In the meane season, certaine, to the number of foureteene persons, leaped into a small Pinnesse (the bignes of a Thames barge, which was made in the New found land) cut off the rope wherewith it was towed, and committed themselues to Gods mercie, amiddest the storme, and rage of sea and windes, destitute of foode, not so much as a droppe of fresh water. The boate seeming ouercharged in foule weather with companie, Edward Headly a valiant souldier, and well reputed of his companie, preferring the greater to the lesser, thought better that some of them perished then all, made this motion to cast lots, and them to be throwen ouer board vpon whom the lots fell, thereby to lighten the boate, which otherwaies seemed impossible to liue, offered himselfe with the first, content to take his aduenture gladly: which neuertheles Richard Clarke, that was Master of the Admirall, and one of this number, refused, aduising to abide Gods pleasure, who was able to saue all, as well as a fewe.

The boate was carried before the winde, continuing sixe daies and nights in the Ocean, and arriued at last with the men (aliue, but weake) vppon the New found land, sauing that the foresaide Headly, (who had bene late sicke) and an other called of vs Brasile, of his trauell into those Countries, died by the way, famished, and lesse able to holde out, then those of better health. For such was these poore mens extremitie, in colde and wette, to haue no better sustenance then their owne vrine, for sixe daies together.

Two men famished.

Thus whome God deliuered from drowning, hee appointed to be famished, who doth giue limits to mans times, and ordaineth the manner and circumstance of dying: whome againe he will preserue, neither Sea, nor famine, can confound. For those that arriued vppon the Newe founde land, were brought into France by certaine French men, then being vpon that coast.

After this heauie chance, we continued in beating the sea vp & downe, expecting when the weather would cleere vp, that wee might yet beare in with the land, which we iudged not farre off, either the continent or some Iland. For we many times, and in sundry places, found ground at 50. 45. 40. fathomes, and lesse. The ground comming vpon our lead, beeing sometimes oazie sande, and otherwhile a broad shell, with a little sand about it.

Causes mouing vs to returne home againe.

Our people lost courage daily after this ill successe, the weather continuing thicke and blustering, with increase of colde, Winter drawing on, which tooke from them all hope of amendment, setling an assurance of worse weather to growe vpon vs euery day. The Leeside of vs laye full of flatts and daungers inevitable, if the winde blewe harde at South. Some againe doubted we were ingulfed in the Baye of S. Laurence, the coast full of dangers, and vnto vs vnknowen. But aboue all, prouision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone, with losse of our Admirall.

Those in the Frigat were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly: Whereupon they besought the Generall to returne for England, before they all perished. And to them of the Golden Hinde, they made signes of their distresse, pointing to their mouthes, and to their clothes thinne and ragged: then immediatly they also of the Golden Hinde, grewe to be of the same opinion and desire to returne home.

The former reasons hauing also moued the Generall to haue compassion of his poore men, in whome he sawe no want of good will, but of meanes fitte to performe the action they came for, resolued vpon retire: and calling to the Captaine and Master of the Hinde, he peelded them many reasons, inforcing this vnexpected returne, withall protesting himselfe greatly satisfied with that he had seene, and knew already.

Reiterating these wordes, Be content, we haue seene enough, and take no care of expence past: I will set you foorth royally the next Spring, if God send vs safe home. Therefore I pray you let vs no longer striue here, where we fight against the elements.

Omitting circumstance, how vnwillingly the Captaine & Master of the Hind condescended to

this

this motion, his owne companie can teſtifie: yet comforted with the Generals promiſes, of a ſpeede returne at Spring, and induced by other apparant reaſons, proouing an impoſſibilitie, to accompliſh the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

So vpon Saturday in the afternoone the 31. of Auguſt, we chaunged our courſe and returned backe for England, at which very inſtant, euen in winding about, there paſſed alongſt betweene vs and towards the land we now forſooke, a very lion to our ſeeming, in ſhape, haire and colour, not ſwimming after the maner of a beaſt by mooving of his feete, but rather ſliding vpon the water with his whole body (excepting the legs) in ſight, neither yet diuing vnder, and againe riſing aboue the water, as the maner is, of Whales, Dolphins, Tunie, Porpoſes, and all other fiſh: but confidently ſhewing himſelfe aboue water without hiding: Notwithſtanding, we preſented our ſelues in open view and geſture to amaſe him, as all creatures will be commonly at a ſudden gaze and ſight of men. Thus he paſſed along turning his heade to and fro, pawning and gaping wide, with ougly demonſtration of long teeth, and glaring eies, and to bidde vs a farewell (comming right againſt the hinde) he ſent foorth a horrible voyce, roaring or bellowing as doeth a lion, which ſpectacle we all beheld ſo farre as we were able to diſcerne the ſame, as men prone to wonder at euery ſtrange thing, as this doubtleſſe was, to ſee a lion in the Ocean ſea, or fiſh in ſhape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the generall himſelfe, I forbeare to deliuer: But he tooke it for Bonum Omen, reioycing that he was to warre againſt ſuch an enemie, if it were the diuell. *Auguſt. 31.* *A monſter of the ſea.*

The wind was large for England at our returne, but very high, and the ſea rough, inſomuch as the Frigat wherein the Generall went, was almoſt ſwalowed vp.

Munday in the after noone we paſſed in ſight of Cape Race, hauing made as much way in little more then two dayes and nights back againe, as before we had done in eight dayes from Cape Race, vnto the place where our ſhip periſhed. Which hinderance thitherward, and ſpeed backe againe, is to be imputed vnto the ſwift currant, as well as to the windes, which we had more large in our returne. *September 2.*

This Munday the Generall came aboord the Hind, to haue the Surgeon of the Hind to dreſſe his foote, which he hurt by treading vpon a naile: At what time we comforted each other with hope of hard ſucceſſe to be all paſt, and of the good to come. So agreeing to carry out lights alwaies by night, that we might keepe together: he departed into his Frigat, being by no meanes to be entreated to tarry in the Hind, which had bene more for his ſecuritie. Immediatly after, followed a ſharpe ſtorme, which we ouerpaſſed for that time. Praiſed be God.

The weather faire, the Generall came aboord the Hinde againe, to make merrie together with the Captaine, Maſter, and companie, which was the laſt meeting, and continued there from morning vnto night. During which time, there paſſed ſundry diſcourſes, touching affaires paſt, and to come, lamenting greatly the loſſe of his great ſhippe, more of the men, but moſt of all, of his bookes and notes, and what els I know not, for which he was out of meaſure grieued, the ſame doubtles being ſome matter of more importance then his bookes, which I could not drawe from him: yet by circumſtance gathered, the ſame to be the oare which Daniel the Saxon had brought vnto him in the Newe found land. Whatſoeuer it was, the remembrance touched him ſo deepe, as not able to containe himſelfe, he beate his boy in great rage, euen at the ſame time, ſo long after the miſcarrying of the great ſhip, becauſe vpon a faire day, when we were becalmed vpon the coaſt of New found land, neere vnto Cape Race, he ſent his boye aboord the Admirall, to fetch certaine things: amongſt which, this being chiefe, was yet forgotten and left behind. After which time, he could neuer conueniently ſend againe aboord the great ſhip, much leſſe he doubted her ruine ſo neere at hand. *Our laſt conference with our Generall.* *Circumſtances to be well obſerued in our Generall, importing the oare to be of a ſiluer Myne.*

Herein my opinion was better confirmed diuerſly, and by ſundry coniectures, which maketh me haue the greater hope of this riche mine. For whereas the Generall had neuer before good conceite of theſe north partes of the world: now his minde was wholly fixed vpon Newe founde land. And as before he refuſed not to grant aſſignements liberally to them that required the ſame into theſe north partes, Now he became contrarily affected, refuſing to make any ſo large grants, eſpecially of S. Iohns, which certaine Engliſh merchants made ſuite for, offering to employ their money and trauell vpon the ſame: yet neither by their owne ſuite, nor of others of his owne companie, whome he ſeemed willing to pleaſure, it could be obtained.

Alſo laying downe his determination in the Spring following, for diſpoſing of his voyage then to be reattempted: he aſſigned the Captaine and Maſter of the Golden Hind, vnto the ſouth diſcouerie, and reſerued vnto himſelfe the north, affirming that this voyage had wonne his heart from the ſouth, and that he was now become a northren man altogether.

Laſt

Last, being demanded what meanes he had at his arriuall in England, to compasse the charges of so great preparation, as he intended to make the next Spring: hauing determined vpon two fleetes, one for the South, another for the North: Leaue that to me (he replied) I will aske a penie of no man. I will bring good tidings vnto her Maiestie, who will be so gratious, to lende mee 10000. pounds, willing vs therefore to be of good cheere: for he did thanke God (he said) with all his heart, for that he had seene, the same being enough for vs all, and that wee needed not to seeke any further. And these last words he would often repeate, with demonstration of great feruencie of mind, being himselfe very confident, and setled in beliefe of inestimable good by this voyage: which the greater number of his followers neuertheless mistrusted altogether, not being made partakers of those secretes, which the Generall kept vnto himselfe. Yet all of them that are liuing, may be witnesses of his wordes and protestations, which sparingly I haue deliuered.

Leauing the issue of this good hope vnto God, who knoweth the trueth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light: I will hasten to the ende of this tragedie, which must be knit vp in the person of our Generall. And as it was Gods ordinance vpon him, euen so the vehement perswasion and intreatie of his friends could nothing auaile, to diuert him from a wilfull resolution of going through in his Frigat, which was ouercharged vpon their deckes, with fights, nettings, and small artillerie, too cumbersome for so small a boate, that was to passe through the Ocean sea at that season of the yeere, when by course we might expect much stormie and foule weather, whereof in deede we had enough.

Wilfulnes in the Generall.

But when he was intreated by the Captaine, Master, and other his well willers of the Hinde, not to venter in the Frigat, this was his answere: I will not forsake my little companie going homeward, with whome I haue passed so many stormes, and perils. And in very trueth, hee was vrged to be so ouer hard, by hard reports giuen of him, that he was afraid of the sea, albeit this was rather rashnes, then aduised resolution, to preferre the winde of a vaine report to the weight of his owne life.

A token of a good mind.

Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had prouision out of the Hinde, such as was wanting aboord his Frigat. And so we committed him to Gods protection, and set him aboord his Pinnesse. We being more then 300. leagues onward of our way home.

By that time we had brought the Ilands of Asores South of vs, yet we then keeping much to the North, vntill we had got into the height and eleuation of England: we met with very foule weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high Pyramid wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceede either of hilly grounds high and lowe within that sea, (as we see hils and dales vpon the land) vpon which the seas doe mount and fall: or else the cause proceedeth of diuersitie of winds, shifting often into sundry points: al which hauing power to moue the great Ocean, which againe is not presently setled, so many seas doe encounter togither, as there had bene diuersitie of windes. Howsoeuer it commeth to passe, men which all their life time had occupied the Sea, neuer sawe more outragious Seas. We had also vpon our maine yarde, an apparition of a little fire by night, which Sea men doe call Castor and Pollux. But we had onely one, which they take an euill signe of more tempest: the same is vsuall in stormes.

Munday the ninth of September, in the afternoone, the Frigat was neere cast away, oppressed by waues, yet at that tyme recouered: and giuing foorth signes of ioye, the Generall sitting abaft with a booke in his hande, cryed out vnto vs in the Hinde (so oft as wee did approche within hearing:) Wee are as neere to heauen by Sea, as by lande. Reiterating the same speeche, well beseeming a souldier, resolute in Iesus Christ, as I can testifie hee was.

A resolute and Christianlike saying in a distresse.

The same Mundaye night, about twelue of the clocke, or not long after, the Frigat beeing a heade of vs in the Golden Hinde, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment, wee lost the sight, and withall our watch cryed, the Generall was cast away, which was too true. For in that moment, the Frigat was deuoured and swallowed vppe of the Sea, yet still wee looked out all that night, and euer after, vntill wee arriued vppon the coast of Englaunde: Omitting no small saile at Sea, vnto which wee gaue not the tokens betweene vs, agreed vppon, to haue perfect knowledge of each other, if wee shoulde at any time bee separated.

Sir Humfrey G. drowned.

In great torment of weather, and perill of drowning, it pleased God to send safe home the Golden Hind, which arriued in Falmouth, the 22. day of September, being Sunday, not without as great danger escaped in a flawe, comming from southeast, with such thicke mist, that we could not discerne land, to put in right with the hauen.

Arriuall in England of the Golden Hind.

From Falmouth we went to Dartmouth, and lay there at anker before the range, while ye captaine

taine went a land, to inquire if there had bene any newes of the Frigat, which ſailing well, might happily haue bene before vs. Alſo to certifie Sir Iohn Gilbert, brother vnto the Generall, of our hard ſucceſſe, whome the Captaine deſired (while his men were yet aboord him, and were witneſſes of all occurrents in that voyage,) It might pleaſe him to take the examination of euery perſon particularly, in diſcharge of his and their faithfull endeuour. Sir Iohn Gilbert refuſed ſo to doe, holding himſelfe ſatiſfied with report made by the Captaine: and not altogether deſpairing of his brothers ſafetie, offered friendſhippe and curteſie to the Captaine, and his companie, requiring to haue his Barke brought into the harbour: in furtherance whereof, a boate was ſent to helpe to tow her in. A fit motion of the Captain vnto ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

Neuertheles, when the Captaine returned aboord his ſhip, he founde his men bent to depart, euery man to his home: and then the winde ſeruing to proceede higher vpon the coaſt: they demanded money to carry them home, ſome to London, others to Harwiche, and elſe where, (if the barke ſhould be carried into Dartmouth, and they diſcharged, ſo farre from home:) or elſe to take benefite of the wind, then ſeruing to drawe neerer home, which ſhould be a leſſe charge vnto the Captaine, and great eaſe vnto the men, hauing els farre to goe.

Reaſon accompanied with neceſſitie perſwaded the Captaine, who ſent his lawfull excuſe and cauſe of his ſudden departure vnto ſir Iohn Gilbert, by the boate of Dartmouth, and from thence the Golden Hind departed, and tooke harbour at Waimouth. All the men tired with the tedioufnes of ſo vnprofitable a voyage to their ſeeming: in which their long expence of time, much toile and labour, hard diet, and continuall hazard of life was vnrecompenſed: their Captaine neuertheles, by his great charges, impaired greatly thereby, yet comforted in the goodnes of God, and his vndoubted prouidence following him in all that voyage, as it doth alwaies thoſe at other times, whoſoeuer haue confidence in him alone. Yet haue we more neere feeling and perſeuerance of his powerfull hand and protection, when God doth bring vs together with others into one ſame peril, in which he leaueth them, and deliuereth vs, making vs thereby the beholders, but not partakers of their ruine. An ill recompenſe.

Euen ſo, amongeſt very many difficulties, diſcontentments, mutinies, conſpiracies, ſickneſſes, mortalitie, ſpoilings, and wracks by ſea, which were afflictions, more then in ſo ſmall a Fleete, or ſo ſhort a time may be ſuppoſed: albeit true in euery particularitie, as partly by the former relation may be collected, and ſome I ſuppreſſed with ſilence, for their ſakes liuing, it pleaſed God to ſupport this companie, (of which onely one man died of a maladie inueterate, and long infected:) the reſt kept together in reaſonable contentment and concord, beginning, continuing, and ending the voyage, which none els did accompliſh, either not pleaſed with the action, or impatient of wants, or preuented by death.

Thus haue I deliuered the contents of the enterpriſe and laſt action of ſir Humfrey Gilbert knight, faithfully, for ſo much as I thought meete to be publiſhed: wherein may alwaies appeare, (though he be extinguiſhed) ſome ſparkes of his vertues, he remaining firme and reſolute in a purpoſe by all pretence honeſt and godly, as was this, to diſcouer, poſſeſſe, and to reduce vnto the ſeruice of God, and Chriſtian pietie, thoſe remote and heathen Countries of America, not actually poſſeſſed by Chriſtians, and moſt rightly appertaining vnto the Crowne of England: vnto the which, as his zeale deſerueth high commendation: euen ſo, he may iuſtly be taxed of temeritie and preſumption (rather) in two reſpects. Conſtancie in ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

Firſt, when yet there was onely probabilitie, not a certaine and determinate place of habitation ſelected, neither any demonſtration of commoditie there in eſſe, to induce his followers: neuertheles, he both was too prodigall of his owne patrimonie, and too careles of other mens expences, to imploy both his and their ſubſtance vpon a ground imagined good. The which failing, very like his aſſociats were promiſed, and made it their beſt reckoning to be ſaued ſome other way, which pleaſed not God to proſper in his firſt and great preparation. His temeritie and preſumption.

Secondly, when by his former preparation he was enfeebled of abilitie and credite, to performe his deſignements, as it were impatient to abide in expectation better opportunitie and meanes, which God might raiſe, he thruſt himſelfe againe into the action, for which he was not fitte, preſuming, the cauſe pretended on Gods behalfe, would carry him to the deſired ende. Into which, hauing thus made reentrie, he could not yeeld againe to withdraw, though he ſawe no encouragement to proceede, leaſt his credite foiled in his firſt attempt, in a ſecond ſhould vtterly be diſgraced. Betweene extremities, hee made a right aduenture, putting all to God and good fortune, and worſt, refuſed not to entertaine euery perſon and meanes whatſoeuer, to furniſh out this expedition, the ſucceſſe whereof hath bene declared.

But ſuch is the infinite bountie of God, who from euery euill deriueth good. For beſides that

fruite

fruite may growe in time of our trauelling into those northwest lands, the crosses, turmoiles, and afflictions, both in the preparation and execution of this voyage, did correct the intemperate humors, which before we noted to be in this Gentleman, and made vnsauorie, and lesse delightfull his other manifold vertues.

Afflictions needefull in the children of God.

Then as he was refined, and made neerer drawing vnto the image of God: so it pleased the diuine will, to resume him vnto himselfe, whither both his, and euery other high and noble minde, haue alwaies aspired.

Ornatissimo viro, Magistro Richardo Hakluyto Oxonij in *Collegio ædis Christi, artium, & Philosophiæ Magistro, amico,* & fratri suo.

S. Non statueram ad te scribere, cùm in mentem veniret promissum literarum tuarum. Putabas te superiore iam Iunio nos subsecuturum. Itaque de meo statu ex doctore Humfredo certiorem te fieri iusseram. Verùm sic tibi non esset satisfactum. Itaque scribam ad te ijsdem ferè verbis, quia noua meditari & συνονυμίζειν mihi hoc tempore non vacat. Vndecimo Iunij ex Anglia reuera tandem & seriò soluimus, portu & terra apud Plemuthum simul relictis. Classis quinque nauibus constabat, maxima, quam "frater Amiralij accommodauerat, ignotum quo cõsilio, statim tertio die à nobis se subduxit. Reliqui perpetuò coniunctim nauigauimus ad 23. Iulij, quo tempore magnis nebulis intercepto aspectu alii aliam viam tenuimus: nobis seorsim prima terra apparuit ad Calendas Augusti, ad gradum circiter 50. cùm vltrà 41. paucis antè diebus descendissemus spe Australium ventorum, qui tamen nobis suo tempore nunquam spirauêre. Insula est ea, quam vestri Penguin vocant, ab auium eiusdem nominis multitudine. Nos tamen nec aues vidimus, nec insulam accessimus ventis aliò vocantibus. Cæterùm conuenimus omnes in eundem locum paulò ante portum in quem communi consilio omnibus veniendum erat, idque intra duas horas, magna Dei benignitate & nostro gaudio. Locus situs est in Newfoundlandia, inter 47. & 48. gradum, diuum Ioannem vocant. Ipse Admiralius propter multitudinem hominum, & angustiam nauis paulò afflictiorem comitatum habuit, & iam duos dysentericis doloribus amisit: de cæteris bona spes est. Ex nostris (nam ego me Mauricio Browno verè generoso iuueni me coniunxeram) duo etiam casu quodam submersi sunt. Cæteri salui & longè firmiores. Ego nunquam sanior. In hunc locum tertio Augusti appulimus: quinto autem ipse Admiralius has regiones in suam & regni Angliæ possessionem potestatemq; vendicauit, latis quibusdam legibus de religione & obsequio Reginæ Angliæ. Reficimur hoc tempore paulò hilarius & lautius. Certè enim & qualibus ventis vsi simus, & quàm fessi esse potuerimus tam longi temporis ratio docuerit, proinde nihil nobis deerit. Nam extra Anglos, 20. circiter naues Lusitanicas & Hispanicas nacti in hoc loco sumus: eæ nobis impares non patientur nos esurire. Angli etsi satis firmi, & à nobis tuti, authoritate regii diplomatis omni obsequio & humanitate prosequuntur. Nunc narrandi erant mores, regiones, & populi. Cæterùm quid narrem mi Hakluyte, quando præter solitudinem nihil video? Piscium inexhausta copia: inde huc commeantibus magnus quæstus. Vix hamus fundum attigit, illicò insigni aliquo onustus est. Terra vniuersa "montana & syluestris: arbores vt plurimùm pinus: eæ partim consenuêre, partim nunc adolescunt: magna pars vetustate collapsa, & aspectum terræ, & iter euntium ita impedit, vt nusquam progredi liceat. Herbæ omnes proceræ; sed rarò à nostris diuersę. Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inueni enim gramina, & spicas in similitudinem secales: & facilè cultura & satione in vsum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in syluis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suauitate. Vrsi circa tuguria nonnunquam apparent, & conficiuntur: sed albi sunt, vt mihi ex pellibus coniicere licuit, & minores quàm nostri. Populus an vllus sit in hac regione incertum est: Nec vllum vidi qui testari posset. (Et quis quęso posset, cùm ad longum progredi non liceat?) nec minùs ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus. Causa eadem est, etsi aspectus eorũ mineras latentes præ se ferat. Nos Admiralio authores fuimus syluas incendere, quo ad inspiciendam regionẽ spaciũ pateret: nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnũ incommodum allaturum videretur. Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septẽnium totũ pisces non comparuisse, ex acerbata maris vnda ex terebynthina, quę cõflagrantibus arboribus per riuulos defluebat. Cœlum hoc anni tempore ita feruidum est, vt nisi pisces, qui arefiunt ad solem, assidui inuertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint. Hyeme quàm

"Dominus Ralegh.

"In the south side of Newfound land, there is store of plaine and champion Countrey, as Richard Clark found.

The great heate of the same in summer.

quam frigidum ſit, magnæ moles glaciei in medio mari nos docuere. Relatum eſt à comitibus menſe Maio ſexdecim totos dies interdum ſe inter tantam glaciem hęſiſſe, vt 60. orgyas altę eſſent inſulę: quarum latera ſoli oppoſita cum liqueſcerent, libratione quadam vniuerſam molem ita inuerſam, vt quod antè pronum erat, ſupinum euaderet, magno pręſentium diſcrimine, vt conſentaneum eſt. Aer in terra mediocriter clarus eſt: ad orientem ſupra mare perpetuę nebulę: Et in ipſo mari circa Bancum (ſic vocant locum vbi quadraginta leucis à terra fundus attingitur, & piſces capi incipiunt) nullus ferme dies abſque pluuia. Expeditis noſtris neceſſitatibus in hoc loco, in Auſtrum (Deo iuuante) progrediemur, tantò indies maiori ſpe, quò plura de iis quas petimus regionibus commemorantur. Hęc de noſtris. Cupio de vobis ſcire: ſed metuo ne incaſſum. Imprimis autem quomodo Vntonus meus abſentiam meam ferat, pręter modum intelligere velim: Habebit noſtrum obſequium & officium paratum, quamdiu vixerimns. Reuera autem ſpero, hanc noſtram peregrinationem ipſius inſtituto vſui futuram. Nunc reſtat, vt me tuum putes, & quidem ita tuum, vt neminem magis. Iuuet dei filius labores noſtros eatenus, vt tu quoque participare poſsis. Vale amiciſsime, ſuauiſsime, ornatiſsime Hakluyte, & nos ama. In Newfundlandia apud portum Sancti Iohannis 6. Auguſti 1583.

Stephanus Parmenius
Budeius, tuus.

¶ *The ſame in Engliſh.*

To the worſhipfull, Maſter Richard Hakluyt at Oxforde in *Chriſtchurche Maſter of Art, and Philoſophie, his friend* and brother.

I Had not purpoſed to write to you, when the promiſe of your letters came to my mind: You thought in June laſt to haue followed vs your ſelfe, and therefore I had left order that you ſhould be aduertiſed of my ſtate, by Maſter Doctor Humfrey: but ſo you would not be ſatisfied: I will write therefore to you almoſt in the ſame words, becauſe I haue no leaſure at this time, to meditate new matters, and to vary or multiply words.

The 11. of June we ſet ſayle at length from Englande in good earneſt, and departed, leauing the hauen and lande behinde vs at Plymmouth: our Fleete conſiſted of fiue ſhippes: the greateſt, which the Admirals brother had lent vs, withdrew her ſelfe from vs the third day, wee knowe not vpon what occaſion: with the reſt wee ſayled ſtill together till the three and twentie of July: at which time our viewe of one another beeing intercepted by the great miſtes, ſome of vs ſayled one way, and ſome another: to vs alone the firſt lande appeared, the firſt of Auguſt, about the latitude of fiftye degrees, when as before wee had deſcended beyonde 41. degrees in hope of ſome Southerly windes, which notwithſtanding neuer blewe to vs, at any fitte time.

It is an Ilande which your men call Penguin, becauſe of the multitude of birdes of the ſame name. Yet wee neither ſawe any birdes, nor drewe neere to the lande, the windes ſeruing for our courſe directed to another place, but wee mett all together at that place a little before the Hauen, whereunto by common Counſell wee had determined to come, and that within the ſpace of two houres by the great goodneſſe of God, and to our great ioy. The place is ſituated in Newfound lande, betweene fortie ſeuen and fortie eight degrees, called by the name of Saint Iohns: the Admirall him ſelfe by reaſon of the multitude of the men, and the ſmalneſſe of his ſhippe, had his company ſomewhat ſickly, and had all ready loſt two of the ſame company, which died of the Flixe: of the reſt wee conceiue good hope. Of our company (for I ioyned my ſelfe with Maurice Browne, a very proper Gentleman) two perſons by a miſchance were drowned, the reſt are in ſafetie, and ſtrong, and for myne owne part I was neuer more healthy. Wee arriued at this place the third of Auguſt: and the firſt the Admirall tooke poſſeſſion of the Country, for himſelfe and the kingdome of England: hauing made and publiſhed certaine Lawes, concerning religion, and obedience to the Queene of England: at this time our fare is ſomewhat better, and daintier, then it was before: for in good ſooth, the experience of ſo long time hath taught vs what contrary windes wee haue founde, and

what great trauell we may endure hereafter: and therefore we will take such order, that wee will want nothing, for we founde in this place, about twenty Portingale, and Spanishe shippes, besides the shippes of the Englishe: which being not able to matche vs, suffer vs not to be hunger starued: the Englishe although they were of them selues stronge ynough, and safe from our force, yet seeing our auctoritie, by the Queenes letters patentes, they shewed vs all manner of dutie and humanitie.

The manner of this Countrey, and people remayne nowe to bee spoken of. But what shall I say, my good Haklupt, when I see nothing but a very wildernesse? of fishe here is incredible abundance, whereby great gayne growes to them, that trauell to these partes: the hooke is no sooner throwne out, but it is eftsoones drawne vp with some goodly fishe: the whole lande is full of hilles and woodes. The trees for the most part are Pynes and of them some are very olde, and some yong: a great part of them beeing fallen by reason of their age, doth so hynder the sighte of the Lande, and stoppe the way of those that seeke to trauell, that they can goe no whither: all the grasse here is long, and tall, and little differeth from ours. It seemeth also that the nature of this soyle is fitt for corne: for I founde certayne blades and eares in a manner bearded, so that it appeareth that by manuring and sowing, they may easelie bee framed for the vse of man: here are in the woodes bushe berries, or rather strawe berries growing vp like trees, of great sweetenesse. Beares also appeare about the fishers stages of the Countrie, and are sometimes killed, but they seeme to be white, as I coniectured by their skinnes, and somewhat lesse then ours. Whether there bee any people in this Countrey I know not, neither haue I seene any to witnesse it. And to say trueth who can, when as it is not possible to passe any whither? In like sort it is vnknowne, whether any mettals lye vnder the hilles: the cause is all one, although the very colour and hue of the hilles seeme to haue some mynes in them, we moued the Admirall to set the woods a fire, that so we might haue space, and entrance to take view of the Countrey, which motion did nothing displease him, were it not for feare of great inconuenience that might thereof insue: for it was reported and confirmed by verie credible persons, that when the like happened by chance in another Port, the fishe neuer came to the place about it, for the space of 7. whole yeere after, by reason of the waters made bytter by the turpentyne, and rosen of the trees, which ranne into the ryuers vpon the firing of them. The weather is so hot this time of the yeere, that except the very fish, which is layd out to be dryed by the sunne, be euery day turned, it cannot possibly be preserued from burning: but how cold it is in the winter, the great heapes, and mountaines of yce, in the middest of the Sea haue taught vs: some of our company report, that in May, they were sometimes kept in, with such huge yce, for 16. whole dayes together, as that the Islands thereof were threescore fathomes thicke, the sides whereof which were towarde the Sunne, when they were melted, the whole masse or heape was so inuerted and turned in manner of balancing, that that part which was before downeward rose vpwarde, to the great perill of those that are neere them, as by reason we may gather. The ayre vpon land is indifferent cleare, but at Sea towardes the East there is nothing els but perpetual mistes and in the Sea it selfe, about the Banke (for so they call the place where they find ground at fourty leagues distant from the shoare, and where they began to fishe) there is no day without rayne, when we haue serued, and supplyed our necessitie in this place, we purpose by the helpe of God to passe towards the south, with so much the more hope euery day, by how much greater the thinges are, that are reported of those Countries, which we go to discouer. Thus much touching our estate.

Now I desire to know somewhat concerning you, but I feare in vaine, but specially I desire out of measure to know how my Patrone Master Henry Umpton doth take my absence: my obedience, and dutie shall alwaies be readie towardes him as long as I liue: but indeede I hope, that this iourney of ours shalbe profitable to his intentions. It remayneth that you thinke me to be still yours, and so yours as no mans more. The sonne of God blesse all our labors, so farre, as that you your selfe may be partaker of our blessing. Adewe, my most friendly, most sweete, most vertuous Haklupt: In Newfound lande, at Saint Iohns Port, the sixt of August. 1583.

Steuen Parmenius of
Buda, yours.

A relation of Richard Clarke of Weymouth, maſter of the ſhippe *called the Delight, going for the diſcouerie of Norumbega with Sir* Humfrey Gilbert 1583. Written in excuſe of that fault of caſting away the ſhippe and men imputed to his ouerſight.

DEparting out of Saint Iohns Harborough in the Newfound land the twentith of Auguſt vnto Cape Raz, from thence we directed our courſe vnto the Iſle of Sablon or the Iſle of Sande, which the generall Sir Humfrey Gilbert woulde willingly haue ſeene. But when wee came within twenty leagues of the Iſle of Sablon, wee fell to controuerſie of our courſe. The General came vp in his Frigot and demaunded of me Richard Clarke Maſter of the Admiral what courſe was beſt to keepe: I ſaid that weſt ſouthweſt was beſt: becauſe the wind was at ſouth & nighe at hand and vnknowen ſands lay off a great way from the land. The General commaunded me to go weſt northweſt. I tolde him agayne that the Iſle of Sablon was Weſt northweſt and but fifteene leagues off, and that he ſhoulde bee vpon the Iſland before day if hee went that courſe. The Generall ſayd my reckoning was vntrue and charged mee in her Maieſties name, and as I would ſhewe my ſelfe in her Countrey to followe him that night. I fearing his threatnings, becauſe hee preſented her Maieſties perſon, did followe his commaundement, and about ſeuen of the clocke in the morning the ſhippe ſtrooke on ground, where ſhee was caſt away. Then the Generall went off to Sea, the courſe that I would haue had them gon before and ſawe the ſhippe caſt away men and all, and was not able to ſaue a man, for there was not water vpon the ſande for eyther of them much leſſe for the Admirall that drewe fourteene foote. Nowe as God woulde the day before it was very calme, and a Souldier of the ſhippe had killed ſome foule with his piece, and ſome of the company deſired me that they might hoyſe out the boate to recouer the foule, which I graunted them: and when they came aboorde they did not hoyſe it in againe that night. And when the ſhippe was caſt away the boate was a ſterne being in burthen one tunne and an halfe: there was left in the boate one oare and nothing els. Some of the company could ſwimme and recouered the boate and did hale in out of the water as many men as they could: among the reſt they had a care to watch for the Captaine or the Maſter: They happened on my ſelfe being the maſter, but could neuer ſee the Captaine: Then they halled into the boate as many men as they could in number 16. whoſe names hereafter I will rehearſe. And when the ſixteene were in the boate, ſome had ſmale remembrance, and ſome had none: for they did not make account to liue, but to prolong their liues as long as it pleaſed God, and looked euery moment of an howre when the Sea would eate them vp, the boate beeing ſo litle and ſo many men in her, and ſo foule weather, that it was not poſſible for a ſhippe to brooke halfe a coarſe of Sayle. Thus while wee remayned two dayes and two nightes, and that wee ſawe it pleaſed God our boate liued in the Sea, (although wee had nothing to helpe vs with all but one oare, which wee kept vp the boate withall vpon the Sea, and ſo went euen as the Sea would driue vs) there was in our companie one Maſter Hedly that put fooyth this queſtion to mee the maſter. I do ſee that it doth pleaſe God that our boate lyeth in the Sea, and it may pleaſe God that ſome of vs may come to the lande if our boate were not ouer laden. Let vs make ſixteene lottes, and thoſe foure that haue the foure ſhorteſt lottes wee will caſt ouer boord, preſeruing the Maſter among vs all. I replyed vnto him ſaying, no, wee will liue and dye together. Maſter Hedly aſked mee if my remembrance were good: I aunſwered I gaue God prayſe it was good, and knewe howe farre I was off the lande, and was in hope to come to the lande within two or three dayes, and ſayd they were but threeſcore leagues from the lande, (when they were ſeuentie) all to put them in comfort. Thus wee continued the third and fourth day without any ſuſtenance, ſaue onely the weedes that ſwame in the Sea, and ſalt water to drinke. The fifth day Hedly dyed and another moreouer: then we deſired all to die: for in all theſe fiue dayes and fiue nights we ſawe the Sunne but once & the ſtarre but one night, it was ſo foule weather. Thus we did remaine the 6. day: then we were very weake and wiſhed all to die ſauing only my ſelfe which did comfort them and promiſed they ſhoulde come ſoone to land by the helpe of God: but the company were verie impor-

20. leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

15. leagues from the Iſle of Sablon.

Herein Clarke vntruely chargeth ſir Humfrey Gilbert.

The ſhip caſt away on thurſday being the 29 of Auguſt 1583.

Sixteene gate into the ſhip boate.

Maſter Hedlyes vngodly propoſition.

importunate, and were in doubt they should neuer come to land, but that I promised them the seuenth day they should com^ to shoare or els they shoulde cast me ouer boord: which did happen true the seuenth day, for a. eleuen of the clocke we had sight of the land, and at three of the clocke at afternoone we came on lande. All these seuen dayes and seuen nights the wind kept continually South. If the winde had in the meane time shifted vpon any other point, we had neuer come to land: we were no sooner come to the land, but the winde came cleane contrary at North within halfe an howre after our arriuall. But we were so weake that one could scarcely helpe another of vs out of the boate, yet with much a doo being come all on shoare we kneeled downe vpon our knees and gaue God praise that he had dealt so mercifully with vs. Afterwards those which were strongest holpe their fellowes vnto a fresh brooke, where wee satisfied our selues with water and berries very well. There were of all sortes of berries plentie, and as goodly a countrey as euer I saw: we found a very faire plaine Champion ground that a man might see very farre euery way: by the Sea side was here and there a litle wood with goodly trees as good as euer I saw any in Norway, able to mast any shippe, of pyne trees, spruse trees, firre, and very great birch trees. Where we came on land we made a litle house with boughes, where we rested all that night. In the morning I deuided the company three and three to goe euery way to see what foode they could find to sustayne themselues, and appointed them to meete there all againe at noone with such food as they could get. As we went aboord wee found great store of pease as good as any wee haue in England: a man would thinke they had ben sowed there. We rested there three daies and three nights and liued very well with pease and berries, wee named the place Saint Laurence, because it was a very goodly riuer like the riuer of S. Laurence in Canada, and we found it very full of Salmons. When we had well rested our selues wee rowed our boate along the shoare, thinking to haue gon to the Grande Bay to haue come home with some Spaniards which are yerely there to kill the Whale: And when wee were hungry or a thirst we put our boate on land and gathered pease and berries. Thus we rowed our boate along the shore fiue daies: about which time we came to a very goodly ryuer that ranne farre vp into the countrey and sawe very goodly growen trees of all sortes. There we happened vpon a ship of Saint Iohn de Luz, which ship brought vs into Biskay to an harborough called The Passage. The Master of the Shippe was our great friend or els we had bene put to death if he had not kept our counsayle. For when the visitors came aboorde, as it is the order in Spaine, they demaunding what we were, he sayd we were poore fishermen that had cast away our ship in Newfoundland, and so the visitours inquired no more of the matter at that time. Assoone as night was come he put vs on land and bad vs shift for our selues. Then had wee but tenne or twelue myles into France, which we went that night, and then cared not for the Spanyard. And so shortly after we came into England toward the end of the yeere 1583.

They came on land the 7. day after their ship wracke.

The frutefulnes of the south part of Newfound land.

Fourteene of our men brought out of Newfound land in a ship of S. Iohn de Luz.

A true Report of the late discoueries, and possession taken in the *right of the Crowne of England of the Newfound Lands, By that valiant* and worthy Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight.

Wherein is also briefely set downe, her highnesse lawfull Title thereunto, and the great & manifold commodities, that are likely to grow therby, to the whole Realme in generall, and to the Aduenturers in particular, Together with the easines and shortnes of the Voyage.

Written by Sir George Pecham Knight, the chiefe aduenturer, and furtherer of Sir Humfrey Gilbertes voyage to Newfound Land.

The first Chapter, wherein the Argument of the Booke is contained.

Master Edward Hays.

IT was my fortune (good Reader) not many dayes past, to meete with a right honest and discreete Gentleman, who accompanied that valiant and worthy Knight Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in this last iourney for the Westerne discoueries, and is owner and Captaine of the onely vessell which is as yet returned from thence.

By

By him I did vnderſtand, that Sir Humfrey departed the coaſt of England the eleuenth of June laſt paſt, with fiue ſayle of ſhippes from Cauſhenbay neere Plymmouth, whereof one of the beſt forſooke his companie, the thirteenth day of the ſame moneth, and returned into England.

The other foure (through the aſſiſtance of Almightie God) did arriue at Saint Johns Hauen, in Newfound land, the third of Auguſt laſt. Vpon whoſe arriuall all the Maſters and chiefe Mariners of the Engliſh Fleete, which were in the ſayd Hauen before, endeuouring to fraught themſelues with fiſh, repaired vnto Sir Humfrey, whom he made acquainted with the effect of his Commiſſion: which being done, he promiſed to intreate them and their goods well and honourably as did become her Maieſties Lieutenant. They did all welcome him in the beſt ſort that they could, and ſhewed him and his, all ſuch courteſies as the place could affoord or yeelde.

Sir Humfrey Gilbert did arriue at Saint Johns Hauen in Newfound land, the 3. of Auguſt. Anno 1583.

Then he went to viewe the Countrey, being well accompanied with moſt of his Captaines and ſouldiers. They found the ſame very temperate, but ſomewhat warmer then Englande at that ſeaſon of the yeere, repleniſhed with Beaſts and great ſtore of Foule of diuers kindes: And Fiſh of ſundry ſortes, both in the ſalt water and in the freſh, in ſo great plentie as might ſuffice to victuall an Armie, and they are very eaſily taken. What ſundry other commodities for this Realme right neceſſarie, the ſame doeth yeelde, you ſhall vnderſtand in this treatiſe hereafter, in place more conuenient.

Among theſe there was found the tract of a beaſt of 7. ynches and a halfe ouer.

On Munday being the fift of Auguſt, the Generall cauſed his tent to be ſet vpon the ſide of an hill, in the viewe of all the Fleete of Engliſh men and ſtrangers, which were in number betweene thirtie and fourtie ſayle: then being accompanied with all his Captaines, Maſters, Gentlemen and other ſouldiers, he cauſed all the Maſters, and principall Officers of the ſhips, aſwel Engliſhmen as Spaniards, Portingales, and of other nations, to repayre vnto his tent: And then and there, in the preſence of them all, he did cauſe his Commiſſion vnder the great Seale of England to be openly and ſolempnely read vnto them, whereby were graunted vnto him, his heires, and aſſignes, by the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, many great and large royalties, liberties, and priuiledges. The effect whereof being ſignified vnto the ſtrangers by an Interpreter, he tooke poſſeſſion of the ſayd land in the right of the Crowne of England by digging of a Turfe and receiuing the ſame with an Haſel wande, deliuered vnto him, after the maner of the Lawe and cuſtome of England.

Sir Humfrey tooke poſſeſſion of the Newfound land in right of the Crowne of England.

Then he ſignified vnto the companie both ſtrangers and others, that from thenceforth, they were to liue in that land, as the Territories apperteining to the Crowne of England, and to be gouerned by ſuch Lawes as by good aduiſe ſhould be ſet downe, which in all points (ſo neere as might be) ſhould be agreeable to the Lawes of England: And for to put the ſame in execution, preſently he ordeined and eſtabliſhed three Lawes.

Three lawes eſtabliſhed there by Sir Humfrey.

Firſt, that Religion publiquely exerciſed, ſhould be ſuch, and none other, then is vſed in the Church of England.

The ſecond, that if any perſon ſhould be lawfully conuicted of any practiſe againſt her Maieſtie, her Crowne and dignitie, to be adiudged as traitors according to the Lawes of England.

The third, if any ſhould ſpeake diſhonourably of her Maieſtie, the partie ſo offending, to looſe his eares, his ſhip and goods, to be confiſcate to the vſe of the Generall.

All men did very willingly ſubmit themſelues to theſe Lawes. Then he cauſed the Queenes Maieſties Armes to be ingraued, ſet vp, & erected, with great ſolemnitie. After this, diuers Engliſh men, made ſute vnto Sir Humfrey to haue of him by inheritance, their accuſtomed ſtages, ſtandings & dryng places, in ſundry parts of that land for their fiſh, as a thing that they do make great accompt of, which he graunted vnto them, in fee farme. And by this meanes, he hath poſſeſſion mainteined for him, in many parts of that Countrey. To be briefe, he did let, ſet, giue and diſpoſe of many things, as abſolute Gouernor there, by vertue of her Maieſties letters patents.

Sundry perſons, became Tenants to Sir Humfrey, and doe maintaine poſſeſſion for him in diuers places there.

And after their ſhippes were repaired, whereof one hee was driuen to leaue behinde, both for want of men ſufficient to furniſh her, as alſo to carrie home ſuch ſicke perſons as were not able to proceede any further, He departed from thence the 20. of Auguſt, with the other three, namely, the Delight, wherein was appointed Captaine in M. William Winters place, (that thence returned immediatly for England) M. Maurice Browne: the Golden Hinde, in which was Captaine and owner, M. Edwarde Hay: and the little Frigat where the Generall himſelfe did goe, ſeeming to him moſt fit to diſcouer and approch the ſhoare.

The 21. day they came to Cape Race, toward the South partes whereof, lying a while becalmed, they tooke Cod in largenes and quantitie, exceeding the other parts of Newfoundland, where any of them had bene. And from thence, trending the coaſt Weſt, toward the Bay of Placentia, the Generall ſent certaine men a ſhoare, to viewe the Countrey, which to them as

they sayled along, seemed pleasant. Whereof his men at their returne gaue great commendation, liking so well of the place, as they would willingly haue stayed and wintred there. But hauing the winde fayre and good, they proceeded on their course towardes the firme of America, which by reason of continuall fogs, at that time of the yeere especially, they could neuer see, till Cox Walker of the Golden Hinde did discerne land, and presently lost sight thereof againe, at what time they were all vpon a breach in a great & outragious storme, hauing vnder 3. fathome water. But God deliuered the Frigat & the Golden Hind, from this great danger. And the Delight in the presence of them all was lost, to their vnspeakeable griefe, with all their chiefe victuall, munition, and other necessary prouisions, and other things of value not fit here to be named. Whereupon, by reason also that Winter was come vpon them, & foule weather increased with fogs and mistes that so couered the land, as without danger of perishing they could not approch it: Sir Humfrey Gilbert & M. Hays, were compelled much against their willes to retyre homewards: And being 300. leagues on their way, were afterwards by tempestuous weather, separated the one from the other, the ninth of September last, since which time, M. Hays with his Barke, is safely arriued, but of Sir Humfrey as yet, we heare no certaine newes.

Upon this report (together with my former intent, to write some briefe discourse in the commendation of this so noble and worthy an enterprise) I did call to my remembrance, the Histo-
Plutarch. rie of Themystocles the Grecian, who (being a right noble and valiant Captaine) signified vnto his Countrey men the citizens of Athens, that he had inuented a deuise for their common wealth very profitable: but it was of such importance and secrecie, that it ought not to be reuealed, before priuate conference had with some particular prudent person of their choyse.

The Athenians knowing Aristides the Philosopher, to be a man indued with singular wisedome and vertue, made choyse of him to haue conference with Themystocles, and thereupon to yeelde his opinion to the Citizens concerning the sayd deuise: which was, that they might set on fire the Nauie of their enemies, with great facilitie as he had layde the plot: Aristides made relation to the Citizens, that the stratageme (deuised by Themystocles) was a profitable practise for the common wealth but it was dishonest. The Athenians (without further demaund what the same was) did by common consent reiect and condemne it, preferring honest and vpright dealing before profite.

By occasion of this Historie, I drewe my selfe into a more deepe consideration, of this late vndertaken voyage, whether it were as well pleasing to almightie God, as profitable to men: as lawfull, as it seemed honourable: as well gratefull to the Sauages, as gainefull to the Christians. And vpon mature deliberation, I found the action to be honest and profitable, and therefore allowable by the opinion of Aristides if he were nowe aliue, which being by me herein sufficiently prooued, (as by Gods grace I purpose to doe) I doubt not but that all good mindes, will endeuour themselues to be assistants to this so commendable an enterprise, by the valiant
‖Englishmen. and worthy Gentlemen our Countrey men already attempted and vntertaken.

Walker John Hawkins. Sir Francis Drake. M. William Winter. M. John Chester. M. Martin Frobilher. Anthony Parkhurst. Willia Watts. John Lowel. Dauid Ingram. Strangers French. Sir John Ribault. Jaques Cartier. Andrew Theuet. Mounsieur Gourgos. Mounsieur Popellyniere. Italians. Christopher Columbus. John Verasanus.

Nowe whereas I doe vnderstand that Sir Humfrey Gilbert his adherents, associates and friends doe meane with a conuenient supply (with as much speede as may be) to maintaine, pursue and folow this intended voyage already in part performed, and (by the assistance of almightie God) to plant themselues and their people in the continent of the hither part of America, betweene the degrees of 30. and 60. of septentrionall latitude: (Within which degrees by computation Astronomicall and Cosmographicall are doubtlesse to be found, all things that be necessarie, profitable, or delectable for mans life: The climate mylde and temperate, neither too hote nor too colde, so that vnder the cope of heauen there is not any where to be found a more conuenient place to plant and inhabite in: which many notable Gentlemen, both ‖of our owne nation and strangers, (who haue bene trauailers) can testifie: and that those Countries are at this day inhabited with Sauages (who haue no knowledge of God:) Is it not therefore (I say) to be lamented, that these poore Pagans, so long liuing in ignorance & idolatrie, and in sort thirsting after Christianitie, (as may appeare by the relation of such as haue trauailed in those partes) that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which wil put to their helping hands, and applie themselues to the relieuing of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules.

Whose Countrey doeth (as it were with arme aduanced) aboue the climates both of Spaine and Fraunce, stretch out it selfe towards England only: In maner praying our ayde & helpe, as it is not onely set forth in Mercators generall Mappe, but it is also found to be true by the discouerie of our nation, and other strangers, who haue often times trauailed vpon the same coasts.

Christopher Columbus of famous memorie, the first instrument to manifest the great glory

and

and mercy of Almightie God in planting the Christian fayth, in those so long vnknowen regions, hauing in purpose to acquaint (as he did) that renoumed Prince, the Queenes Maiesties graundfather, King Henry the seuenth, with his intended voyage for the Westerne discoueries, was not onely derided and mocked generally euen here in England, but afterwarde became a laughing stocke to the Spaniards themselues, who at this day (of all other people) are most bounden to laude and prayse God, who first stirred vp the man to that enterprise.

God doeth not alwaies begin his greatest woorkes by the greatest persons.

And while hee was attending there to acquaint the King of Castile (that then was) with his intended purpose, by howe many wayes and meanes was he derided? Some scorned the pildnes of his garments, some tooke occasion to iest at his simple and silly lookes, others asked if this were he, that lowts so lowe, which did take vpon him to bring men into a Countrey that aboundeth with Golde, Pearle, and Precious stones? If he were any such man (sayde they) hee would carry another maner of countenance with him, and looke somewhat loftier. Thus some iudged him by his garments, and others by his looke and countenance, but none entred into the consideration of the inward man.

His custome was to bowe himselfe very lowe in making of courtesie.

In the ende, what successe his voyage had, who list to reade the Decades, the Historie of the West Indies, the conquest of Hernando Cortes about Mexico, and those of Francisco Pizare in Peru about Casamalcha and Cusco, may knowe more particularly. All which their discoueries, trauailes, and conquests, are extant to be had in the English tongue. This deuise was then accounted a fantasticall imagination, and a drowsie dreame.

Hernando Cortes. Francisco Pizare.

But the sequel thereof, hath since awaked out of dreames thousand of soules to knowe their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant: And hath since made sufficient proofe, neither to be fantasticke, nor vainely imagined.

Withall, howe mightily hath it inlarged the dominions of the Crowne of Spaine, and greatly enriched the subiects of the same, let all men consider. Besides, it is wel knowne, that sithence the time of Columbus his first discouerie, through their planting, possessing, and inhabiting those partes, there hath bene transported and brought home into Europe, greater store of Golde, Siluer, Pearle, and Pretious stones, then heretofore hath bene in all ages, since the creation of the worlde.

I doe therefore hartily wish, that seeing it hath pleased almightie God, of his infinite mercy at the length, to awake some of our worthy Countrey men, out of that drowsie dreame, wherein we all haue so long slumbered:

That wee may nowe not suffer it to quaile for want of maintenance, that by these valiant Gentlemen our Countrey men is so nobly begun and enterprised. For which purpose, I haue taken vpon me to write this simple short treatise, hoping that it shalbe able to perswade such as haue bene, and yet doe continue detractors and hinderers of this iourney, (by reason perhaps that they haue not deliberately and aduisedly entred into the iudgement of the matter) that yet now vpon better consideration they will become fauourable furtherers of the same. And that such as are already well affected thereunto, wil continue their good disposition: And withall, I most humbly pray all such as are no niggards of their purses in buying of costly and rich apparel, and liberall Contributors in setting forth of games, pastimes, feastings and banquets, (whereof the charge being past, there is no hope of publique profite or commoditie) that henceforth they will bestowe and employ their liberalitie (heretofore that way expended) to the furtherance of these so commendable purposed proceedings.

A reasonable request.

And to this ende haue I taken pen in hand, as in conscience thereunto mooued, desiring much rather, that of the great multitude which this Realme doeth nourish, farre better able to handle this matter then I my selfe am, it would haue pleased some one of them to haue vndertaken the same. But seeing they are silent, and that it falleth to my lotte to put pen to the paper, I will endeuour my selfe, and doe stand in good hope (though my skill and knowledge be simple, yet through the assistance of almightie God) to proue that the voyage, late enterprised for trade, traffike, and planting in America, is an action tending to the lawfull enlargement of her Maiesties Dominions, commodious to the whole Realme in general, profitable to the aduenturers in particular, beneficiall to the Sauages, and a matter to be attained without any great danger or difficultie.

The argument of the booke.

And lastly (which most of all is) A thing likewise tending to the honour and glory of almightie God: And for that the lawfulnesse to plant in those Countries, in some mens iudgements seemeth very doubtfull, I will beginne the proofe of the lawfulnesse of trade, traffike, and planting.

The

The ſeconde Chapter ſheweth that it is lawfull and neceſſarie to trade and traffike with the Sauages: And to plant in their Countries: And deuideth planting into two ſortes.

AND firſt for traffike, I ſay that the Chriſtians may lawfully trauell into thoſe Countries and abide there, whom the Sauages may not iuſtly impugne and forbid in reſpect of the mutuall ſocietie and felowſhip betweene man and man preſcribed by the Lawe of Nations.

For from the firſt beginning of the creation of the world and from the renuing of the ſame after Noes flood, all men haue agreed, that no violence ſhould be offered to Ambaſſadours: That the Sea with his Hauens ſhould bee common: That ſuch as ſhould fortune to be taken in warre, ſhould be ſeruants or ſlaues: And that ſtrangers ſhould not be driuen away from the place or Countrey whereunto they doe come.

If it were ſo then, I demaund in what age, and by what Lawe is the ſame forbidden or denied ſince? For who doubteth but that it is lawfull for Chriſtians to vſe trade and traffike with Infidels or Sauages, carrying thither ſuch commodities as they want, & bringing from thence ſome part of their plentie.

A thing ſo commonly and generally practiſed, both in theſe our dayes, and in times paſt, beyonde the memorie of man, both by Chriſtians and Infidels, that it needeth no further proofe.

And for as much as the vſe of trade and traffike (be it neuer ſo profitable) ought not to bee preferred before the planting of Chriſtian fayth: I will therefore ſomewhat entreate of planting (without which, Chriſtian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers neuer ſo careful and diligent) which I meane to deuide in two ſortes.

The principal cauſes why this voyage is vndertaken.

The firſt, when Chriſtians by the good liking and willing aſſent of the Sauages, are admitted by them to quiet poſſeſſion.

The ſecond, when Chriſtians being vniuſtly repulſed, doe ſeeke to attaine and mainteine the right for which they doe come.

The firſt kinde of planting.

And though in regarde of the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtian Religion, either of both may bee lawfully and iuſtly exerciſed: (Whereof many examples may be found, as well in the time of Moyſes and Joſua, and other Rulers before the birth of Chriſt, as of many vertuous Emperours and Kings ſithence his incarnation:) yet doe I wiſh, that before the ſecond be put in practiſe, a proofe may be made of the firſt, ſauing that for their ſafetie as well againſt the Sauages, as all other forraigne enemies, they ſhould firſt well and ſtrongly fortifie themſelues: which being done, then by all fayre ſpeeches, & euery other good meanes of perſwaſion to ſeeke to take away all occaſions of offence.

As letting them to vnderſtand, howe they came not to their hurt, but for their good, and to no other ende, but to dwell peaceably amongſt them, and to trade and traffike with them for their owne commoditie, without moleſting or grieuing them any way, which muſt not be done by wordes onely but alſo by deedes.

For albeit, to maintaine right and repel iniurie, be a iuſt cauſe of warre: yet muſt there hereof be heedefull care had, that whereas the Sauages be fearefull by nature, and fonde otherwiſe, the Chriſtians ſhould do their beſt endeuour to take away ſuch feare as may grow vnto them by reaſon of their ſtraunge apparel, Armour, and weapon, or ſuch like, by quiet and peaceable converſation, and letting them liue in ſecuritie, and keeping a meaſure of blameleſſe defence, with as little diſcommoditie to the Sauages as may bee: for this kinde of warre would be onely defenſiue and not offenſiue.

And queſtionles there is great hope & likelyhode that by this kind of meanes, we ſhould bring to paſſe all effects to our deſired purpoſes: Conſidering that all creatures, by conſtitution of nature, are rendred more tractable and eaſier wonne for all aſſayes, by courteſie and mildneſſe, then by crueltie or roughnes: and therefore being a principle taught vs by naturall reaſon, it is firſt to be put in vre.

For albeit as yet the Chriſtians are not ſo throughly furniſhed with the perfectneſſe of their language, either to expreſſe their mindes to them, or againe to conceiue the Sauages intent: Yet for the preſent opportunitie, ſuch pollicie may bee vſed by friendly ſignes, and courteous tokens towardes them, as the Sauages may eaſily perceiue, (were their ſences neuer ſo groſſe) an aſſured friendſhip to bee offered them, and that they are encountered with ſuch a nation, as brings them benefite, commoditie, peace, tranquillity and ſafetie. To further this, and to accompliſh it in deedes, there muſt bee preſented vnto them gratis, ſome kindes of our pettie marchandizes

chandises and trifles: As looking glasses, Bels, Beads, Bracelets, Chaines, or collers of Bewgle, Christall, Amber, Jet, or Glasse &c. For such be the things, though to vs of small value, yet accounted by them of high price and estimation: and soonest will induce their Barbarous natures to a liking and a mutual society with vs.

Moreouer, it shal be requisite, either by speeche, if it be possible, either by some other certaine meanes, to signifie vnto them, that once league of friendship with all louing conuersation, being admitted betweene the Christians and them: that then the Christians from thence forth will alwayes bee ready with force of Armes to assist & defende them in their iust quarrels, from all inuasions, spoyles and oppressions, offered them by any Tyrants, Aduersaries, or their next borderers: and a benefit is so much the more to be esteemed, by howe much the person vpon whome it is bestowed standeth in neede thereof.

For it appeareth by the relation of a countreman of ours, namely Dauid Ingram, (who trauelled in those countries xi. moneths and more) That the Sauages generally for the most part, are at continuall warres with their next adioyning neighbours, and especially the Cannibals, being a cruel kinde of people, whose foode is mans flesh, and haue teeth like dogges, and do pursue them with rauenous mindes to eate their flesh, and deuoure them.

And it is not to be doubted, but that the Christians may in this case iustly and lawfully ayde the Sauages against the Cannibals. So that it is very likelie, that by this meanes we shall not onely mightely stirre and inflame their rude mindes gladly to embrace the louing company of the Christians, proffering vnto them both commodities, succour, and kindnes: But also by their franke consents shall easily enioy such competent quantity of Lande, as euery way shall be correspondent to the Christians expectation, & contentation, considering the great abundance that they haue of Lande, and howe small account they make thereof, taking no other fruites thereby then such as the ground of it selfe booth naturally yeelde. And thus much concerning the first sort of planting, which as I assuredly hope, so I most hartelie pray may take effect and place.

The second kinde of planting.

But if after these good and fayre meanes vsed, the Sauages neuertheless will not bee herewithall satisfied, but barbarously will go about to practise violence either in repelling the Christians from their Ports & safe landings or in withstanding them afterwards to enioy the rights for which both painfully and lawfully they haue aduentured themselues thither:

Then in such a case I holde it no breach of equitie for the Christians to defende themselues, to pursue reuēge with force, and to do whatsoeuer is necessarie for the attayning of their safety: For it is allowable by al Lawes in such distresses, to resist violence with violence: And for their more securitie to increase their strength by building of fortes, for auoyding the extremitie of iniurious dealing.

Wherein if also they shal not be suffered in reasonable quietnes to continue, there is no barre (as I iudge) but that in stoute assemblies, the Christians may issue out, and by strong hand pursue their enemies, subdue them, take possession of their Townes, Cities, or Villages, (and in auoyding murtherous tyrannie) to vse the Lawe of Armes, as in like case among all nations at this day is vsed: and most especially to the ende they may with securitie holde their lawfull possession, least happily after the departure of the Christians, such Sauages as haue bene conuerted, should afterwards through compulsion and enforcement of their wicked Rulers, returne to their horrible idolatrie (as did the children of Israel, after the decease of Joshua) and continue their wicked custome of most vnnaturall sacrificing of humane creatures.

And in so doing, doubtlesse the Christians shall no whit at all transgresse the bonds of equitie or ciuilitie, for as much as in former ages, (yea before the incarnation of Christ) the like hath bene done by sundrye Kings and Princes, Gouernours of the children of Israel: chiefly in respect to begin their planting, for the establishment of Gods worde: as also since the Natiuitie of Christ, mightie and puissant Emperours and Kings haue performed the like, I say to plant, possesse, and subdue. For proofe whereof, I will alleadge you examples of both kindes.

We reade in the olde Testament, howe that after Noes flood was ceased, restoration of mankinde began onely of those fewe of Noes children and familie as were by God preelected to be saued in the Arke with him, whose seede in processe of time, was multiplied to infinite numbers of nations, which in diuers sortes deuided themselues to sundry quarters of the earth. And forasmuch as all their posteritie being mightily encreased followed not the perfect life of Noe their predecessour, God chose out of the multitude, a peculiar people to himselfe, to whome afterwards being vnder the gouernement of Moises in Mount Synay, hee made a graunt to inherite the Land of Canaan, called the land of promise, with all the other rich and fertile Countries

tries next adioyning therunto. Neuertheleſſe, before they came to poſſeſſion therof, hauing beene afflicted with many greeuous puniſhments and plagues for their ſinnes they fell in diſpayre to enioy the ſame.

But beeing encouraged and comforted by their Rulers, (men of God) they proceeded, arming themſelues with all patience, to ſuffer whatſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe God to ſende: and at laſt attaining to the lande, they were encountered with great numbers of ſtrong people and mighty Kings.

Ioſua 4. Notwithſtanding, Ioſua their leader repleniſhed with the ſpirite of God, being aſſured of the iuſtneſſe of his quarrell, gathered the chiefe ſtrength of the children of Iſrael together, to the number of 40000. with whome he ſafely paſſed the huge riuer Iordan, and hauing before ſent Ioſua 6. priuie ſpies for the diſcouerie of the famous cittie Ierico, to vnderſtand the certaintie of the Citizens eſtate, he forthwith came thither, and enuironed it rounde about, with his whole power the ſpace of ſeuen dayes.

In which reſpite, perceiuing none of the Gentiles diſpoſed to yeld or call for mercie, he then commanded (as God before had appointed) that both the citie Iericho ſhould be burned, yea, and all the inhabitants, as well olde as young, with all their cattell ſhoulde bee deſtroyed onely excepted Rahab, her kindred and familie, becauſe ſhe before had hid ſecretly the meſſengers of Ioſua, that were ſent thither as ſpies. As for all their golde, ſiluer, precious ſtones, or veſſels of braſſe, they were reſerued and conſecrated to the Lords treaſurie.

Ioſua 8. In like maner hee burned the citie Hay, ſlew the inhabitants thereof, and hanged vp their King. But for ſo much as the Gebionites (fearing the like euent) ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Ioſua 9. ſua, to intreate for grace, fauour, & peace: he commanded that all their liues ſhould be ſaued, and that they ſhould be admitted to the company of the children of Iſrael. Yet vnderſtanding afterwards they wrought this by a pollicie, he vſed them as drudges to hewe wood & to carie water, and other neceſſaries for his people. Thus began this valiant Captaine his conqueſt, which he Iudg. 11. 13. purſued & neuer left til he had ſubdued all the Hethites, Amorites, Cananites, Pereſites, Heuites, and Iebuſites, with all their Princes and Kings, being thirtie and one in number, and diuers other ſtrange nations, beſides whoſe lands & dominions, he wholie deuided among Gods people.

After that Ioſua was deceaſed, Iuda was conſtituted Lord ouer the Armie, who receiuing like charge from God purſued the proceedings of the holie captaine Ioſua, and vtterly banquiſhed many Gentiles, Idolaters, and aduerſaries to the children of Iſrael, with all ſuch Rulers or Iudg. 1. Kings, as withſtoode him, and namely Adonibezek, the moſt cruell tyraunt: whoſe thombes and great toes, he cauſed to be cut off, for ſo much as hee had done the like before vnto ſeuentie Kings, whome being his priſoners, he forced to gather vp their victuals vnderneath his Table. In this God ſhewed his iuſtice to reuenge tyranny. Wee reade likewiſe, that Gedeon a moſt puiſſant and noble warriour, ſo behaued himſelfe in following the worthy acts of Ioſua & Iuda that in ſhort time he not only deliuered the children of Iſrael from the hands of the multitude of the fierce Madianites, but alſo ſubdued them, and their Tyrants, whoſe landes he cauſed Gods people to poſſeſſe and inherite.

A good note for al Conquerers to be merciful. Judg. 6. 7.

I could recite diuers other places out of the Scripture, which aptly may be applied hereunto were it not I do endeuour my ſelfe by all meanes to be briefe. Now in like maner will I alledge ſome few of Inductions out of the autenticall writings of the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtoriographers, all tending to the like argument. And firſt to begin with all, we doe reade: That after our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt had ſuffered his paſſion, the Apoſtles being inſpired with ẏ holy ghoſt, and the knowledge of all ſtraunge languages, did immediatly diſpearſe themſelues to ſundry partes of the world, to the preaching of the Goſpel. Yet not in ſo generall a maner, but that there remained ſome farre remote countries vnviſited by them, among the which it is reported that India the great, called the vttermoſt India, as yet had receiued no light of the word. But it came to paſſe, that one Metrodorus, a verie learned and wiſe Philoſopher in that age, being deſirous to ſearch out vnknowne landes, did firſt diſcouer the ſame, finding it wonderfull populous and rich, which vpon his returne being publiſhed, and for certaine vnderſtood, there was another graue Philoſopher of Tyrus called Meropius, being a chriſtian, who did reſolue himſelfe (following the example of Metrodorus) to trauaile thither, and in a ſhort time aſſiſted but with a fewe, in a ſmall Veſſel arriued there, hauing in his company two young youthes, Edeſius, and Frumentius, whome (being his ſcholers) hee had throughly inſtructed, both in liberall Sciences and chriſtian Religion. Nowe after that Meropius ſomewhile ſtaying there, had (as he thought) ſufficient vnderſtanding of the Indians whole eſtate: He dermined to depart, and to bring notice thereof vnto the Emperour, whome he meant to exhort to the conqueſt of the ſame.

But

But by misfortune he was preuented, for being in the middest of his course on the Sea homeward, a sore tempest arose, and perforce driue him backe againe, to an vnknowne Port of the saide land: where he by the most cruel barbarous Indians on the suddaine was slaine with all his company, except the two young schollers aforesaid, whome the barbarous Indians, by reason they were of comely stature and beautifull personages, tooke, and forthwith presented them to their King and Queene: which both being very well liked of, the King courteously entreated, and ordeined Edesius to be his Butler, and Frumentius his Secretarie, and in few yeres by reason of their learning and ciuill gouernment, they were had in great fauour, honour, and estimation with the Princes. But the King departing this life, left the Queene his wife with her yong sonne to gouerne, and gaue free scope and lybertie to the two christians, at their best pleasure to passe to their native soyles, allowing them all necessaries for the same. Yet the Queene who highly fauoured them was verie sorowfull they should depart, and therefore most earnestlie intreated them to tarie and assist her in the gouernement of her people, till such time as her young sonne grewe to ripe yeres, which request they fulfilled.

Meropius slaine.

Edesius and Frumentius preserued by the Indians.

And Frumentius excelling Edesius farre in all wisedome, ruled both the Queene and her subiects at his discretion, whereby hee tooke occasion to put in practise priuily, that the foundation of christian religion might be planted in the hearts of such as with whome hee thought his perswasion might best preuaile, and that soonest woulde giue eare vnto him: which being brought to passe accordingly, he then with his fellowe Edesius, tooke leaue of the Queene to returne to his native countrie. And so soone as he was arriued there, he reuealed to the Emperour Constantine, the effect of all those euents: who both commending his deedes and wholie allowing thereof, by the aduise and good liking of Athanasius then Bishop of Alexandria, did arme and set forth a conuenient power for the aide of Frumentius, in this his so godlie a purpose. And by this meanes came the Emperour afterwards by faire promises, and by force of armes together, vnto the possession of all the Indians countrie. The author of this storie Rufinus, receiued the trueth hereof, from the verie mouth of Edesius companion to Frumentius.

Frumentius in great fauour with þ Queene of the Indiãs.

An other great work of God begun by a man of meane birth.

Ruffinus the Author of this storie.

Moreouer Eusebius in his Historie Ecclesiasticall in precise termes, and in diuers places maketh mention how Constantine the great, not onely enlarged his Empire by the subduing of his next neighbours, but also endeuoured by all meanes, to subiect all such remote Barbarous and heathen nations, as then inhabited the foure quarters of the world. For (as it is written) the Emperour throughly aided with a puisant armie of valiaunt souldiers whom he had before perswaded to christian religion, in proper person himselfe, came euen vnto this our country of England, then called the Iland of Brittaines, bending from him full west, which he wholie conquered, made tributarie, and setled therein christian faith, and left behinde him such Rulers thereof, as to his wisedome seemed best. From thence he turned his force towardes the North coast of the world, and there vtterly subdued the rude and cruell Nation of the Scythians, whereof part by friendly perswasions, part by maine strength, he reduced the whole to Christian faith. Afterwardes hee determined with himselfe to search out what strange people inhabited in the vttermost parts of the South. And with great hazard and labour, making his iourney thither, at last became victour ouer them all, euen to the countrey of the Blemmyans, and the remote Ethiopians, that nowe are the people of Presbyter Iohn, who yet till this day, continue and beare the name of christians.

Euse. in his ecclesiasticall historie testifieth how þ Constantine the great did enlarge his dominions by subduing of Infidels and Idolatrous nations.

Eusebius lib. 1. de vita Constant. Cap 4. et cap 9.

Euseb. eod. lib. cap. 39.

In the East likewise, what Nation soeuer at that time hee coulde haue notice of, hee easily wonne and brought in subiection to the Empire. So that to conclude, there was no region in any part of the world, the inhabitaunts whereof being Gentiles, though vnknowne vnto him, but in time he ouercame and vanquished.

This worthie beginning of Constantine, both his sonnes succeeding his roome, and also diuers other Emperours afterward to their vttermost endeuour followed and continued, which all the bookes of Eusebius more at large sette forth. Theodoretus likewise in his Ecclesiasticall historie maketh mencion how Theodosius the vertuous Emperour, employed earnestly all his time, as well in conquering the Gentiles to the knowledge of the holy gospel, vtterly subuerting the prophane Temples and abhominable Idolatry, as also in extinguishing of such vsurping tyraunts, as with Paganisme withstood the planting of christian religion. After whose decease his sonnes, Honorius, and Arcadius, were created Emperours, the one of the East, the other of the West, who with all stout godlinesse, most carefully imitated the foresteps of their Father, eyther in enlarging their territories, or increasing the christian flocke.

Theodoret in eccle. lib. 5. cap. 20.

Theodoretus cap. 26. eodem lib.

Moreouer, it is reported by the said author, that Theodosius Iunior the Emperour, no whit inferiour in vertuous life to any of the aboue named Princes, with great studie & zeale pursued,

and

and prosecuted the Gentiles, subdued their tyrants & countries, and vtterly destroyed all their idolatrie, conuerting their soules to acknowledge their onely Messias and Creator, and their Countries to the enlargement of the Empire. To be briefe, who so lusteth to read Eusebius Pamphilus, Socrates Scholasticus, Theodoritus, Hermia, Sozomen, & Euagrius Scholasticus, which all were most sage Ecclesiasticall writers, shall finde great store of examples of the worthy liues of sundry Emperours, tending all to the confirmation of my former speeches.

And for like examples of latter time (yea euen in the memorie of man) I shall not neede to recite any other then the conquest made of the West and East Indies, by the Kings of Spaine and Portingale, whereof there is particular mention made in the last Chapter of this booke. Herein haue I vsed more copy of examples, then otherwise I would haue done, sauing that I haue bene in place where this maner of planting the Christian faith, hath bene thought of some to be scarce lawfull, yea, such as doe take vpon them to be more then meanely learned. To these examples could I ioyne many moe, but whosoeuer is not satisfied with these fewe, may satisfie himselfe in reading at large the Authours last aboue recited. Thus haue I (as I trust) prooued that we may iustly trade and traffike with the Sauages, and lawfully plant and inhabite their Countries.

The third Chapter doeth shewe the lawfull title, which the *Queenes most excellent Maiestie hath vnto those Countries, which* through the ayde of almightie God are meant to be inhabited.

1170. Owen Gwyneth, was then Prince of Northwales. Nullum tempus occurrit Regi. This Island was discouered by Sir Humfrey and his company, in this his last iourney.

AND it is very euident that the planting there shall in time right amply enlarge her Maiesties Territories and Dominions (or I might rather say) restore her to her Highnesse auncient right and interest in those Countries, into the which a noble and worthy personage, lineally descended from the blood royall, borne in Wales, named Madock ap Owen Gwyneth, departing from the coast of England, about the yeere of our Lord God 1170. arriued and there planted himselfe and his Colonies, and afterwarde returned himselfe into England leauing certaine of his people there, as appeareth in an auncient Welsh Chronicle, where hee then gaue to certaine Ilands, beastes, and foules sundry Welsh names, as the Ilands of Pengwin, which yet to this day beareth the same.

There is likewise a Foule in the sayd Countreys, called by the same name at this day, and is as much to say in English, as Whitehead, and in trueth, the sayd foules haue white heads.

There is also in those Countries a fruit called Gwynethes which is likewise a Welsh word. Moreouer, there are diuers other Welsh wordes at this day in vse, as Dauid Ingram aforesayd reporteth in his relations. All which most strongly argueth, the sayd Prince with his people to haue inhabited there. And the same in effect is confirmed by Mutezuma that mighty Emperour of Mexico, who in an Oration vnto his subiects for the better pacifying of them, made in the presence of Hernando Cortes, vsed these speeches following.

Mutezuma his Oration to his subiects in presence of Hernando Cortese. which Oration was made about the yere. 1520.

My kinsmen, friends, and seruants, you doe well knowe that eighteene yeeres I haue bene your King, as my Fathers and Graundfathers were, and alwayes I haue bene vnto you a louing Prince, and you vnto me good and obedient subiects, and so I hope you will remaine vnto me all the dayes of my life. You ought to haue in remembrance, that either you haue heard of your Fathers, or else our Diuines haue instructed you that we are not naturally of this Countrey, nor yet our Kingdome is durable, because our forefathers came from a farre Countrey, and their King and Captaine who brought them hither, returned againe to his naturall Countrey, saying, that he would send such as should rule and gouerne vs, if by chaunce hee himselfe returned not, &c.

These be the very wordes of Mutezuma, set downe in the Spanish Chronicles, the which being throughly considered, because they haue relation to some strange noble person, who long before had possessed those Countries, doe all sufficiently argue, the vndoubted title of her Maiestie: Forasmuch as no other Nation can truely by any Chronicles they can finde, make prescription of time for themselues, before the time of this Prince Madoc. Besides all this, for further proofe of her Highnes title sithence the arriuall of this noble Britton into those parts (that is to say) in the time of the Q. Maiesties graundfather, of worthy memory, King Henry the seuenth, Letters patents were by his Maiestie graunted to Iohn Cabota an Italian, to Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanius, his three sonnes, to discouer remote, Barbarous and Heathen Countries, which discouerie, was afterwards executed to the vse of the Crowne of England, in ỹ said Kings time,

by

by Sebastian and Sanius his sonnes, who were borne heere in England: In true testimony wherof, there is a kaye hauen in Newfound land, knowen, and called vntill this day by the name of Sanius hauen, which proueth that they first discouered vpon that coast, from the height of 63 vnto the cape of Florida, as appeareth in the Decades. M. Oliuer Dalbony. M. Edward Keow. M. R. Y. M. I. M.

And this may stand for another title to her Maiesty: but any of the foresaid titles is as much or more then any other Christian prince can pretend to the Indies, before such time as they had actuall possession thereof, obteined by the discouery of Christopher Columbus, & the conquest of Vasques Nunnes de Balboa, Hernando Cortes, Francisco Pysarro, and others. And therefore I thinke it needlesse to write any more touching the lawfulnesse of her Maiesties title.

The fourth chapter sheweth how that the trade, traffike, and planting in those countryes, is likely to proue very profitable to the whole realme in generall.

NOw to shew how the same is likely to proue very profitable and beneficiall generally to the whole realme: It is very certaine, that the greatest iewell of this realme, and the chiefest strength and force of the same, for defence or offence in martiall matter and maner is the multitude of shippes, maisters & mariners, ready to assist the most stately and royall nauy of her Maiesty, which by reason of this voyage shall haue both increase & maintenance. And it is well knowne, that in sundry places of this realme ships haue beene built and set foorth of late dayes, for the trade of fishing only: yet notwithstanding the fish which is taken & brought into England by the English nauie of fishermen, will not suffice for the expence of this realme foure moneths, if there were none els brought of strangers. And the chiefest cause why our English men do not go so far Westerly, as the especiall fishing places do lie, both for plenty & greatnesse of fish, is for that they haue no succor and knowen safe harbor in those parts. But if our nation were once planted there, or nere therabouts: whereas they now fish but for two moneths in the yeere, they might then fish so long as pleased themselues, or rather at their comming finde such plenty of fish readie taken, salted & dried, as might be sufficient to fraught them home without long delay (God granting that salt may be found there) whereof Dauid Ingram (who trauelled in those countryes as aforesaid) saith that there is great plenty: & withall the climate doth giue great hope, that though there were none naturally growing, yet it might aswell be made there by art, as it is both in Rochell & Bayon, or els where. Which being brought to passe, shall increase the number of our ships and mariners, were it but in respect of fishing only: but much more in regard of the sundry merchandizes and commodities which are there found and had in great abundance. For the maister.

Moreouer, it is well knowen that all Sauages, aswell those that dwell in the South, as those that dwell in the North, so soone as they shall beginne but a little to taste of ciuillity, will take maruellous delight in any garment, be it neuer so simple: as a shirt, a blew, yellow, red, or greene cotten cassocke, a cappe or such like, and will take incredible paines for such a trifle.

For I my selfe haue heard this report made sundry times, by diuers of our countreymen, who haue dwelt in the Southerly parts of the West Indies, some twelues yeeres together, and some of lesse time: that the people in those parts are easily reduced to ciuility both in maners and garments. Which being so, what vent for our English clothes will thereby ensue, and how great benefit to all such persons & artificers whose names are coted in the margent, I do leaue to the iudgement of such as are discreet. Clothiers. Woolmen. Carders. Spinners. Weauers. Fullers. Sheermen. Diers. Drapers. Clothiers. Cappers. Hatters, &c.

And questionlesse heereby it will also come to passe, that all such townes and villages, as both haue beene, and now are vtterly decayed and ruinated (the poore people thereof being not set on worke, by reason of the transportation of raw wooll of late dayes, more excellinely then in times past) shal by this meanes be restored to their pristinate wealth and estate, all which do likewise tend to the inlargement of our nauie, and maintenance of our nauigation. And many decayed townes repayred.

To what end need I endeuor my selfe by arguments to proue, that by this voyage our nauie and nauigation shalbe inlarged, when as there needeth none other reason then the manifest & late example of the neere neighbors to this realme, the kings of Spaine and Portingall, who since the first discouery of the Indies, haue not onely mightily inlarged their dominions, greatly inriched themselues and their subiects: but haue also by iust account trebled the number of their shippes, maisters and mariners, a matter of no small moment and importance? The idle persons of this realme shall by occasion of this iourney be well imployed, and set on worke.

Besides this, it will proue a generall benefit vnto our countrey, that through this occasion, not onely a great number of men which do now liue idely at home, and are burthenous, chargeable, & vnprofitable to this realme, shall heerby be set on worke, but also children of twelue or fourteene

peres of age, or vnder, may be kept from idlenesse, in making of a thousand kindes of trifling things, which will be good merchandize for that countrey. And moreouer, our idle women (which the realme may well spare) shall also be imployed on plucking, dying, and sorting of feathers, in pulling, beating, and working of hempe, and in gathering of cotton, and diuers things right necessary for dying. All which things are to be found in those countryes most plentifully. And the men may imploy themselues in dragging for pearle, working for mines, and in matters of husbandry, and likewise in hunting the Whale for traine, and making casks to put the same in: besides in fishing for cod, salmon, and herring, drying, salting, and barrelling the same, and felling of trees, hewing and sawing of them, and such like worke, meet for those persons as are no men of art or science.

Hempe doth grow neere S. Laurence riuer naturally.

Many other things may be found to the great reliefe and good employments of no small number, of the naturall subiects of this realme, which do now liue heere idlely to the common annoy of the whole state. Neither may I heere omit the great hope and likelihood of a passage by the Grand bay, into the South seas, confirmed by sundry authors to be found leading to Cataia, the Moluccaes and Spiceries, whereby may ensue as generall a benefit to the realme, or greater then yet hath beene spoken of, without either such charges, or other inconueniences, as by the tedious tract of time and perill, which the ordinary passage to those parts at this day doth minister.

Read the beginning of the booke intituled, Diuers voyages touching the discouery of America.

And to conclude this argument withall, it is well knowne to all men of sound iudgement, that this voyage is of greater importance, and will be found more beneficiall to our countrey, then all other voyages at this day in vse and trade amongst vs.

The fift chapter sheweth, that the trading and planting in those countryes is likely to proue to the perticular profit of all aduenturers.

I Must now according to my promise shew forth some probable reasons, that the aduenturers in this iourney are to take particular profit by the same. It is therefore conuenient that I do diuide the aduenturers into two sorts: the noblemen & gentlemen by themselues, and the merchants by themselues. For as I do heare, it is meant that there shall be one society of the noblemen and gentlemen, and another society of the merchants. And yet not so diuided, but that ech society may freely and frankly trade and traffike one with the other.

And first to bend my speech to the noblemen and gentlemen, who do chiefly seeke a temperate climate, wholesome ayre, fertile soile, and a strong place by nature, whereupon they may fortifie, and there either plant themselues, or such other persons as they shall thinke good to send to be lords of that place and countrey: to them I say that all these things are very easy to be found within the degrees of 30 and 60 aforesaid, either by South or North, both in the Continent, and in Islands thereunto adioyning at their choise: but the degree certaine of the eleuation of the pole, and the very climate where these places of force and fertility are to be found, I omit to make publike, for such regard as the wiser sort can easily coniecture: the rather because I do certainly vnderstand, that some of those which haue the managing of this matter, know it as well or better then I my selfe, and do meane to reueale the same when cause shall require, to such persons whom it shall concerne, and to no other: so that they may seat and settle themselues in such climate as shall best agree with their owne nature, disposition, and good liking: and in the whole tract of that land, by the description of as many as haue beene there, great plenty of minerall matter of all sorts, and in very many places, both stones of price, pearle and christall, and great store of beasts, birds, and fowles both for pleasure and necessary vse of man are to be found.

Beasts for pleasure.

And for such as take delight in hunting, there are Stagges, Wilde boares, Foxes, Hares, Cunnies, Badgers, Otters, and diuers other such like for pleasure. Also for such as haue delight in hauking, there are hauks of sundry kindes, and great store of game, both for land and riuer, as Fezants, Patridges, Cranes, Heronshawes, Ducks, Mallards, and such like. There is also a kinde of beast, much bigger then an Oxe, whose hide is more then eighteene foot long, of which sort a country man of ours, one Walker a sea man, who was vpon that coast, did for a trueth report in the presence of diuers honourable and worshipfull persons, that he and his company did finde in one cottage aboue two hundred and forty hides, which they brought away and solde in France for forty shillings an hide: and with this agreeth Dauid Ingram, and describeth that beast at large, supposing it to be a certaine kinde of Buffe: there are likewise beasts and fowles of diuers kinds, which I omit for breuities sake, great store of fish both in the salt water and in the fresh, plentie of grapes as bigge as a mans thumbe, and the most delicate wine of the Palme tree, of which wine there be diuers of good credit in this realme haue tasted: and there is also a kinde of graine called

Hides solde for forty shillings a piece.

Great grapes. Wine of the Palmetree.

Maize

Maize, Potato rootes, and sundry other fruits naturally growing there: so that after such time as they are once setled, they shall need to take no great care for victuall.

And now for the better contentation and satisfaction of such worshipfull, honest minded, and well disposed merchants, as haue a desire to the furtherance of euery good and commendable action, I will first say vnto them, as I haue done before to the noblemen and gentlemen, that within the degrees abouesaid, is doubtlesse to be found the most wholesom and best temperature of ayre, fertility of soile, and euery other commodity or merchandize, for the which, with no small perill we do trauell into Barbary, Spaine, Portingall, France, Italie, Moscouie & Danske. All which may be either presently had, or at the least wise in very short time, procured from thence with lesse danger then now we haue them. And yet to the end my argument shall not altogether stand vpon likelihoods and presumptiõs, I say that such persons as haue discouered and trauelled those parts, do testifie that they haue found in those countryes all these things following, namely:

Of beasts for furres.
Marterns.
Beauers.
Foxes, blacke and white.
Leopards.

Of Wormes.
Silke wormes great & large

Of Birds.
Hawkes.
Bitters.
Curlewes.
Herons.
Partridges.
Cranes.
Mallards.
Wilde geese.
Stocke dooues.
Margaus.
Blacke birds.
Parrots.
Pengwins.

Of Fishes.
Codde.
Salmon.
Seales.
Herrings.

Of Trees.
Palme trees yeelding sweet wines.
Cedars.
Firres.
Sasafras.
Oake.
Elme.
Popler.

And sundry other strange Trees, to vs vnknowen.

Of Fruites.
Grapes very large.
Muskemellons.
Limmons.
Dates great.
Orrenges.
Figges.
Proines.
Raisins great and small.
Pepper.
Almonds.
Citrons.

Of Mettals.
Golde.
Siluer.
Copper.
Lead.
Tinne.

Of Stones.
Turkies.
Rubies.
Pearls great & faire.
Marble, of diuers kindes.
Iasper.
Christall.

Sundry other commodities of all sorts.
Rosen.
Pitch.
Tarre.
Turpentine.
Frankensence.
Honny.
Waxe.
Rubarbe.
Oile Oliue.
Traine oile.
Muske codde.
Salt.
Tallow.
Hides.
Hempe.
Flaxe.
Cochenello & dies of diuers sorts.
Feathers of sundrie sorts, as for pleasure and filling of Featherbeds.

And seeing that for small costs, the truth of these things may be vnderstood (whereof this intended supply will giue vs more certaine assurance) I doe finde no cause to the contrary, but that all well minded persons should be willing to aduenture some conuenient portion for the furtherance of so good an enterprise.

Now for the triall heerof, considering that in the articles of the society of the aduentures in this voyage, there is prouision made, that no aduenturer shall be bound to any further charge then his first aduenture: and yet notwithstanding keepe still to himselfe, his children, his apprentises and seruants, his and their freedome for trade and traffike, which is a priuilege that aduenturers in other voyages haue not: and in the said articles it is likewise prouided, that none other then such as haue aduentured in the first voyage, or shall become aduenturers in this supply, at any time heerafter are to be admitted in the said society, but as redemptionaries, which will be very chargeable: therefore generally I say vnto all such according to the olde prouerbe, Nothing venture, nothing haue. For if it do so fall out, according to the great hope and expectation had (as by Gods grace it will) the gaine which now they reape by traffike into other far coũtries, shall by this trade returne with lesse charge, greater gaine, & more safety: Lesse charge I say, by reason of the ample & large deepe riuers at the very banke, wherof there is many, wherby both easily & quetly they may transport frõ ỹ innermost parts of the main land, all kinde of merchandize, yea in vessels of great burdẽ, & that three times, or twise in the yere at the least. But let vs omit all presũptions how behemẽt soeuer, & dwell vpon ỹ certeinty of such cõmodities as were discouered by sir Humfry Gilbert, & his assistants in Newfound land in August last. For there may be very easily made, Pitch, Tar, Rosen, Commodities found in August last

Sope ashes, in great plenty, yea, as it is thought, inough to serue the whole realme of euery of these kindes: And of Traine oile such quantity, as if I should set downe the value that they doe esteeme it at, which haue beene there, it would seeme incredible.

It is heereby intended, that these commodities in this abundant maner, are not to be gathered from thence, without planting and setling there. And as for other things of more value, and that of more sorts and kindes then one or two (which were likewise discouered there) I doe holde it for some respects, more meet for a time to be concealed then vttered.

Of the fishing I do speake nothing, because it is generally knowen: and it is not to be forgotten, what trifles they be that the Sauages do require in exchange of these commodities: yea, for pearle, golde, siluer, and pretious stones. All which are matters in trade and traffike of great moment. But admit that it should so fall out, that the aboue specified commodities shall not happily be found out within this first yeere: Yet it is very cleere that such and so many may be found out as shall minister iust occasion to thinke all cost & labor well bestowed. For it is very certaine, that there is one seat fit for fortification, of great safety, wherin these commodities following, especially are to be had, that is to say, Grapes for wine, Whales for oyle, Hempe for cordage, and other necessary things, and fish of farre greater sise, and plenty, then that of Newfound land, and of all these so great store, as may suffice to serue our whole realme.

Besides all this, if credit may be giuen to the inhabitants of the same soile, a certaine riuer doth thereunto adioyne, which leadeth to a place abounding with rich substance: I do not heerby meane the passage to the Moluccaes, whereof before I made mention.

And it is not to be omitted, how that about two yeres past, certaine merchants of S. Mallowes in France, did hyre a shippe out of the Iland of Jersey, to the end that they would keepe that trade secret from theyr countreymen, and they would admit no mariner, other then the ship boy belonging to the said shippe, to go with them, which shippe was about 70 tunne. I do know the shippe and the boy very well, and am familiarly acquainted with the owner, which voyage proued very beneficiall.

To conclude, this which is already said, may suffice any man of reasonable disposition, to serue for a taste, vntill such time as it shall please almighty God through our owne industrie, to send vs better tidings. In the meane season, if any man well affected to this iourney, shall stand in doubt of any matter of importance touching the same, he may satisfie himselfe with the iudgement and liking of such of good calling and credit, as are principall dealers heerin. For it is not necessary in this treatise, publikely to set forth the whole secrets of the voyage.

The sixt chapter sheweth that the traffike and planting in those countries, shall be vnto the Sauages themselues very beneficiall and gainefull.

NOw to the end it may appeare, that this voyage is not vndertaken altogether for the peculiar commodity of our selues, and our country (as generally other trades and iournies be) it shall fall out in proofe, that the Sauages shall heerby haue iust cause to blesse the houre, when this enterprise was vndertaken.

First and chiefly, in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospell of our Sauiour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from fallhood to trueth, from darkenesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatry to sincere Christianity, from the deuill to Christ, from hell to heauen. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeeld vs (were they many moe) that they should but receiue this only benefit of Christianity, they were more then fully recompenced.

But heerunto it may be obiected, that the Gospell must be be freely preached, for such was the example of the Apostles: vnto whom although the authorities and examples before alleged of Emperours, Kings, and Princes, aswell before Christes time as since, might sufficiently satisfie: yet for further answere, we may say with S. Paul: If we haue sowen vnto you heauenly things, do you thinke it much that we should reape your carnall things? And withall, The workman is woorthie of his hire. These heauenly tidings which those labourers our countreymen (as messengers of Gods great goodnesse and mercy) will voluntarily present vnto them, doe farre exceed theyr earthly riches. Moreouer, if the other inferior worldly & temporall things, which they shall receiue from vs, be waied in equall ballance, I assure my selfe, that by equall iudgement of any indifferent person, the benefits which they then receiue, shall farre surmount those which they shall depart withall vnto vs. And admit that they had (as they haue not) the knowledge to put theyr land to some vse: yet being brought from brutish ignorance to ciuility and knowledge, and

2. Cor. 9.

made

made them to vnderstand how the tenth part of their land may be so manured and employed, as it may yeeld more commodities to the necessary vse of mans life, then the whole now doth: What iust cause of complaint may they haue? And in my priuate opinion, I doe verily thinke that God did create land, to the end that it should by culture and husbandry, yeeld things necessary for mans life.

But this is not all the benefit which they shall receiue by the Christians: for, ouer and beside the knowledge how to till and dresse their grounds, they shall be reduced from vnseemely customes to honest maners, from disordered riotous routs and companyes to a well gouerned common wealth, and withall shalbe taught mecanicall occupations, arts, and liberall sciences: and which standeth them most vpon, they shalbe defended from the cruelty of their tyrannicall and bloud sucking neighbors the Canibals, whereby infinite number of their liues shall be preserued. And lastly, by this meanes many of their poore innocent children shalbe preserued from the bloudy knife of the sacrificer, a most horrible and detestable custome in the sight of God and man, now and euer heeretofore vsed amongst them. Many other things could I heere allege to this purpose, were it not that I do feare least I haue already more then halfe tired the reader.

This bargen can not be vniust, where both parties are gamers.

The seuenth chapter sheweth that the planting there, is not a matter of such charge or difficultie, as many would make it seeme to be.

NOw therefore for proofe, that the planting in these parts is a thing that may be done without the aide of the princes power and purse, contrary to the allegation of many malicious persons, who will neither be actors in any good action themselues, nor so much as afoord a good word to the setting forward thereof: and that worse is, they will take vpon them to make molehilles seeme mountaines, and flies elephants, to the end they may discourage others, that be very well or indifferently affected to the matter, being like vnto Esops dogge, which neither would eat hay himselfe, nor suffer the poore hungry asse to feed thereon:

I say and affirme that God hath prouided such meanes for the furtherance of this enterprise, as doe stand vs in stead of great treasure: for first by reason that it hath pleased God of his great goodnesse, of long time to holde his mercifull hand ouer this realme, in preseruing the people of the same, both from slaughter by the sword, and great death by plague, pestilẽce, or otherwise, there are at this day great numbers (God he knoweth) which liue in such penury and want, as they coulde be contented to hazard their liues, and to serue one yeere for meat, drinke and apparell only, without wages, in hope thereby to amend their estates: which is a matter in such like iournyes, of no small charge to the prince. Moreouer, thinges in the like iournyes of greatest price and cost, as victuall (whereof there is great plenty to be had in that countrey without money) and powder, great artillery, or corselets, are not needfull in so plentifull and chargeable maner, as the shew of such a iourney may present: for a small quantity of all these to furnish the fort onely, will suffice vntill such time as diuers commodities may be found out in those parts, which may be thought well worthy a greater charge. Also the peculiar benefit of archers which God hath blessed this land withall before all other nations, will stand vs in great stead amongst those naked people.

Another helpe we haue also, which in such like cases is a matter of maruellous cost, and will be in this iourney procured very easily (that is to say) To transport yeerely as well our people, as all other necessaries needfull for them into those parts by the fleet of merchants, that yeerely venture for fish in Newfound land, being not farre distant from the countrey meant to be inhabited, who commonly go with empty vessels in effect, sauing some little fraught with salt. And thus it appeareth that the souldiors wages, and the transportation may be defrayed for farre lesse summes of money then the detractors of this enterprise haue giuen out. Againe, this intended voyage for conquest, hath in like maner many other singular priuileges wherewith God hath, as it were, with his holy hand blessed the same before all others. For after once we are departed the coast of England, we may passe straight way thither, without danger of being driuen into any the countryes of our enemies, or doubtfull friends: for commonly one winde serueth to bring vs thither, which seldome faileth from the middle of Januarie to the middle of May, a benefite which the mariners make great account of, for it is a pleasure that they haue in few or none of other iourneyes. Also the passage is short, for we may goe thither in thirtie or fortie dayes at the most, hauing but an indifferent winde, & returne continually in twenty or foure & twenty dayes at the most. And in the same our iourny, by reason it is in the Ocean, & quite out of the way from the intercourse of other countryes, we may safely trade and traffike without perill of piracy: neither shall our ships, people, or goods there, be subiect to arrest or molestation of any Pagan potentate, Turkish tyrant, yea, or Christian prince, which heeretofore, sometimes vpon slender occasion in other parts, haue

staped our shippes and merchandizes, whereby great numbers of our countreymen haue beene vtterly vndone, diuers put to ransome, yea, and some lost theyr liues: a thing so fresh in memory as it needeth no proofe, and well worthy of consideration.

Besides, in this voyage we do not crosse the burnt line, whereby commonly both beuerage and victuall are corrupted, and mens healths very much impayred, neither doe we passe the frozen seas, which yeeld sundry extreme dangers: but haue a temperate climate at all times of the yere, to serue our turnes. And lastly, there need no delayes by the way, for taking in of fresh water and fewell, (a thing vsually done in long iournies) because as I said aboue, the voyage is not long, and the fresh waters taken in there, our men heere in England, at theyr returne home, haue found so wholesom and sweet, that they haue made choise to drinke it before our beere and ale.

Beholde heere, good countrey men, the manifolde benefits, commodities and pleasures heeretofore vnknowne, by Gods especiall blessing not onely reuealed vnto vs, but also as it were infused into our bosomes, who though hitherto like dormice haue slumbered in ignorance thereof, being like the cats that are loth for theyr pray to wet theyr feet: yet if now therefore, at the last we would awake, and with willing mindes (setting friuolous imaginations aside) become industrious instruments to our selues, questionlesse we should not onely heereby set forth the glory of our heauenly father, but also easily attaine to the end of all good purposes, that may be wished or desired.

And may it not much encourage vs to hope for good successe in the countrey of these Sauages, being a naked kinde of people, voyd of the knowledge of the discipline of warre, seeing that a noble man, being but a subiect in this realme (in the time of our king Henrie the second) by name Strangbowe, then earle of Chepstow in South Wales, by himselfe and his allies and assistants, at theyr owne proper charges, passed ouer into Ireland, and there made conquest of the now countrey, and then kingdome of Lynester, at which time it was very populous and strong, which history our owne chronicles do witnesse: And why should we be dismayed more then were the Spanyards, who haue beene able within these few yeeres to conquer, possesse and enioy so large a tract of the earth, in the West Indies, as is betweene the two tropikes of Cancer and Capricorne, not onely in the maine firme land of America, which is 47 degrees in latitude from South to North, and doth containe 2820 English miles at the least, that the king of Spaine hath there in actuall possession, besides many goodly and rich Ilands, as Hispaniola, now called S. Domingo, Cuba, Iamaica, and diuers other, which are both beautifull and full of treasure, not speaking any whit at all, how large the said land is from East to West, which in some places is accounted to be 1500 English miles at the least, from East to West, betweene the one sea and the other.

2. Decad. lib. 5. fol. 77. of the West Indies, in English. Canoas is a kinde of boat.

Or why should our noble nation be dismaid, more then was Vasques Nunnes de Valboa, a priuate gentleman of Spaine, who with the number of 70 Spaniards at Tichiri, gaue an ouerthrow vnto that mighty king Chemacchus, hauing an armie of an hundred canoas and 5000 men, and the said Vasques Nunnes not long after, with his small number, did put to flight king Chiapes his whole armie.

3. Decad. lib. 1. fol. 97. About the yere of our Lord 1511.

Likewise Hernando Cortes, being also but a priuate gentleman of Spaine, after his departure from the Ilands of Cuba and Acusamill, and entring into the firme of America, had many most victorious & triumphant conquests, as that at Cyntla, where being accompanyed with lesse then 500 Spanish footmen, thirteene horsemen, and sixe pieces of ordinance onely he ouerthrew 40000 Indians. The same Cortes with his said number of Spanyards, tooke prisoner that mighty Emperour Mutezuma in his most chiefe and famous citie of Mexico, which at that instant had in it aboue the number of 500000 Indians at the least, and in short time after obteined not onely the quiet possession of the said citie, but also of his whole Empire.

Conquest of the West Indies. fol. 43 & 45 English.

And in like maner in the countrey of Peru, which the king of Spaine hath now in actuall possession, Francisco Pysarro, with the onely ayd of Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luche, being all three but priuate gentlemen, was the principall person that first attempted discouerie and conquest of the large and rich countrey of Peru, which through the ayde of the almighty, he brought to passe and atchieued in the Tambo of Cassiamalcha, (which is a large place of ground, enclosed with walles) in which place he tooke the great and mightie prince Attabalipa prisoner, amidst the number of 60000 Indians his subiects, which were euer before that day accounted to be a warlike kinde of people, which his great victory it pleased God to grant vnto him in the yeere of our Lord God 1533, he not hauing in his company aboue the number of 210 Spanyards, whereof there were not past three score horsemen in all: after the taking of which prince Attabalipa, he offered vnto Pyzarro for his ransome, to fill a great large hall full of golde and siluer, and such golde and siluer vessels as they then vsed, euen as high as a man might reach with his arme.

A marueilous victory.

And

And the sayd prince caused the same hall to be marked round about at the sayd height, which ransome Pyzarro granted to accept. And after, whē as this mightie prince had sent to his vassals and subiects to bring in gold and siluer for the filling of the hall, as aforesaid, as namely to the cities or townes of Quito, Paciacama and Cusco, as also to the Caloa of Lima, in which towne as their owne writers doe affirme, they found a large and faire house, all slated and couered with gold: and when as the said hall was not yet a quarter ful, a mutinie arose amongst the Spaniards, in which it was commonly giuen out, that the said prince had politikely offered this great ransome vnder pretence to raise a much more mightie power, whereby the Spaniards should be taken, slain and ouerthrowen: whereupon they grew to this resolution, to put the sayd prince to death, and to make partition of the golde and siluer alreadie brought in, which they presently put in execution. And comming to make perfect Inuentorie of the same, as well for the emperour then king of Spaine, his fift part, as otherwise, there was found to be alreadie brought in into the sayd hall, the number of 132425. pound weight of siluer and in gold the number of 1828125. pezoes, which was a riches neuer before that nor since seene of any man together, of which there did appertaine to the emperour for his fift part of golde 365625. pezoes, and for his fift part of siluer, 26485. pound waight, and to euery horseman eight thousand pezoes of gold, and 67. pound waight of siluer. Euery souldiour had 4550. pezoes of gold, and 280. pound waight of siluer. Euery captain had, some 30000. some 20000. pezoes of gold and of siluer, proportionally answerable to their degrees and calling, according to the rate agreed vpon amongst them.

Francis Pizarro as their generall, according to his degree and calling proportionally, had more then any of the rest, ouer and besides the massie table of gold which Attabalipa had in his Litter, which waighed 25000. pezoes of golde: neuer was there before that day souldiours so rich in so small a time, and with so litle daunger. And in this iourney for want of iron, they did shooe their horses, some with golde, and some with siluer. This is to bee seene in the generall historie of the West Indies, where as the doings of Pizarro, & the conquest of Peru is more at large set foorth.

To this may I adde the great discoueries and conquests which the princes of Portingall haue made round about the West, the South, and the East partes of Affrica, and also at Calicute, and in the East Indies, and in America, at Brasile and elsewhere in sundry Islands, in fortifying, peopling and planting all along the said coastes and Islands, euer as they discouered, which being rightly weied and considered, doeth minister iust cause of incouragement to our countrymen, not to account it so hard and difficult a thing for the subiects of this noble realme of England, to discouer, people, plant and possesse the like goodly lands and rich countries not farre from vs, but neere adioining and offering it selfe vnto vs (as is aforesaid) which haue neuer yet heretofore, bene in the actuall possession of any other Christian prince, then the princes of this realme. All which (as I thinke) should not a litle animate and encourage vs to looke out and to aduenture abroad, vnderstanding what large countries and Islands the Portingals with their small number haue within these few yeeres discouered, peopled and planted, some part whereof I haue thought it not amisse, briefly in particular to name both the townes, countries and Islands, so neere as I could vpon the sudden call them to remembrance: for the rest I doe referre the Reader to the histories, where more at large the same is to be seene. First, they did winne and conquere from the princes of Barbarie the Island of Geisera and towne of Arzilla, not past 140. mile distant from their Metropolitane & chiefe citie of Fesse: and after that they wonne also from the said princes the townes of Tangier, Seuta, Mazigam, Azamore, and Azaffie, all alongst the Sea coasts. And in the yeere of our Lord, 1455. Alouis de Cadamosta a gentleman Uenetian, was he that first discouered for their vse Cape Verd, with the Islands adioining, of which he then peopled and planted those of Bonauista and San Iago discouering also the riuer Senega, otherwise called Niger and Cape Rouge & Sierra Leone, and in a few yeeres after they did discouer the coast of Guinea, and there peopled and built the castle of Mine: then discouered they further to the countries of Melegettes, Benin, and Manicongo, with the Islands of Principe, Anobon, S. Mathew, and S. Thomas vnder the Equinoctiall line, which they peopled and built in the said Island of S. Thomas, the hauen towne or port of Pauosan. After that, about the yeere of our Lord, 1494. one Bartholomew Dias was sent foorth, who was the first man that discouered and doubled that great and large Cape called Bon Esperance, and passing the currants that run vpon the said coast, on the South-east part of Affrica, betweene the said maine land and the Island of S. Lawrence, otherwise called of the ancients, Madagascar, he discouered to the harbor named the riuer of Infants. After that since the yeere of our Lord God, 1497. and before the ful accomplishment of the yeere of Christ, 1510, through the trauails and discoueries of Vasques de Game, Peter Aluares, Thomas Lopes, Andrew Corsale, Iohn de Empoli, Peter Sinter, Sancho Detoar, and that noble and worthy gentleman

Ceffala accounted to be the place where the noble and wise king Salomon did fetch his gold.

man Alonso de Albuquerque, they did discouer people, and plant at Ceffala, being vpon the East side of Affrica, in twentie degrees of latitude of the South pole, and direct West from the Iland of S. Laurence (at which port of Ceffala, diuers doe affirme that king Salomon did fetch his gold) as also vpon the said East side of Affrica, they did afterward discouer, people, and plant at Mozambique, Quiloa, Monbaza and Melinde, two degrees of Southerly latitude, and so vp to the streight of Babel-Mandell at the entring of the red sea, all vpon the East coast of Affrica, from whence they put off at the Cape of Garda Fu, and past the great gulfe of Arabia, or Indian Sea East to Sinus Persicus, and the Iland of Ormus, and so passing the large and great Riuer Indus, where he hath his fall into the maine Ocean, in 23. degrees and an halfe, vnder the tropike of Cancer, of Septentrionall latitude, they made their course againe directly towards the South, and began to discouer, people, and plant vpon the West side of the hither India at Goa, Mangallor, Cananor, Calecute and Cochin, and the Iland of Zeilam.

And here I thinke good to remember to you, that after their planting vpon this coast, their forces grew so great that they were able to compell all the Moores, the subiectes of the mightie Emperour of the Turkes to pay tribute vnto them, euer as they passed the gulfe of Arabia, from the port of Mecca in Arabia fœlix, where Mahomet lieth buried, or any of the other portes of the sayd land, euer as they passed to and from the hauens of Cochin, Calecute and Cananor, and by their martiall maner of discipline practised in those partes, the great and mightie prince the Sophie Emperour of the Persians, and professed enemie to the Turke, came to the knowledge and vse of the Caliuer shot, and to enterlace and ioyne footemen with his horsemen, sithence which time the Persians haue growen to that strength and force, that they haue giuen many mightie and great ouerthrowes to the Turke, to the great quiet of all Christendome.

And from the Iland of Zeilam aforesayd, they also discouered more East in passing the gulfe of Bengala, and so passed the notable and famous Riuer of Ganges, where hee hath his fall into the maine Ocean, vnder the tropike of Cancer, and to the Cape of Malaca, and vnto the great and large Ilands of Sumatra, Iaua maior, Iaua minor, Mindano, Palobane, Celebes, Gilolo, Tidore, Mathin, Borneio, Machian, Terrenate, and all other the Ilands of Molucques and Spiceries, and so East alongst the coasts of Cathaia, to the portes of China, Zaiton and Quinsay, and to the Iland of Zipango and Iapan, situate in the East, in 37. degrees of Septentrionall latitude and in 195. of longitude. Their noble and worthy discoueries here also is not to bee forgotten, that in the peere of our Lord, 1501. that famous & woorthy gentleman Americus Vespucius, did discouer, people, and plant to their vse the holds and fortes which they haue in Brasill, of whom (he being but a priuate Gentleman) the whole countrey or firme land of the West Indies, is commonly called and knowen by the name of America.

These are the furthest parts of the world from England.

At these Ilands hath sir Fraunces Drake bene, where the fame of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie was renowmed.

I doe greatly doubt least I seeme ouertedious in the recitall of the particular discoueries and conquests of the East and West Indies, wherein I was the more bold to vrge the patience of the Reader, to the end it might most manifestly and at large appeare, to all such as are not acquainted with the histories, how the king of Portingal, whose countrey for popularitie and number of people, is scarce comparable to some three shires of England, and the king of Spaine likewise, whose naturall countrey doeth not greatly abound with people, both which princes by meanes of their discoueries within lesse then 90. yeeres past, haue as it appeareth both mightily and marueilously enlarged their territories and dominions through their owne industrie by the assistance of the omnipotent, whose aide we shall not need to doubt, seeing the cause and quarell which we take in hand tendeth to his honour and glory, by the enlargement of the Christian faith.

To conclude, since by christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as doe tend to the encreasing the true flocke of Christ by reducing into the right way those lost sheepe which are yet astray: And that we shall therein follow the example of our right vertuous predecessors of renowmed memorie, and leaue vnto our posteritie a deuine memorial of so godly an enterprise: Let vs I say for the considerations alleaged, enter into iudgement with our selues, whether this action may belong to vs or no, the rather for that this voiage through the mightie assistance of the omnipotent God, shall take our desired effect (whereof there is no iust cause of doubt). Then shall her Maiesties dominions be enlarged, her highnesse auncient titles iustly confirmed, all odious idlenes from this our realme vtterly banished, diuers decaied townes repaired, and many poore and needie persons relieued, and estates of such as now liue in want shall be embettered, the ignorant and barbarous idolaters taught to know Christ, the innocent defended from their bloodie tyrannicall neighbours, the diabolicall custome of sacrificing humane creatures abolished.

All which (no man doubteth) are things gratefull in the sight of our Sauiour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore, for hee that cannot

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erre hath ſayd: That before the ende of the world, his word ſhall be preached to all nations. Which good worke I truſt is reſerued for our nation to accompliſh in theſe partes: Wherefore my deare countreymen, be not diſmaied, for the power of God is nothing diminiſhed, nor the loue that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Goſpell any whit abated. Shall wee then doubt he will be leſſe ready moſt mightily and miraculouſly to aſſiſt our nation in this quarell, which is chiefly and principally vndertaken for the enlargement of the Chriſtian faith abroad, and the baniſhment of idlenes at home, then he was to Columbus, Vaſques Nunnes, Hernando Cortes, and Francis Pizarro in the Weſt: & Vaſques de Gama, Peter Aluares, and Alonſo de Albuquerque in the Eaſt: Let vs therefore with the erefull mindes and couragious hearts, giue the attempt, and leaue the ſequell to almightie God: for if he be on our part, what forceth it who be againſt vs: Thus leauing the correction and reformation vnto the gentle Reader, whatſoeuer is in this treatiſe too much or too litle, or otherwiſe vnperfect, I take leaue, and ſo end.

A letter written from M. Thomas Aldworth merchant, and then Maior of the citie of Briſtow, to the right hononrable Sir Francis Walſingham principall Secretarie to her Maieſtie, concerning a Weſterne voiage intended for diſcoueries in America.

RIght honourable, vpon the receit of your letters directed vnto mee and deliuered by the bearers hereof M. Richard Haklupt and M. Steuenton, bearing date the 11. of March, I preſently conferred with my friends in priuate, whom I know moſt affectionate to this godly enterpriſe, eſpecially with M. William Salterne deputie of our companie of merchants: whereupon my ſelfe being as then ſicke, with as conuenient ſpeed as he could, he cauſed an aſſemblie of the merchants to be gathered, where after dutifull mention of your honourable diſpoſition for the benefite of this citie, he by my appointment cauſed your letters being directed vnto me priuatly, to be read in publike, & after ſome good light giuen by M. Haklupt vnto thē that were ignorant of the country and enterpriſe, and were deſirous to be reſolued, the motion grew generally ſo well to bee liked, that there was eſtſoones ſet down by mens owne hands then preſent, and apparantly knowen by their owne ſpeach, and very willing offer, the ſumme of 1000. markes and vpward: which ſumme if it ſhould not ſuffice, we doubt not but otherwiſe to furniſh out for this Weſterne diſcouerie, a ſhip of three ſcore, and a barke of 40. tunne, to be left in the countrey vnder the direction and gouernment of your ſonne in law M. Carlile, of whom we haue heard much good, if it ſhal ſtand with your honours good liking and his acceptation. In one of which barks we are alſo willing to haue maſter Steuenton your honors meſſenger, and one well knowen to vs, as captaine. And here in humble maner, deſiring your honor to vouchſafe vs of your further direction by a general letter to my ſelfe, my brethren, and the reſt of the merchants of this citie, at your honors beſt and moſt conuenient leiſure, becauſe we meane not to deferre the finall proceeding in this voiage, any further then to the end of Aprill next comming, I ceaſe, beſeeching God long to bleſſe and proſper your honourable eſtate. Briſtow. March 27. 1583.

A briefe and ſummarie diſcourſe vpon the intended voyage to the hithermoſt parts of America: written by captaine Carlill in Aprill, 1583. for the better inducement to ſatiſfie ſuch Merchants of the Moſcouian companie and others, as in disburſing their money towards the furniture of the preſent charge, doe demaund forthwith a preſent returne of gaine, albeit their ſaid particular disburſements are required but in very ſlender ſummes, the higheſt being 25. li. the ſecond at 12. li. 10. s. and the loweſt at 6. pound fiue ſhillings.

WHen the Goldſmith deſireth to finde the certaine goodneſſe of a peece of gold, which is newly offered vnto him, he preſently bringeth the ſame to the Touchſtone, where, by comparing the ſhew or touch of this new piece with the touch or ſhew of that which he knoweth of old, he foorthwith is able to iudge what the value is of that, which is newly offered vnto him. After the example whereof I haue thought it good to make ſome briefe repetition of the particular eſtate of many other forren voiages and trades already frequented and knowen vnto vs, whereby you may be the better able to conceiue and iudge what certaine likelyhood of good there is to be expected in the voiage, which is preſently recommended vnto your knowledge and reſolution.

And

Moscouie. And first to lay downe that of Moscouia, whose beginning is yet in the remembrance of many: It is well knowen, that what by the charges of the first discouerie, and by the great gifts bestowed on the Emperour and his Nobilitie, together with the lewd dealing of some of their seruaunts, who thought themselues safe enough from orderly punishment, it cost the companie aboue foure score thousand pounds, before it could bee brought to any profitable reckoning. And now that after so long a patience and so great a burthen of expences, the same began to frame to some good course and commoditie: It falleth to very tickelish termes, and to as slender likelyhood of any further goodnesse as any other trade that may be named.

For first the estate of those countreys and the Emperours dealings, are things more fickle then are by euery body vnderstood.

Dutchmen. Next, the Dutchmē are there so crept in, as they daily augment their trade thither, which may well confirme that vncertaintie of the Emperors disposition to keepe promise with our nation.

Thirdly, the qualitie of the voiage, such as may not be performed but once the yeere.

Fourthly, the charges of all Ambassadours betweene that Prince and her Maiestie, are alwayes borne by the merchants stocke.

Denmarke. And lastly, the danger of the king of Denmarke, who besides that presently he is like to enforce a tribute on vs, hath likewise an aduantage vpon the ships in their voiage, either homewards or outwards whensoeuer he listeth to take the opportunitie.

Easterlings. The badde dealings of the Easterlings are sufficiently knowen to bee such towards our merchaunts of that trade, as they doe not onely offer them manie iniuries ouerlong to bee written, but doe seeke all the meanes they can, to depriue them wholy of their occupying that way: and to the same purpose haue of late cleane debarred them their accustomed and auncient priuiledges in all their great townes.

Turkie. The traffique into Turkie, besides that by some it is thought a hard point to haue so much familiaritie with the professed and obstinate enemie of Christ: It is likewise a voyage which can not be made but at the deuotion, and as it were in the danger of many states, who for sundry respects are apt to quarell with vs vpon sudden occasions, and the presents to be giuen away in Turkie this yeere, cost litle lesse then two thousand pounds.

Leuant. As for the trades into all the partes of Italie, it may easilie be considered by euery one of iudgement, that the same stande in the like termes touching the passages, as that of Turkie, and that many times our Shippes being taken in the way by the Gallies of Barbarie, our poore Mariners after the losse of their goods and trauell, are set at such excessiue taunsomes before they can bee freed of their slauerie, as for the most part they are no way able to discharge. As for example, at this instant there are some prisoners, poore ordinarie Mariners, for whose releasing there must bee paied two hundred Duckets the man, for some three hundred, yea, foure or fiue hundred Duckets the man for some of them. And how enuiously they doe alreadie oppose themselues against our frequenting into their partes, may appeare by the late customs which they haue imposed as well vpon our English merchandize which we bring them, as also vpon such their merchandize which we fetch from them.

Barbarie. The trade into Barbarie groweth likewise to worse termes then before times, and when it was at the best, our merchants haue bene in danger of all their goods they had there, whensoeuer it happened the king to die. For vntill a new were chosen, the libertie of all disordered persons is such, as they spoile and wrong whom they list, without any redresse at all.

Spaine. Portingall. Touching Spaine and Portingall, with whom we haue very great trade, and much the greater, by means of their venting a good part of our wares into their Indies, as also of the prouision they haue from the same, where with are made many of our returnes from them againe: It falleth out that twise the yeere ordinarily we send our Fleetes into those parts: So that whensoeuer the king of Spaine listeth to take the opportunitie, hee may at these seasons depriue vs not onely of a great number of our very good ships, but also of our honestest and ablest sort of Mariners that are to bee found in our whole Realme agayne, which is a matter of no small consequence: for it is to be noted, that when hee shall take a quarell in hand, though it bee but his owne particularly, yet hath he the meanes to put in hazard as well those our shippes which are in his owne Countries of Spaine and Portingall, as also all others which shall be bound to any the partes of all Italie or of Turkie either. And further whosoeuer hee bee that is but so meanely affected in Religion, as of necessitie becommeth euery ordinarie man and good Christian to be, cannot but be agrieued in his heart to consider, that his children and seruaunts whom hee desireth to haue well brought vp, are in these trades of Spaine and Portingall, and all Italie, forced to denie their owne profession, and made to acquaint themselues with that which the Parents and Masters doe vtterlie

denie and refuse, yea which many of them doe in their owne hearts abhorre as a detestable and most wicked doctrine.

But who shall looke into the qualitie of this voyage, being directed to the latitude of fortie degrees or thereabouts, of that hithermost part of America, shall find it hath as many points of good moment belonging vnto it, as may almost be wished for.

1 As first it is to be vnderstood, that it is not any long course, for it may be performed too and fro in foure moneths after the first discouerie thereof. *Commodities of this voyage in shortnesse.*

2 Secondly, that one wind sufficeth to make the passage, where as most of your other voyages of like length, are subiect to 3. or 4. windes.

3 Thirdly, that it is to be performed at all times of the yeere.

4 Fourthly, that the passage is vpon the high sea, whereby you are not bound to the knowledge of dangers, on any other coast, more then of that countrey, and of ours here at home.

5 Fiftly, that those partes of England and Ireland, which lie aptest for the proceeding outward or homeward vpon this voyage, are very well stored of goodly harbors.

6 Sixtly, that it is to be accounted of no danger at all as touching ỹ power of any forren prince or state, when it is compared with any the best of all the other voiages before recited.

7 And to the godly minded, it hath this comfortable commoditie, that in this trade their Factours, bee they their seruauntes or children, shall haue no instruction or confessions of Idolatrous Religion enforced vpon them, but contrarily shall bee at their free libertie of conscience, and shall finde the same Religion exercised, which is most agreeable vnto their Parentes and Maisters.

As for the merchaundising, which is the matter especially looked for, albeit, that for the present, wee are not certainely able to promise any such like quantitie, as is now at the best time of the Moscouian trade brought from thence: So likewise is there not demaunded any such proportion of daily expences, as was at the first, and as yet is consumed in that of Moscouia and other. *Commodities of the countrey more then those of Moscouie.*

But when this of America shall haue bene haunted and practised thirtie yeeres to an ende, as the other hath bene, I doubt not by Gods grace, that for the tenne shippes that are now commonly employed once the yeere into Moscouia, there shall in this voyage twise tenne be imployed well, twise the yeere at the least. And if for the present time there doe fall out nothing els to bee found then the bare Fishing, yet doubt I not after the first yeeres planting, but by that matter onely to serue halfe a dozen of your best sort of ships, although my supply of people doe not follow me so substantially, as in all reason may be well looked for.

But when it is asked what may bee hoped from thence after some yeeres, it is first to bee considered, that this situation in fourtie degrees, shall bee very apte to gather the commodities either of those partes which stande to the Southward of it, as also of those which are to the Northward. *The seuerall merchandise.*

In the Northerlie may bee expected not onely an especiall good Fishing for Salmon, Codde, and Whales, but also any other such commodities, as the Easterne countreys doe yeeld vs nowe: as Pitche, Tarre, Hempe, and thereof Cordage, Maskes, Lasthe hides, riche Furres, and other such like, without beyng in any sort beholding to a king of Dennarke, or other prince or state that shall be in such sort able to commaund our ships at their pleasure, as those doe at this day, by meanes of their straight passages and strong shipping.

As for those partes which lie West and to the Southwardes, it may well bee hoped they will yeeld Wines with a small helpe, since the grapes doe growe there of themselues alreadie very faire and in great aboundaunce. Olives beyng once planted, will yeeld the like Oyle as Spaine, Prouince and Italie. The countrey people beyng made to know, that for Ware and honie, we will giue them such trifling things as they desire of vs, and shewing them once the meanes how to prouide the same, the labour thereof beyng so light, no doubt but in short time they will earnestly care to haue the same in good quantitie for vs. Besides, what great likelyhood there is of good meanes to make Salte, which may serue for the fishing of those partes, may well enough appeare vnto them, who can iudge the qualitie of such places as are required to make the same in. *A lake of salt in Basques his voyage.*

Thus much for the beginning because they may bee had with an easie kind of trauell, but when it may haue pleased God to establish our people there any such time as they may haue planted amongst them in sundrie partes of the Countrey, and that by gentle and familiar entreating them, they bee made to see what is better for them then they doe as yet vnderstand of, and that in so many sortes of occasions as were infinite to bee set downe. It is to bee assuredly hoped,

that

that they will daily by litle and litle forsake their barbarous and sauage liuing, and growe to such order and ciuilitie with vs, as there may bee well expected from thence no lesse quantitie and diuersitie of merchandize then is now had out of Dutchland, Italie, Fraunce or Spaine. And as the bordering neighbours are commonly the aptest to fall out with vs, so these partes being somewhat remote, are the liker to take, or giue lesse occasion of disquiet. But when it is considered that they are our owne kindred, and esteemed our owne countrey nation which haue the gouernment, meaning by those who shall be there planted, who can looke for any other then the dealing of most louing and most assured friends?

There are further to bee considered these two pointes of good importaunce, concerning the matter of trade. The one is, that by the good prospering of this action, there must of necessitie fall out, a very liberall vtteraunce of our English Clothes into a maine Countrey, described to bee bigger then all Europe, the larger part whereof bending to the Northward, shall haue wonderfull great vse of our sayde English Clothes, after they shall once come to knowe the commoditie thereof. The like will be also of many other things, ouermany to bee reckoned, which are made here by our Artificers and labouring people, and of necessitie must bee prouided from hence.

The other is, if there bee any possible meanes to finde a Sea passage or other Fresh water course, which may serue in some reasonable and conuenient sort, to transport our merchandize into the East Indian Sea, though any of these Northerly partes of America, it shall be soonest and most assuredly performed by these who shall inhabite and first grow into familiaritie with the Inland people.

What Minerall matter may fall out to bee found, is a thing left in suspence, vntill some better knowledge, because there bee many men, who hauing long since expected some profites herein, vpon the great promises that haue bene made them, and beyng as yet in no point satisfied, doe thereupon conceiue that they bee but wordes purposely cast out for the inducing of men to bee the more readie and willing to furnish their money towardes the charge of the first discouerie.

But nowe to answere some others who begin with an other obiection, saying: That it is not for the merchaunts purse to continue the charges of transporting and planting: and that since these hundred men which are now to bee planted, will cost foure thousand pound: It is then to bee thought, that the charge of a farre greater number, will bee also a farre greater summe of money.

Whereunto I answere, that in all attempts vnknowen, especially such a one as is this, wherewith wee are presently in hande, the first charges are commonly aduentured in more desperate kinde, then those that follow vpon some better knowledge: and therewith it falleth out, that whereas one aduentureth in the first enterprise, an hundred for that one will of themselues bee willing and desirous to aduenture in the next, if there bee neuer so litle more apparance, that the entended matter is by some knowledge of our owne, found true in some points of our first presumption.

The ewer of metrall brought by M. Frobisher, caused two seuerall supplies, the two peeres next folowing, whereof the latter was of fourteene tall ships.

The examples are many, and may easily be remembred by those who bee merchants, euen in their ordinarie and daily trades, as well as in extraordinarie attempts, which of late yeeres haue fallen into those termes of some likelyhood, as is abouesayde. So then no doubt, but when certaine reportes shall be brought by them who directly come from thence, that such a Countrey and people they haue themselues seene, as is by vs spoken of, but that then there will come forward a greater number of those, who now neither haue heard any thing of the matter, as also of others, who presently make such friuolous scruple, and will not otherwise be satisfied, then by the report of Saint Thomas. I speake not this by the merchaunts whom for their freedomes of trade I would not haue pressed to any further charge then this first preparation, but rather by such as haue great affection to hazard the chauging of their estates, and would be well content to goe in the voyage if they might onely be assured that there is such a countrey, and that their mony should not be wasted to nothing in the preparations.

The right examination of this point must bee the contrary sequell of the common Prouerbe that is vsed, Nothing venture, nothing haue: so on the other side by venturing, many great good profites are found out, to the wonderfull benefite of the Common weale, and to those especiallie in priuate, who take on the hazarde of their life and trauell, or substaunce in the first attemptes: and therefore I would wishe that they, who (God bee thanked) are well able to spare that which is required of eache one towardes the vndertakyng of this aduenture, bee well content and willing to emploie the same, since the sequell in good and substanciall

reason

reason doth promise, not onely a great commoditie in particuler to the marchant, who shall here at home exercise the trade of Marchandise: but also to an infinite nomber of other, who presently liue in poore estate, and may by taking the opportunitie of this discouerie, alter the same to a farre better degree. Wherefore to make some conclusion vpon this point of the Marchants misdoubt, who suspecteth least this first disburssement, without returne of present gaine, should not be all his charge, but that afterwardes hee might yet further be vrged to continue the like againe, as hath happened in the discouerie of the Moscouian trade: It may suffice to consider, that this is not an action, which concerneth onely the Marchants particularly, but a great deale more the generall sort of people throughout all England: And that when such relation shall bee returned, as that it may be founde a matter worthy the following, the whole generalitie will not refuse to contribute towards the furtherance thereof, rather then it should sincke, for want of any reasonable supply.

But as it is a very little time, since I haue bene throughly resolued, to trie my fortune in the matter, so is it more then time, the preparation were in hande already, and therefore no fitte time nowe, to make any nomber of ignorant men to vnderstande with reason, the circumstance that belongeth to a matter of so great consideration and importance.

To those who haue any forwarde mindes in well doing to the generalitie of mankinde, I say this much more, that Christian charitie doeth as greatly perswade the furtherance of this action, as any other that may bee layed before vs, in as much as thereby, wee shall not onely doe a most excellent worke, in respect of reducing the sauage people to Christianitie and ciuilitie, but also in respect of our poore sort of people, which are very many amongst vs, liuing altogether vnprofitable, and often times to the great disquiet of the better sort. For who knoweth not, howe by the long peace, happie health, and blessed plentifulnesse, wherewith God hath endued this Realme, that the people is so mightily encreased, as a great nomber being brought vp, during their youth in their parents houses, without any instruction howe to get their liuings, after their parents decease, are driuen to some necessitie, whereby very often, for want of better education they fall into sundry disorders, and so the good sort of people, as I sayde before, are by them ordinarily troubled, and themselues ledde on, to one shamefull ende or other, whereas if there might bee founde some such kinde of imployment, as this woulde bee, no doubt but a greater part of them would bee withholde, from falling into such vile deedes: and in steade thereof, proue greatly seruiceable in those affaires, where they might be so imployed.

This I speake of mine owne experience, hauing seene diuers come ouer to the warres of the lowe Countreis, during my residence in the same, who here had bene very euill and idle liuers, and by some litle continuance with vs, haue growen to be very industrious in their facultie, which I can assure you, was a more painefull maner of liuing, then in this action is like to fall out, and withall to a purpose of farre lesse valew, in respect of their particuler recompence, then with an assured kinde of good hope is looked for in this.

Thus you see in euery point, that may bee wished for, in a good action and voyage, there is matter and reason ynough to satisfie the well disposed. But nowe to growe somewhat neerer the quicke, and to shewe you some greater apparaunce, then hath bene yet spoken of touching the trade which is the onely subiect wherewith I doe meane to entermeddle at this time, because my addresse hereby is chiefly to men of such like facultie: you may vnderstande by that which followeth, the circumstance of a little discourse, which doeth concerne these matters very directly.

In the yeere 1534. Iames Carthier of S. Malo, made his first discouerie of those partes of America, which lye to the Westwardes, and as it were on the backeside of Newfoundland. In which voyage his principall intention was to seeke out the passage, which hee presumed might haue bene founde out, into the East Indian sea, otherwise called the passage to Cathayo, but this yere he went no higher then the Iland of the Assumption in the great bay of S. Laurence, and so returned backe into Fraunce.

The next yeere following hee went with greater prouision into the Grand bay againe, where hee keeping the Northerly shoare, ranne vp the great Riuer that comes downe from Canada and other places, vntill at last with his small pinnasses, (hauing left his great shipping by the way, hee arriued at Hochelaga towne, being three hundreth leagues within the entrance of the Grand bay. In which trauaile hee had spent so much of the yeere, that it was nowe the moneth of October, and therefore thought it conuenient, for the better enforming himselfe at large in this discouerie, to Winter it out in those partes, which hee did at a place called by himselfe Holy Crosse. This Winter fell out to be a very long and hard winter, as many times the like happeneth with vs in these partes, and the sauage people, who for the most part

make but a ſlender kinde of prouiſion, euen as it were from hande to mouth fell into ſome ſcarcitie of victuals; yet did they not refuſe to ſerue the Frenchmen, with any thing they had all the Winter long, albeit at ſomewhat higher prices towardes the ende, when the neede was moſt, as with our ſelues the like happeneth at ſuch times.

But when the French had had their wantes ſerued all the yeere, and that as yet they ſawe not any apparance of their entended matter, which was the diſcouerie of the paſſage, & yet imagining by the ſignes wherewith the willing people, endeuoured to declare their knowledge in that point, that ſome good matter might bee had from them, if they might haue bene well vnderſtoode, they reſolued with themſelues, to take ſome of the ſufficienteſt men of that Countrey home into Fraunce, and there to keepe them ſo long, as that hauing once atchieued the Frenche tongue, they might declare more ſubſtantially their minde, and knowledge in the ſayde paſſage, concluding this to be the meane of leaſt charge, of leaſt trauaile, and of leaſt hazard.

And when they came to bethinke themſelues, who might bee meeteſt for it, they determined to take the King, as the perſon who might be beſt enfourmed of ſuch partes, as were ſomewhat remote from his owne Countrey, as alſo that for the reſpect of him, the people would bee alwayes readie, and content to doe them any further ſeruice, when it ſhould happen them to returne thither againe about the diſcouerie.

Thus the poore king of the Countrey, with two or three others of his chiefe companions comming aboarde the Frenche ſhippes, being required thither to a banquet, was traiterouſly caried away into France, where hee liued foure yeeres, and then died a Chriſtian there, as Theuet the French kings Coſmographer doeth make mention. This outrage and iniurious dealing, did put the whole Countrey people into ſuch diſlike with the French, as neuer ſince they would admit any conuerſation, or familiaritie with them, vntill of late yeeres, the olde matter beginning to
The yeere 1581. growe out of minde, and being the rather drawen on by giftes of many trifling thinges, which were of great value with them, they are (as I ſaide) within theſe two or three yeeres content againe to admit a trafique, which two yeeres ſince, was begonne with a ſmall barke of thirtie tunnes, whoſe returne was founde ſo profitable, as the next yeere following, being the laſt yeere, by thoſe Marchants, who meant to haue kept the trade ſecret vnto themſelues, from any others of their owne Countrey men, there was hired a ſhippe of foure ſcore tunnes out of the Iſle of Ierſey, but not any one Mariner of that place, ſauing a ſhipboy. This ſhippe made her returne in ſuch ſort, as that this yeere they haue multiplied three ſhippes, to wit, one of nine ſcore tunnes, an other of an hundreth tunnes, and a thirde of foure ſcore tunnes: which report is giuen by very ſubſtantiall and honeſt men of Plimmouth, who ſawe the ſaide ſhippes in readineſſe to depart on their voyage, and were aboord of ſome of them.

Here is at this inſtant in the towne a man of Gerneſey, Lewis de Vicke, who reporteth to haue credibly heard, that by this laſt yeeres voyage the Frenchmen gotte foureteene or fifteene hundreth for euery one hundreth: But howe ſoeuer it be, it carieth good likelyhoode of ſome notable profite, in aſmuch as they doe ſo greatly, and thus ſuddenly encreaſe the burthen and nomber of their ſhippes this preſent yeere.

Nowe, if in ſo litle as two yeeres times this voyage of the Northerne partes bee growne to ſuch good paſſe as hath bene declared vnto you: it is worth the thinking on to conſider what may be hoped for, from the Southerne part: which in all reaſon may promiſe a great deale more. And ſo as one who was neuer touched with any indirect meaning, I preſume to wiſh and perſwade you to ſome better taking of this matter to heart, as a thing which I doe verely thinke will turne to your greater and more aſſured commoditie, then you receiue by any other voyage, as yet frequented of ſo ſhort and ſafe a courſe as this hath: dealing herein no otherwiſe with you for your ſeuerall ſmall ſummes, then I doe with my ſelfe, both for more of mine owne, then is required of any one of you: beſides the hazard and trauaile of my perſon, and the totall imployment of my poore credite, which (I thanke God) hath hitherto paſſed cleare and vnſpotted in matters of greater importance and difficultie, then is like to fall out in this betweene you and me.

Articles

Articles ſet downe by the Committies appointed in the behalfe *of the Companie of Moſcouian Marchants, to conferre* with Maſter Carleil, vpon his entended diſcoueries and attempt into the hithermoſt partes of America.

The names of the Committies.

Maſter Alderman Hart.
Maſter Alderman Spencer.
Maſter Hoddeſden.
Maſter William Burrough.
Maſter Slany.
Maſter Towerſon.
Maſter Stapers.
Maſter Iohn Caſtelin.
Maſter Leake.

FIrſt, the Committies are well perſwaded that the Countrey whereunto this action pretendeth is very fruitfull, inhabited with ſauage people of a milde and tractable diſpoſition. And that of all other places which are vnfrequented at this day, it is the only moſt fitte and moſt commodious for vs to entermeddle withall.

The conuenienteſt maner of attempting this enterpriſe, is thought to bee thus: That there ſhould be one hundreth men conueyed thither to remaine there one whole yere: who with friendly entreatie of the people, may enter into better knowledge of the particular eſtate of the Countrey, and thereby gather what commoditie may be hereafter, or preſently looked for.

The charge to tranſport theſe hundreth men, to victuall them, and to furniſh them of munition and other needefull things, will not be leſſe then foure thouſand pounds: whereof hath bene very readily offered by the Citie of Briſtoll one thouſande pounds, the reſidewe being three thouſande pounds, remaineth to be furniſhed by this Citie of London: or any others who will aduenture their money in this firſt preparation.

The Committies thinke it conuenient that a priuiledge ſhould be procured by Maſter Carleil from her Maieſtie, by vertue whereof theſe conditions and Articles following, may be effectually prouided for.

Firſt, that they who ſhall diſburſe their money for the firſt preparation, ſhall be named Aduenturers, and ſhall haue the one halfe of all ſuch landes, territories, townes, mines of golde and ſiluer, and other mettals whatſoeuer, that ſhall be found, gotten, obtained, and conquered by this diſcouerie: yeelding to her Maieſtie one fift part of all their part golde and ſiluer, as ſhall happen to be had out of any mines that ſo ſhall be found.

That thoſe parties which doe emplope themſelues perſonally in the preſent diſcouerie, ſhall be named Enterpriſers, and ſhall haue the other halfe of all the landes, territories, townes, mines of Golde and ſiluer, and other mettalles, yeelding to her Maieſtie the fift part of the Golde and ſiluer, as the Aduenturers doe: The ſame to bee diſtributed by the Generall, with the conſent of the greateſt part of twelue diſcreete perſons to bee choſen out of the whole nomber of Enterpriſers.

Alſo, that all trade of marchandiſe which ſhall bee vſed to and from thoſe partes, which by this diſcouerie ſhall be found out, ſhall appertaine onely to the Aduenturers which firſt ſhall diſburſe their money for this diſcouerie, with prohibition to all other her Maieſties ſubiects, and other Marchants to deale in the ſaide partes, without the conſent of the firſt Aduenturers, vpon loſſe of ſhippe and goods, and puniſhment of their perſons, that ſo ſhall aduenture in trade of marchandiſe: or otherwiſe by impriſonment at the Companies pleaſure.

That no perſon ſhall hereafter aduenture in this diſcouerie, as Aduenturers for the profites mentioned in the firſt Articles, but ſuch onely as doe diſburſe their money in this firſt preparation: and they ſhall not aduenture hereafter any greater ſumme, then ratably according to their proportion of this their firſt aduenture.

Also, the profite which by this discouerie shall be attained vnto, either by lande which may bee conquered, or otherwise gotten: as also such profite which by this discouerie shall bee obtained by mines, or otherwise gotten, that eche one shall haue his part rate and rate like: according to the proportion of their first aduenture, and not otherwise.

The aduenturers in this first preparation, shall at their owne free will and libertie, choose whether they will supply hereafter any further charge or not: if there doe fall out any such occasion to require the same. And yet withall shall for euer holde to them the freedome of the trade, which shall growe in any of these partes: Notwithstanding their saide refusall to beare any further charge.

That in the Patent which is to be obtained, bee granted, that all her Maiesties subiects, may transport themselues thither that shall be contented to goe: And that the patentee or his assignes may shippe thither from time to time, so many and such persons, men, women and children, as they shall thinke meete. And the same persons to inhabite or remaine there at their pleasure, any lawe to the contrary notwithstanding, with expresse prohibition as is mentioned in the thirde article, against all others, which shall goe thither without the licence of the patentee or his assignes first obtained.

That it shall not be lawful for any of her Maiesties subiects, or any other to inhabite or trafique within two hundred leagues any way of the place, where the Generall shall haue settled his chiefest being or residence.

The letters patents, graunted by the Queenes Maiestie *to M. Walter Ralegh now knight, for the discouering* and planting of new lands and Countreis, to continue the space and time of 6. yeeres and no more.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, Fraunce and Ireland Queene, defender of the faith, &c. To all people to whome these presents shall come, greeting. Knowe yee that of our especial grace, certaine science, and meere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and graunt to our trustie and welbeloued seruant Walter Ralegh Esquire, and to his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie and licence from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to discouer, search, finde out, and view such remote, heathen, and barbarous lands, Countreis, and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince, nor inhabited by Christian people, as to him, his heires and assignes, and to euery or any of them shall seeme good, and the same to haue, holde, occupie and enioy to him, his heires and assignes for euer, with all prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, franchises, and preheminences, thereto or thereabouts both by sea and land, whatsoeuer we by our letters patents may graunt, and as we or any of our noble progenitors haue heretofore graunted to any person or persons, bodies politique or corporate: and the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and all such as from time to time, by licence of vs, our heires and successors, shall goe or trauaile thither to inhabite or remaine, there to build and fortifie, at the discretion of the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, the statutes or acte of Parliament made against fugitiues, or against such as shall depart, remaine or continue out of our Realme of England without licence, or any other statute, acte, lawe, or any ordinance whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And we do likewise by these presents, of our especial grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full authoritie, libertie and power to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them, that he and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may at all and euery time, and times hereafter, haue, take, and leade in the saide voyage, and trauaile thitherward, or to inhabite there with him, or them, and euery or any of them, such, and so many of our subiects as shall willingly accompanie him or them, and euery or any of them: and to whom also we doe by these presents, giue full libertie and authoritie in that behalfe, and also to haue, take and employ, and vse sufficient shipping and furniture for the transportations, and Nauigations in that behalfe, so that none of the same persons or any of them, be such as hereafter shall be restrained by vs, our heires or successors.

And further that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, shall haue,

haue, holde, occupie and enioye to him, his heires and assignes, and euery of them for euer, all the soile of all such landes, territories, and Countreis, so to bee discouered and possessed as aforesaide, and of all such Cities, castles, townes, villages, and places in the same, with the right, royalties, franchises, and iurisdictions, as well marine as other within the saide landes, or Countreis, or the seas thereunto adioyning, to be had, or vsed, with full power to dispose thereof, and of euery part in fee simple or otherwise, according to the order of the lawes of England, as neere as the same conueniently may bee, at his, and their will and pleasure, to any persons then being, or that shall remaine within the allegiance of vs, our heires, and successors: reseruing alwayes to vs, our heires, and successors, for all seruices, dueties, and demaundes, the first part of all the oare of golde and siluer, that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing, shalbe there gotten and obtained: All which landes, Countreis, and territories, shall for euer be holden of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, of vs, our heires and successors, by homage, and by the said paiment of the said fift part, reserued onely for all seruices.

And moreouer, we doe by these presents, for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt licence to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery of them, that he, and they, and euery or any of them, shall & may from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, for his and their defence, encounter and expulse, repell and resist as well by sea as by lande, and by all other wayes whatsoeuer, all, and euery such person and persons whatsoeuer, as without the especiall liking and licence of the saide Walter Ralegh, and of his heires and assignes, shall attempt to inhabite within the said Countreis, or any of them, or within the space of two hundreth leagues neere to the place or places within such Countreis as aforesaid (if they shall not bee before planted or inhabited within the limits as aforesaide with the subiects of any Christian Prince being in amitie with vs) where the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, or assignes, or any of them, or his, or their or any of their associats or company, shall within sixe yeeres (next ensuing) make their dwellings or abidings, or that shall enterprise or attempt at any time hereafter vnlawfully to annoy, either by sea or lande, the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or his or their, or any of his or their companies: giuing, and graunting by these presents further power and authoritie, to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery of them from time to time, and at all times for euer hereafter, to take and surprise by all maner of meanes whatsoeuer, all and euery those person or persons, with their shippes, vessels, and other goods and furniture, which without the licence of the saide Walter Ralegh, or his heires, or assignes, as aforesaide, shalbe founde trafiquing into any harbour, or harbors, creeke, or creekes, within the limits aforesaide, (the subiects of our Realmes and Dominions, and all other persons in amitie with vs, trading to the Newfound lands for fishing as heretofore they haue commonly vsed, or being driuen by force of a tempest, or shipwracke onely excepted:) and those persons, and euery of them, with their shippes, vessels, goods, and furniture to deteine and possesse as of good and lawfull prize, according to the discretion of him the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery, or any of them. And for vniting in more perfect league and amitie, of such Countreis, landes, and territories so to bee possessed and inhabited as aforesaide with our Realmes of England, and Ireland, and the better incouragement of men to these enterprises: we do by these presents, graunt and declare that all such Countreis, so hereafter to be possessed and inhabited as is aforesaide, from thencefoorth shall bee of the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours. And wee doe graunt to the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and to all, and euery of them, and to all, and euery other person, and persons being of our allegiance, whose names shall bee noted or entred in some of our Courtes of record within our Realme of England, that with the assent of the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, shall in his iourneis for discouerie, or in the iourneis for conquest, hereafter trauaile to such lands, countreis and territories, as aforesaide, and to their, and to euery of their heires, that they, and euery or any of them, being either borne within our saide Realmes of England, or Ireland, or in any other place within our allegiance, and which hereafter shall be inhabiting within any the lands, Countreis, and territories, with such licence, (as aforesaide) shall and may haue all the priuiledges of free Denizens, and persons natiue of England, and within our allegiance in such like ample maner and fourme, as if they were borne and personally resident within our said Realme of England, any lawe, custome, or vsage to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for asmuch as vpon the finding out, discouering, or inhabiting of such remote lands, countreis, & territories as aforesaid, it shalbe necessary for the safetie of al men, that shal aduenture themselues in those iourneis or voyages, to determine to liue together in Christian peace, & ciuil quietnes ech with other, wherby euery one may with more pleasure & profit enioy that whereunto they

shall attaine with great paine and perill, we for vs, our heires and successors, are likewise pleased and contented, and by these presents do giue and graunt to the said Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes for euer, that hee and they, and euery or any of them, shall and may from time to time for euer hereafter, within the said mentioned remote landes and Countreis in the way by the seas thither, and from thence, haue full and meere power and authoritie to correct, punish, pardon, gouerne, and rule by their and euery or any of their good discretions and pollicies, as well in causes capital, or criminall, as ciuil, both marine and other, all such our subiects as shall from time to time aduenture themselues in the said iourneis or voyages, or that shall at any time hereafter inhabite any such landes, countreis, or territories as aforesaide, or that shall abide within 200. leagues of any of the saide place or places, where the saide Walter Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any of his or their associats or companies, shall inhabite within 6. yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, according to such statutes, lawes and ordinances, as shall bee by him the saide Walter Ralegh his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them deuised, or established, for the better gouernement of the said people as aforesaid. So alwayes as the said statutes, lawes, and ordinances may be as neere as conueniently may be, agreeable to the forme of the lawes, statutes, gouernement, or pollicie of England, and also so as they be not against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England, nor in any wise to withdrawe any of the subiects or people of those landes or places from the allegiance of vs, our heires and successours, as their immediate Soueraigne vnder God.

And further, wee doe by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt full power and authoritie to our trustie and welbeloued counsailer sir William Cicill knight, Lorde Burghley, our high Treasourer of England, and to the Lorde Treasourer of England, for vs, our heires and successors for the time being, and to the priuie Counsell, of vs, our heires and successours, or any foure or more of them for the time being, that hee, they, or any foure or more of them, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, vnder his or their handes or seales by vertue of these presents, authorise and licence the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and euery or any of them by him, and by themselues, or by their, or any of their sufficient Atturneis, deputies, officers, ministers, factors, and seruants, to imbarke and transport out of our Realme of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereof all, or any of his, or their goods, and all or any the goods of his and their associats and companies, and euery or any of them, with such other necessaries and commodities of any our Realmes, as to the saide Lorde Treasourer, or foure or more of the priuie Counsaile, of vs, our heires and successors for the time being (as aforesaide) shalbe from time to time by his or their wisdomes, or discretions thought meete and conuenient, for the better relieue and supportation of him the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires, and assignes, and euery or any of them, and of his or their or any of their associats and companies, any acte, statute, lawe, or other thing to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Prouided alwayes, and our will and pleasure is, and wee doe hereby declare to all Christian kings, princes and states, that if the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires or assignes, or any of them, or any other by their licence or appointment, shall at any time or times hereafter, robbe or spoile by sea or by lande, or doe any acte of vniust or vnlawfull hostilitie, to any of the subiects of vs, our heires or successors, or to any of the subiects of any the Kings, Princes, Rulers, Gouernors, or estates, being then in perfect league and amitie with vs, our heires and successors, and that vpon such iniurie, or vpon iust complaint of any such Prince, Ruler, Gouernour or estate, or their subiects, wee, our heires and successours, shall make open proclamation within any the portes of our Realme of England, that the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, or any to whome these our letters patents may extende, shall within the termes to bee limitted, by such proclamation, make full restitution, and satisfaction of all such iniuries done, So as both we and the said Princes, or other so complayning, may holde vs and themselues fully contented. And that if the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, shall not make or cause to be made satisfaction accordingly, within such time so to bee limitted, that then it shall bee lawfull to vs, our heires and successors, to put the saide Walter Ralegh, his heires and assignes, and adherents, and all the inhabitants of the saide places to be discouered (as is aforesaide) or any of them out of our allegiance and protection, and that from and after such time of putting out of protection of the said Walter Ralegh, his heires, assignes and adherents, & others so to be put out, & the said places within their habitation, possession and rule, shalbe out of our allegeance and protection, and free for all Princes and others, to pursue with hostilitie, as being not our subiects, nor by vs any way to be auouched, maintained, or defended, nor to be holden as any of ours, nor to our protection, or dominion, or allegiance any way belonging, for that expresse mention of the cleere yeerely value

of

of the certaintie of the premiſſes, or any part thereof, or of any other gift, or grant by vs, or any our progenitors, or predeceſſors to the ſaid Walter Ralegh, before this time made in theſe preſents be not expreſſed, or any other grant, ordinance, prouiſion, proclamation, or reſtraint to the contrarye thereof, before this time, giuen, ordained, or prouided, or any other thing, cauſe, or matter whatſoeuer, in any wiſe notwithſtanding. In witnes whereof, we haue cauſed theſe our letters to be made patents. Witneſſe our ſelues, at Weſtminſter the 25. day of March, in the ſixe and twentieth yeere of our Raigne.

The firſt voyage made to the coaſtes of America, with two barkes, wherein were Captaines Maſter Philip Amadas, and Maſter Arthur Barlowe, who diſcouered part of the Countrey, now called Virginia, Anno 1584: Written by one of the ſaid Captaines, and ſent to ſir Walter Raleigh, knight, at whoſe charge, and direction, the ſaid voyage was ſet foorth.

THe 27. day of Aprill, in the yeere of our redemption, 1584. we departed the weſt of England, with two barkes, well furniſhed with men and victuals, hauing receyued our laſt, and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former inſtructions, and commandements deliuered by your ſelfe at our leauing the riuer of Thames. And I thinke it a matter both vnneceſſarie, for the manifeſt diſcouerie of the Countrey, as alſo for tediouſnes ſake, to remember vnto you the diurnall of our courſe, ſailing thither, and returning: onely I haue preſumed to preſent vnto you this briefe diſcourſe, by which you may iudge how profitable this land is likely to ſucceede, as well to your ſelfe, (by whoſe direction and charge, and by whoſe ſeruants this our diſcouerie hath beene perfourmed) as alſo to her Highnes, and the Common wealth, in which we hope your wiſedome will be ſatiſfied, conſidering, that as much by vs hath bene brought to light, as by thoſe ſmall meanes, and number of men we had, could any way haue bene expected, or hoped for.

The tenth of May, we arriued at the Canaries, and the tenth of June in this preſent yeere, we were fallen with the Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, keeping a more ſoutheaſterly courſe then was needefull, becauſe we doubted that the current of the Baye of Mexico, diſbogging betweene the Cape of Florida, and the Hauana, had bene of greater force then afterwards we found it to be. At which Iſlands we found the aire very vnwholſome, and our men grewe for the moſt part ill diſpoſed: ſo that hauing refreſhed our ſelues with ſweete water, and freſh victuall, we departed the twelfth daye after our arriuall there. Theſe Iſlands, with the reſt adioyning, are ſo well knowen to your ſelfe, and to many others, as I will not trouble you, with the remembrance of them.

The ſecond of July, we found ſhole water, which ſmelt ſo ſweetely, and was ſo ſtrong a ſmell, as if we had bene in the midſt of ſome delicate garden, abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were aſſured, that the land could not be farre diſtant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but ſlacke ſaile, the fourth of the ſame moneth, we arriued vpon the coaſt, which we ſuppoſed to be a continent, and firme lande, and wee ſailed along the ſame, 6 hundred and twentie Engliſh miles, before we could finde any entrance, or riuer, iſſuing into the Sea. The firſt that appeared vnto vs, we entred, though not without ſome difficultie, and caſt anker about three harquebuſhot within the hauens mouth, on the left hande of the ſame: and after thankes giuen to God for our ſafe arriuall thither, we manned our boates, and went to viewe the lande next adioyning, and to "take poſſeſſion of the ſame, in the right of the Queenes moſt excellent Maieſtie, as rightfull Queene, and Princeſſe of the ſame, and after deliuered the ſame ouer to your vſe, according to her Maieſties grant, and letters patents, vnder her Highnes great Seale. Which being perfourmed, according to the ceremonies vſed in ſuch enterpriſes, wee viewed the lande about vs, being whereas we firſt landed, very ſandie, and lowe towards the water ſide, but ſo full of grapes, as the very beating, and ſurge of the Sea ouerflowed them, of which we founde ſuch plentie, as well there, as in all places elſe, both on the ſande, and on the greene ſoile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on euery little ſhrubbe, as alſo climing towardes the toppes of the high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like aboundance is not to be founde: and my ſelfe hauing ſeene thoſe partes of Europe that moſt abound, finde ſuch difference, as were incredible to be written.

"July. 13. poſſeſſions taken.

We

We passed from the Sea side, towardes the toppes of those hils next adioyning, being but of meane heigth, and from thence wee beheelde the Sea on both sides to the North, and to the South, finding no ende any of both waies. This lande laye stretching it selfe to the West, which after wee founde to be but an Island of twentie leagues long, and not aboue sixe miles broade. Under the banke or hill, whereon we stoode, we beheelde the vallies replenished with goodly Cedar trees, and hauing discharged our harquebushot, such a flocke of Cranes (the most part white) arose vnder vs, with such a crye redoubled by many Ecchoes, as if an armie of men had showted all together.

This Island had many goodly woods, and full of Deere, Conies, Hares, and Fowle, euen in the middest of Summer, in incredible aboundance. The woods are not such as you finde in Bohemia, Moscouia, or Hyrcania, barren, and fruitlesse, but the highest, and reddest Cedars of the world, farre bettering the Cedars of the Açores, of the Indias, or of Lybanus, Pynes, Cypres, Sassaphras, the Lentisk, or the tree that beareth the Mastick, the tree that beareth the rinde of blacke Sinamon, of which Master Winter brought from the Streights of Magellane, and many other of excellent smell, and qualitie. We remained by the side of this Island two whole daies, before we sawe any people of the Countrey: the third daye we espied one small boate rowing towards vs, hauing in it three persons: this boate came to the landes side, foure harquebushot from our shippes, and there two of the people remaining, the thirde came along the shoare side towards vs, and we being then all within boord, he walked vp and downe vppon the point of the lande next vnto vs: then the Master, and the Pilot of the Admirall, Simon Ferdinando, and the Captaine Philip Amadas, my selfe, and others, rowed to the lande, whose comming this fellowe attended, neuer making any shewe of feare, or doubt. And after he had spoken of many things not vnderstoode by vs, we brought him with his owne good liking, aboord the shippes, and gaue him a shirt, a hatte, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine, and our meate, which he liked very well: and after hauing viewed both barkes, he departed, and went to his owne boate againe, which hee had left in a little Coue, or Creeke adioyning: assoone as he was two bowe shoote into the water, hee fell to fishing, and in lesse then halfe an howre, hee had laden his boate as deepe, as it could swimme, with which he came againe to the point of the lande, and there he deuided his fishe into two partes, pointing one part to the shippe, and the other to the Pinnesse: which after he had (as much as he might,) requited the former benefits receaued, he departed out of our sight.

The next day there came vnto vs diuers boates, and in one of them the Kings brother, accompanied with fortie or fiftie men, very handsome, and goodly people, and in their behauiour as mannerly, and ciuill, as any of Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the King is called Wingina, the Countrey Wingandacoa, (and nowe by her Maiestie, Virginia,) the manner of his comming was in this sorte: hee left his boates altogether, as the first man did a little from the shippes by the shoare, and came along to the place ouer against the shippes, followed with fortie men. When hee came to the place, his seruants spread a long matte vppon the grounde, on which he sate downe, and at the other ende of the matte, foure others of his companie did the like: the rest of his men stoode round about him, somewhat a farre off: when wee came to the shoare to him with our weapons, he neuer mooued from his place, nor any of the other foure, nor neuer mistrusted any harme to be offered from vs, but sitting still, he beckoned vs to come, and sitte by him, which wee performed: and beeing sette, hee makes all signes of ioy, and welcome, striking on his head, and his breast, and afterwardes on ours, to shewe we were all one, smiling, and making shewe the best hee could, of all loue, and familiaritie. After hee had made a long speech vnto vs, wee presented him with diuers thinges, which hee receaued very ioyfully, and thankefully. None of his companye durst to speake one worde all the time: onely the foure which were at the other ende, spake one in the others eare very softly.

The King is greatly obeyed, and his brothers, and children reuerenced: the King himselfe in person was at our beeing there sore wounded, in a fight which he had with the King of the next Countrey, called Wingina, and was shotte in two places through the bodye, and once cleane thorough the thigh, but yet he recouered: by reason whereof, and for that hee laye at the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, beeing sixe dayes iourneye off, wee sawe him not at all.

After wee had presented this his brother, with such things as we thought he liked, we likewise gaue somewhat to the other that sate with him on the matte: but presently he arose, and tooke all from them, and put it into his owne basket, making signes and tokens, that all

all things ought to be deliuered vnto him, and the reſt were but his ſeruants, and followers. A daye or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging ſome thinges that we had for Chammoys, Buffe, and Deere ſkinnes: when we ſhewed him all our packet of merchandize, of all things that he ſaw, a bright tinne diſhe moſt pleaſed him, which he preſently tooke vp, & clapt it before his breaſt, & after made a hole in the brimme thereof, & hung it about his necke, making ſignes, that it would defende him againſt his enemies arrowes: for thoſe people maintaine a deadlie and terrible warre, with the people and King adioyning. We exchanged our tinne diſhe for twentie ſkinnes, worth twentie Crownes, or twentie Nobles: and a copper kettle for fiftie ſkinnes, worth fiftie Crownes. They offered vs very good exchange for our hatchets, and axes, and for kniues, and would haue giuen any thing for ſwordes: but we would not depart with any. After two or three daies, the Kings brother came aboord the ſhippes, and dranke wine, and ate of our meate, and of our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof: and after a few daies ouerpaſſed, he brought his wife with him to the ſhippes, his daughter, and two or three little children: his wife was very well fauoured, of meane ſtature, and very bashfull: ſhe had on her backe a long cloke of leather, with the furre ſide next to her bodie, and before her a peece of the ſame: about her forehead, ſhe had a broad bande of white Coxrall, and ſo had her huſband many times: in her eares ſhe had bracelets of pearles, hanging downe to her middle, (whereof we deliuered your Worſhip a litle bracelet) and thoſe were of the bignes of good peaſe. The reſt of her women of the better ſorte, had pendants of copper, hanging in euery eare, and ſome of the children of the Kings brother, and other Noble men, haue fiue or ſixe in euery eare: he himſelfe had vpon his head, a broad plate of golde, or copper, for being vnpoliſhed, we knew not what mettall it ſhould be, neither would he by any meanes ſuffer vs to take it off his head, but feeling it, it would bowe very eaſily. His apparell was as his wiues, onely the women weare their haire long on both ſides, and the men but on one. They are of colour yellowiſh, and their haire blacke for the moſt, and yet we ſawe children that had very fine aburne, and cheſtnut colour haire.

After that theſe women had bene there, there came downe from all parts great ſtore of people, bringing with them leather, coxrall, diuers kindes of dies very excellent, and exchanged with vs: but when Granganimeo, the kings brother was preſent, none durſt to trade but himſelfe, except ſuch as weare redde peeces of copper on their heades, like himſelfe: for that is the difference betweene the Noble men, and Gouernours of Countries, and the meaner ſort. And we both noted there, and you haue vnderſtood ſince by theſe men, which we brought home, that no people in the worlde carry more reſpect to their King, Nobilitie, and Gouernours, then theſe doe. The Kings brothers wife, when ſhe came to vs, as ſhe did many times, ſhee was followed with fortie or fiftie women alwaies: and when ſhe came into the ſhippe, ſhe left them all on lande, ſauing her two daughters, her nurce, and one or two more. The Kings brother alwaies kept this order, as many boates as he would come withall to the ſhippes, ſo many fires would he make on the ſhoare a farre off, to the ende wee might vnderſtand with what ſtrength, and companie he approched. Their boates are made of one tree, either of Pine, or of Pitch trees: a wood not commonly knowen to our people, nor found growing in England. They haue no edge tooles to make them withall: if they haue any, they are very fewe, and thoſe it ſeemes they had twentie yeeres ſince, which as thoſe two men declared, was out of a wracke which happened vpon their coaſt of ſome Chriſtian ſhippe, being beaten that way by ſome ſtorme, and outragious weather, whereof none of the people were ſaued, but onely the ſhippe, or ſome part of her, being caſt vpon the ſande, out of whoſe ſides they drewe the nailes, and ſpikes, and with thoſe they made their beſt inſtruments. Their manner of making their boates, is this: they burne downe ſome great tree, or take ſuch as are winde fallen, and putting myrrhe, and roſen vpon one ſide thereof, they ſette fire into it, and when it hath burnt it hollowe, they cutte out the coale with their ſhels, and euer where they would burne it deeper or wider, they laye on their gummes, which burneth away the timber, and by this meanes they faſhion very fine boates, and ſuch as will tranſport twentie men. Their oares are like ſcoopes, and many times they ſette with long poles, as the depth ſerueth.

The Kings brother had great liking of our armour, a ſworde, and diuers other things, which we had: and offered to laye a great bore of pearle in gage for them: but wee refuſed it for this time, becauſe we would not make them knowe, that wee eſteemed thereof, vntill we had vnderſtoode in what places of the Countrey the pearle grewe: which nowe your Worſhippe doth very well vnderſtand.

He was very iuſt of his promiſe: for many times wee deliuered him merchandize vppon his worde, but euer he came within the daye, and performed his promiſe. Hee ſent vs euery daye a braſe or two of fatte Buckes, Conies, Hares, Fiſhe, the beſt of the worlde. Hee ſent vs diuers

kindes

kindes of fruites, Melons, Walnuts, Cucumbers, Gourdes, Peaſe, and diuers rootes, and fruites very excellent good, and of their Countrey corne, which is very white, faire, and well taſted, and groweth three times in fiue moneths: in May they ſowe, in July they reape: in June they ſowe, in Auguſt they reape: in July they ſowe, in September they reape: onely they caſt the corne into the ground, breaking a little of the ſoft turfe with a woodden mattocke, or pickeaxe: our ſelues prooued the ſoile, and put ſome of our Peaſe into the ground, and in tenne daies they were of foureteene yndes high: they haue alſo Beanes very faire, of diuers colours, and wonderfull plentie: ſome growing naturally, and ſome in their gardens, and ſo haue they both wheat and oates.

The ſoile is the moſt plentifull, ſweete, fruitfull, and wholſome of all the world: there are aboue foureteene ſeuerall ſweete ſmelling timber trees, and the moſt part of their vnderwoods are Bayes, and ſuch like: they haue thoſe Okes that we haue, but farre greater, and better. After they had bene diuers times aboord our ſhippes, my ſelfe, with ſeuen more, went twentie mile into the Riuer, that runneth toward the Citie of Skicoake, which Riuer they call Occam: and the euening following, we came to an Iſland, which they call Roanoak, diſtant from the harbour by which we entred, ſeuen leagues: and at the North ende thereof, was a village of nine houſes, built of Cedar, and fortified round about with ſharpe trees, to keepe out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turne pike very artificially: when we came towards it, ſtanding neere vnto the waters ſide, the wife of Grangyno, the Kings brother, came running out to meete vs very cheerefully, and friendly, her husband was not then in the village: ſome of her people ſhe commanded to drawe our boate on the ſhoare, for the beating of the billoe: others ſhee appointed to carry vs on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the houſe, for feare of ſtealing. When we were come into the vtter roome, hauing fiue roomes in her houſe, ſhe cauſed vs to ſitte downe by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes, and waſhed them, and dried them againe: ſome of the women pulled off our ſtockings, and waſhed them, ſome waſhed our feete in warme water, and ſhee her ſelfe tooke great paines to ſee all thinges ordered in the beſt manner ſhee coulde, making great haſte to dreſſe ſome meate for vs to eate.

After we had thus dried our ſelues, ſhee brought vs into the inner roome, where ſhee ſet on the boord ſtanding along the houſe, ſome wheate like furmentie, ſodden Veniſon, and roaſted, fiſhe ſodden, boyled, and roaſted, Melons rawe, and ſodden, rootes of diuers kindes, and diuers fruites: their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape laſteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caſkes to keepe it all the yeere after, they drinke water, but it is ſodden with Ginger in it, and blacke Sinamon, and ſometimes Saſſaphras, and diuers other wholeſome, and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all loue, and kindnes, and with as much bountie, after their manner, as they could poſſibly deuiſe. Wee found the people moſt gentle, louing, and faithfull, void of all guile, and treaſon, and ſuch as liued after the manner of the golden age. The earth bringeth foorth all things in aboundance, as in the firſt creation, without toile or labour. The people onely care to defend them ſelues from the cold, in their ſhort winter, and to feede themſelues with ſuch meate as the ſoile affoordeth: their meate is very well ſodden, and they make broth very ſweete, and ſauorie: their veſſels are earthen pots, very large, white, and ſweete: their diſhes are woodden platters of ſweete timber: within the place where they feede, was their lodging, and within that their Idoll, which they worſhip, of which they ſpeake vncredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates, two or three men with their bowes, and arrowes, from hunting, whome when we eſpied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons: but aſſoone as ſhe eſpied our miſtruſt, ſhe was very much mooued, and cauſed ſome of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes, and arrowes, and breake them, and withall beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the euening, and would not tarry all night, ſhe was very ſorie, and gaue vs into our boate our ſupper halfe dreſſed, pots, and all, and brought vs to our boates ſide, in which wee laye all night, remooued the ſame a prettie diſtance from the ſhoare: ſhee perceiuing our iealouſie, was much grieued, and ſent diuers men, and thirtie women, to ſitte all night on the bankes ſide by vs, and ſent vs into our boates fiue mattes to couer vs from the rayne, vſing very many wordes to intreate vs to reſt in their houſes: but becauſe wee were fewe men, and if wee had miſcarried, the voyage had beene in very great daunger, wee durſt not aduenture any thing, although there was no cauſe of doubt: for a more kinde, and louing people, there can not be found in the world, as farre as we haue hitherto had triall.

Beyonde this Iſlande, there is the maine lande, and ouer againſt this Iſlande falleth into this

this spatious water, the great riuer called Occam, by the Inhabitants, on which standeth a Towne called Pemeoke, and sixe daies iourney further vpon the same is situate their greatest citie, called Schycoake, which this people affirme to be very great: but the Sauages were neuer at it, onely they speake of it, by the report of their Fathers, and other men, whome they haue heard affirme it, to be aboue one daies iourney about.

Into this riuer falleth another great riuer, called Cipo, in which there is found great store of the Muscels, in which there are pearles: likewise there descendeth into this Occam, another riuer, called Nomopana, on the one side whereof standeth a great Towne, called Chowanoake, and the Lord of that Towne and Countrey, is called Pooneno: this Pooneno is not subiect to the King of Wingandacoa, but is a free Lorde. Beyonde this Countrey, is there another King, whome they call Menatoan, and these three Kinges are in league with eache other. Towards the Sunne set, foure daies iourney, is situate a Towne called Sequotan, which is the Westermost Towne of Wingandacoa, neere vnto which, sixe and twentie yeeres past, there was a shippe cast away, whereof some of the people were saued, and those were white people, whom the Countrey people preserued.

And after ten daies, remaining in an out Island vnhabited, called Wococan, they with the helpe of some of the dwellers of Sequotan, fastened two boates of the Countrey together, and made mastes vnto them, and sailes of their shirtes, and hauing taken into them such victuals as the Countrey yeelded, they departed after they had remained in this out Island three weekes: but shortly after, it seemed they were cast away, for the boates were found vppon the coast, cast aland in another Island adioyning: other then these, there was neuer any people apparelled, or white of colour, either seene, or heard of amongst these people, and these aforesaide were seene onely of the Inhabitants of Sequotan: which appeared to be very true, for they wondred meruelously when we were amongest them, at the whitenes of our skinnes, euer coueting to touch our breastes, and to view the same: besides they had our shippes in maruelous admiration, and all things els was so strange vnto them, as it appeared that none of them had euer seene the like. When we discharged any peece, were it but a harquebush, they would tremble thereat for very feare, and for the strangenes of the same: for the weapons which themselues vse, are bowes and arrowes: the arrowes are but of small canes, headed with a sharpe shell, or tooth of a fishe sufficient enough to kill a naked man. Their swordes are of wood hardened: likewise they vse woodden breastplates for their defense. They haue besides a kinde of clubbe, in the ende whereof they fasten the sharpe hornes of a stagge, or other beast. When they goe to warres, they carry with them their Idoll, of whome they aske counsell, as the Romanes were woont of the Oracle of Apollo. They sing songes as they march towards the battell, in steede of drummes, and trumpets: their warres are very cruell, and bloodie, by reason whereof, and of their ciuill dissentions, which haue happened of late yeeres amongest them, the people are maruelously wasted, and in some places, the Countrey left desolate.

Adioyning vnto this Towne aforesaide, called Sequotan, beginneth a Countrey called Ponouike, belonging to another King, whome they call Piemacum, and this King is in league with the next King, adioyning towardes the setting of the Sunne, and the Countrey Neiosioke, situate vppon the side of a goodly Riuer, called Neus: these Kings haue mortall warre with Wingina, King of Wingandacoa, but about two yeeres past, there was a peace made betweene the King Piemacum, and the Lorde of Sequotan, as these men which we haue brought with vs into England, haue made vs vnderstande: but there remaineth a mortall malice in the Sequotanes, for many iniuries and slaughters done vppon them by this Piemacum. They inuited diuers men, and thirtie women, of the best of his Countrey, to their Towne to a feast: and when they were altogether merrie, and praying before their Idoll, which is nothing else, but a meere illusion of the Deuill: the Captaine or Lorde of the Towne came suddenly vpon them, and slewe them euery one, reseruing the women, and children: and these two haue oftentimes since perswaded vs to surprise Piemacum his Towne, hauing promised, and assured vs, that there will be founde in it great store of commodities. But whether their perswasion be to the ende they may be reuenged of their enemies, or for the loue they beare to vs, we leaue that to the triall hereafter.

Beyond this Island, called Croonoake, are many Islands, very plentifull of fruites, and other naturall increases, together with many Townes, and villages, along the side of the continent, some bounding vpon the Islands, and some stretching vp further into the land.

When we first had sight of this Countrey, some thought the first lande we sawe, to be the continent: but after wee entred into the Hauen, wee sawe before vs another mightie long Sea: for there

there lieth along the coaſt a tracte of Iſlands, two hundreth miles in length, adioyning to the Ocean ſea, and betweene the Iſlands, two or three entrances: when you are entred betweene them (theſe Iſlands being very narrowe, for the moſt part, as in moſt places ſixe miles broad, in ſome places leſſe, in fewe more,) then there appeareth another great Sea, containing in breedth in ſome places, fortie, and in ſome fiftie, in ſome twentie miles ouer, before you come vnto the continent: and in this incloſed Sea, there are about a hundreth Iſlands of diuers bigneſſes, whereof one is ſixteene miles long, at which we were, finding it to be a moſt pleaſant, and fertile ground, repleniſhed with goodly Cedars, and diuers other ſweete woods, full of Currans, of flaxe, and many other notable commodities, which we at that time had no leaſure to view. Beſides this Iſland, there are many, as I haue ſaide, ſome of two, of three, of foure, of fiue miles, ſome more, ſome leſſe, moſt beautifull, and pleaſant to behold, repleniſhed with Deere, Conies, Hares, and diuers beaſtes, and about them the goodlieſt and beſt fiſhe in the world, and in greateſt aboundance.

Thus Sir, we haue acquainted you with the particulars of our diſcouerie, made this preſent voyage, as farre forth, as the ſhortnes of the time we there continued, would afford vs to take viewe of: and ſo contenting our ſelues with this ſeruice at this time, which we hope hereafter to inlarge, as occaſion and aſſiſtance ſhall be giuen, we reſolued to leaue the Countrey, and to apply our ſelues to returne for England, which we did accordingly, and arriued ſafely in the Weſt of England, about the middeſt of September.

And whereas we haue aboue certified you of the Countrey, taken in poſſeſſion by vs, to her Maieſties vſe, and ſo to yours, by her Maieſties grant, wee thought good for the better aſſurance thereof to recorde ſome of the particular Gentlemen, and men of accompt, who then were preſent, as witneſſes of the ſame, that thereby all occaſion of cauill to the title of the Countrey, in her Maieſties behalfe, may be preuented, which otherwiſe, ſuch as like not the action may vſe, and pretend, whoſe names are:

Maſter Philip Amadas,
Maſter Arthur Barlowe,
} Captaines.

William Greeneuile,
Iohn Wood,
Iames Browewich,
Henrie Greene,
Beniamin Wood,
Simon Ferdinando,
Nicholas Petman,
Iohn Hewes,
} Of the companie.

The voyage made by Sir Richard Greenuile, for Sir Walter *Ralegh, to Virginia, in the yeere*, 1585.

THe 19. day of Maye, in the yeere aboue ſaide, wee departed from Plymmouth, our fleete conſiſting of the number of ſeuen ſailes, to wit, the Tyger, of the burden of ſeuen ſcore tunnes: a Flie boate called the Roe Bucke, of the like burden: the Lyon of a hundred tunnes, or thereabouts: the Elizabeth, of fiftie tunnes, and the Dorothie, a ſmall barke, whereunto were alſo adioyned for ſpeedie ſeruices, 2. ſmall Pinneſſes. The principall Gentlemen of our companie, were, Maſter Ralfe Lane, Maſter Thomas Candiſhe, Maſter Iohn Arundell, Maſter Raimund, Maſter Stukely, Maſter Bremige, Maſter Vincent, and Maſter Iohn Clarke, and diuers others, whereof ſome were Captaines, and other ſome Aſſiſtants for counſell, and good directions in the voyage.

The 14. day of Aprill, we fell with Lançacota, and Forte Ventura, Iſles of the Canaries, and from thence we continued our courſe for Dominica, one of the Antiles of the Weſt India, wherewith we fell the 7. day of Maye, and the 10. day following, we came to an anker at Coteſa, a little Iſland ſituate neere to the Iſland of S. Iohn, where wee landed, and refreſhed our ſelues all that day.

The 15. day of Maye, we came to an anker, in the Baye of Muskito, in the Iſland of S. Iohn, within a Fawlcon ſhot of the ſhoare: where our Generall Sir Richard Greenuill, and the moſt part of our companie landed, and began to fortifie, very neere to the ſea ſide: the riuer ranne by the one ſide of our forte, and the other two ſides were enuironed with woods.

The

The 13. day we began to builde a new pinneſſe within the Fort, with the timber that we then felled in the countrey, ſome part whereof we fet three myle vp in the land, and brought it to our Fort vpon trucks, the Spaniards not daring to make or offer reſiſtance.

The 16. day, there appeared vnto vs out of the woods 8. horſemen of the Spaniards, about a quarter of a myle from our Fort, ſtaying about halfe an howre in viewing our forces: but as ſoone as they ſaw 7. of our ſhot marching towards them, they preſently retyred into the woodes.

The 19. day, Maſter Candiſh, who had bene ſeperated from our fleete in a ſtorme in the Bay of Portingal arriued at Coteſa, within the ſight of the Tiger: we thinking him a farre off to haue ben either a Spaniard or French man of warre thought it good to waigh ankers, and to goe roome with him, which the Tyger did, and diſcerned him at laſt to be one of our Conſorts, for ioy of whoſe comming, our ſhips diſcharged their ordinance, and ſaluted him, according to the manner of the Seas.

The 22. day, 20. other Spaniſhe horſemen ſhewed themſelues to vs vpon the other ſide of the riuer: who being ſeene, our General diſpatched 20. footemen towards them, and two horſemen of ours, mounted vpon Spaniſh horſes, which wee before had taken in the time of our being on the Iland: they ſhewed to our men a flagge of truce, and made ſignes to haue a parle with vs: whereupon two of our men went halfe of the way vpon the ſands, and two of theirs came and met them: the two Spaniards offred very great ſalutations to our men, but began according to their Spaniſh proud humors, to expoſtulate with them, about their arriual, and fortifying in their countrie, who notwithſtanding by our mens diſcrete anſwers were ſo cooled, that whereas they were told, that our principal intention was onely to furniſh our ſelues with water, and victuals, and other neceſſaries whereof we ſtood in neede, which we craued might be yelded vs with faire, and friendly means, otherwiſe our reſolution was to practiſe force, and to releeue our ſelues by the ſworde: the Spaniards in concluſion, ſeeing our men ſo reſolute, yelded to our requeſtes with large promiſes of all curteſie, and great fauor, and ſo our men and theirs departed.

The 23. day our pinneſſe was finiſhed, and launched, which being done, our Generall with his Captaines, and Gentlemen, marched vp into the Country about the ſpace of 4. myles, where in a plaine marſh, they ſtayed expecting the comming of the Spanyards according to their promiſe, to furniſh vs with victuals: who keeping their old cuſtome for periurie and breache of promiſe came not, whereupon our General fired the woods thereabout, and ſo retired to our Fort, which the ſame day was fired alſo, and each man came aboord to be ready to ſet ſaile the next morning.

The 29. day we ſet ſaile from Saint Iohns, being many of vs ſtoong before vpon ſhoare with the Muſkitoes: but the ſame night we tooke a Spaniſh Frigat, which was forſaken by the Spanyards vpon the ſight of vs, and the next day in the morning very early, wee tooke another Frigat, with good and rich fraight, and diuers Spaniards of accompt in her, which afterwards we ranſomed for good round ſummes, and landed them in Saint Iohns.

The 26. day our Lieutenant Maſter Ralfe Lane, went in one of the Frigats which we had taken, to Roxo bay vpon the Southweſt ſide of Saint Iohns, to fetch ſalt, being thither conducted by a Spaniſh Pilot: as ſoone as he arriued there, he landed with his men, to the number of 20. and intrenched him ſelfe vpon the ſandes immediatly, compaſſing one of their ſalt hils within the trench: who being ſeene of the Spanyards, there came downe towards him two or three troopes of horſemen, and footemen, who gaue him the looking, and gazing on, but durſt not come neere him to offer any reſiſtance, ſo that Maſter Lane mauger their troopes, caried their ſalt aboord and laded his Frigat, and ſo returned againe to our fleete the 29. day, which road at Saint Germans Bay. The ſame day we all departed, and the next day arriued in the Iland of Hiſpaniola.

Iune.

The 1. day of June we ankered at Iſabella, in the North ſide of Hiſpaniola.

The 3. day of June, the Gouernor of Iſabella, and Captaine of the Port de Plata, beeing certified by the reports of ſundry Spanyards, who had bene wel intertained aboord our ſhippes by our General, that in our fleete were many braue, and gallant Gentlemen, who greatly deſired to ſee the Gouernor aforeſaid, he thereupon ſent gentle commendations to our Generall, promiſing within few daies to come to him in perſon, which he performed accordingly.

The 5. day the foreſaid gouernor, accompanied with a luſty Frier, & xx. other Spaniards, with their ſeruants, & Negroes, came downe to the ſea ſide, where our ſhips road at anker, who being ſeene, our General manned immediatly the moſt part of his boats wt the chiefe men of our fleete, euery man appointed, and furniſhed in the beſt ſort: at the landing of our Generall, the Spaniſhe Gouernor receiued him very curteouſly, and the Spaniſh Gentlemen ſaluted our Engliſh Gentlemen, and their inferiour ſort did alſo ſalute our Souldiers and Sea men, liking our

men, and likewise their qualities, although at the first, they seemed to stand in feare of vs, and of so many of our boats, whereof they desired that all might not land their men, yet in the end, the curtesies that passed on both sides were so great, that all feare and mistrust on the Spanyardes part was abandoned.

In the meane time while our English Generall and the Spanish Gouernor discoursed betwixt them of diuers matters, as of the state of the Country, the multitude of the Townes and people, and the commodities of the Iland, our men prouided two banquetting houses couered with greene boughs, the one for the gentlemen, the other for the seruants, and a sumptuous banquet was brought in serued by vs all in Plate, with the sound of trumpets, and consort of musick wherewith the Spanyards were more then delighted. Which banquet being ended, the Spanyardes in recompense of our curtesie, caused a great heard of white buls, and kyne, to be brought together from the Mountaines, and appointed for euery Gentleman and Captaine that would ride, a horse ready sadled, and then singled out three of the best of them to be hunted by horsemen after their manner, so that the pastime grew very plesant, for the space of three houres, wherein all three of the beasts were killed, whereof one tooke the sea, and there was slaine with a musket. After this sport, many rare presents and gifts were giuen and bestowed on both partes, and the next day we plaied the Marchants in bargaining with them by way of trucke and exchange for diuers of their commodities, as horses, mares, kyne, buls, goates, swine, sheepe, bul hydes, sugar, ginger, pearle, tabacco, and such like commodities of the Iland.

The 7. day we departed with great good will from the Spanyardes from the Iland of Hispaniola: but the wiser sort do impute this greate shew of friendship, and curtesie vsed towardes vs by the Spanyards rather to the force that we were of, and the vigilancie, and watchfulnes that was amongst vs, then to any harty good will, or sure freindly intertainment: for doubtlesse if they had bene stronger then wee, we might haue looked for no better curtesie at their handes, then Master Iohn Hawkins receiued at saint Iohn de Vllua, of Iohn Oxnam neere the streights of Dariene, and diuers others of our Countrymen in other places.

The 8. day we ankred at a small Iland to take Seales which in that place wee vnderstood to haue bene in great quantitie, where the Generall and certaine others with him in the pinnesse, were in very great danger to haue bene all cast away, but by the helpe of God they escaped the hazard, and returned aboord the Admirall in safetie.

The 9. day we arriued and landed in the Ile of Caycos, in which Iland we searched for salt pondes, vpon the aduertisment, and information of a Portingall: who in deede abused our Generall and vs, deseruing a halter for his hire, if it had so pleased vs.

The 12. we ankered at Guanema, and landed.

The 15. and 16. we ankered and landed at Sygateo.

The 20. we fell with the mayne of Florida.

The 23. wee were in great danger of a Wracke on a breache called the Cape of Feare.

The 24. we came to anker in a harbor where we caught in one tyde so much fishe as would haue yelded vs xx. pounds in London: this was our first landing in Florida.

The 26. we came to anker at Wocokon.

The 29. wee waighed anker to bring the Tyger into the harbour, where through the vnskilfulnesse of the Master whose name was Fernando, the Admirall strooke on grounde, and sunke.

Iuly.

The 3. we sent word of our ariuing at Wococon, to Wingino at Roanocke.

The 6. M. Iohn Arundell was sent to the mayne, and Manteio with him: and Captayne Aubry, and Captaine Boniten the same day were sent to Croatoan, where they found two of our men left there, with 30. other by Captaine Reymond, some 20. daies before.

The 8. Captaine Aubry, and Captaine Boniten returned with two of our men found by them to vs at Wocokon.

The 11. day the Generall accompanied in his Tilt boate with Master Iohn Arundell, Master Stukelye, and diuers other Gentlemen, Master Lane, Master Candish, Master Harriot, and 20. others in the newe pinnesse, Captaine Amadas, Captaine Clarke, with tenne others in a ship boate, Francis Brooke, and Iohn White in another ship boate passed ouer the water from Ococon to the mayne land victualled for eight dayes, in which voyage we first discouered the townes of Pomioke, Aquascogoc and Secota, and also the great lake called by the Sauages Paquype, with

with diuers other places, and ſo returned with that diſcouery to our Fleete.

The 12. we came to the Towne of Pomeioke.

The 13. we paſſed by water to Aquaſcococke.

The 15. we came to Secotan and were well intertayned there of the Sauages.

The 16. we returned thence, and one of our boates with the Admirall was ſent to Aquaſcococke to demaund a ſiluer cup which one of the Sauages had ſtolen from vs, and not receiuing it according to his promiſe, we burnt, and ſpoyled their corne, and Towne, all the people beeing fledde.

The 18. we returned from the diſcouery of Secotan, and the ſame day came aboord our fleete ryding at Wocokon.

The 21. our fleete ankering at Wokocon, we wayed anker for Hatoraske.

The 27. our fleete ankered at Hatoraske, and there we reſted.

The 29. Grangino, brother to king Wingino, came aboord the Admirall, and Manteo with him.

Auguſt.

THe 2. The Admirall was ſent to Weapemeoke.

The 5. Maſter Iohn Arundell was ſent for England.

The 25. our Generall wayed anker, and ſet ſaile for England.

About the 31. he tooke a Spaniſh ſhip of 300. tunne richly loaden, boording her with a boate made with boards of cheſts, which fell aſunder, and ſunke at the ſhippes ſide, aſſoone as euer hee and his men were out of it.

September.

THe 10. of September, by foule weather the Generall then ſhipped in the pryſe loſt ſight of the Tyger.

October.

THe firſt the Tyger fell with the landes ende, and the ſame day came to an anker at Falmouth.

The 18. the Generall came with the pryſe to Plymmouth, and was courteouſly receiued by diuerſe of his worſhipfull friends.

The names of all thoſe as well Gentlemen as others, *that remained one whole yeere in Virginia, vnder the Gouernement of Maſter Ralfe Lane.*

MAſter Philip Amades, Admirall of the countrie.
Maſter Hariot.
Maſter Acton.
Maſter Edward Stafford.
Thomas Luddington.
Maſter Maruyn.
Maſter Gardyner.
Captaine Vaughan.
Maſter Kendall.
Maſter Prideox.
Robert Holecroft.
Riſe Courtney.
Maſter Hugh Rogers.
Maſter Thomas Haruie.
Maſter Snelling.
Maſter Anthony Ruſſe.
Maſter Allyne.
Maſter Michel Polyſon.
Iohn Cage.
Thomas Parre.
William Randes.
Geffery Churchman.
William Farthowe.
Iohn Taylor.
Philppe Robyns.
Thomas Phillippes.
Valentine Beale.

Thomas Foxe,
Edward Nugen.
Darby Glande.
Edward Kelle.
Iohn Gostigo.
Erasinus Clefs.
Edward Ketcheman.
Iohn Linsey.
Thomas Rottenbury.
Roger Deane,
Iohn Harris
Frauncis Norris.
Mathewe Lyne.
Edward Kettell,
Thomas Wisse.
Robert Biscombe.
William Backhouse.
William White.
Henry Potkin.
Dennis Barnes.
Ioseph Borges.
Doughan Gannes.
William Tenche.
Randall Latham.
Thomas Hulme.
Walter Myll.
Richard Gilbert.
Steuen Pomarie,
Iohn Brocke.
Bennet Harrye.
Iames Steuenson.
Charles Steuenson.
Christopher Lowde.
Ieremy Man.
Iames Mason.
Dauid Salter.
Richard Ireland.
Thomas Bookener.
William Philippes.
Randall Mayne,
Iames Skinner.
George Eseuen.
Iohn Chaundeler.
Philip Blunt.
Richard Poore.
Robert Yong.
Marmaduke Constable.
Thomas Hesket.
William Wasse.
Iohn Feuer.
Daniel.
Thomas Taylor.
Richard Humfrey.
Iohn Wright.
Gabriell North.
Bennet Chappell.
Richard Sare.
Iames Lasie.
Smolkin.
Thomas Smart.
Robert
Iohn Euans.
Roger Large.
Humfrey Garden.
Frauncis Whitton.
Rowland Griffyn.
William Millard.
Iohn Twyt.
Edwarde Seklemore.
Iohn Anwike.
Christopher Marshall.
Dauid Williams.
Nicholas Swabber.
Edward Chipping.
Syluester Beching.
Vincent Cheyne.
Haunce Walters.
Edward Barecombe.
Thomas Skeuelabs.
William Walters.

An account of the particularities of the imployments of the English men left *in Virginia by Sir Richard Greeneuill vnder the charge of Ma*ster Ralfe Lane Generall of the same, from the 17. of August, 1585. vntill the 18. of Iune 1586. at which time they departed the Countrie: sent, and directed to Sir Walter Ralegh.

2. Parts of this discourse.

THat I may proceed with order in this discourse, I thinke it requisite to deuide it into two partes. The first shall declare the particularities of such partes of the Country within the mayne, as our weake number, and supply of things necessary did inable vs to enter into the discouery thereof.

The second part, shall set downe the reasons generally mouing vs to resolue on our departure at the instant with the General Sir Frauncis Drake, and our common request for passage with him, when the barkes, pinnesses, and boates with the Masters and Mariners ment by him to bee left in the Countrie for the supply of such, as for a further time ment to haue staied there were caried away with tempest, and foule weather: In the beginning whereof shalbe declared the conspiracie of Pemisapan, with the Sauages of the mayne to haue cutt vs off.

The firſt part declaring the particularities of the Countrey *of Virginia.*

FIrſt therefore touching the particularities of the Countrey, you ſhal vnderſtand our diſcouery of the ſame hath bene extended from the Iſland of Roanoak, (the ſame hauing bene the place of our ſettlement or inhabitation) into the South, into the North, into the Northweſt, and into the Weſt.

The vttermoſt place to the Southward of any diſcouerie was Secotan, being by eſtimation foure ſcore miles diſtant from Roanoak. The paſſage from thence was thorowe a broad ſound within the mayne, the ſame being without kenning of land, and yet full of flats and ſhoales: we had but one boate with foure oares to paſſe through the ſame, which boat could not carry aboue fifteene men with their furniture, baggage, and victuall for ſeuen dayes at the moſt: and as for our Pinneſſe, beſides that ſhe drewe too deepe water for that ſhalow ſound, ſhe would not ſtirre for an oare: for theſe and other reaſons (winter alſo being at hand) we thought good wholy to leaue the diſcouery of thoſe partes vntill our ſtronger ſupplie.

To the Northwarde our furtheſt diſcouerie was to the Cheſepians, diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles, the paſſage to it was very ſhalow and moſt dangerous, by reaſon of the breadth of the ſound, and the litle ſuccour that vpon any flawe was there to be had.

But the Territorie and ſoyle of the Cheſepians (being diſtant fifteene miles from the ſhoare) was for pleaſantnes of ſeate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of ſoyle, and for the commoditie of the Sea, beſides multitude of beares (being an excellent good victuall, with great woods of Saſſafras, and Wall nut treees) is not to be excelled by any other whatſoeuer. *The excellency of the ſeate of Cheſepiok.*

There be ſundry Kings, whom they call Weroances, and Countries of great fertilitie adioyning to the ſame, as the Mandoages, Tripanicks, and Opoſsians, which all came to viſit the Colonie of the Engliſh, which I had for a time appointed to be reſident there.

To the Northweſt the fartheſt place of our diſcouerie was to Choanoke diſtant from Roanoak about 130. miles. Our paſſage thither lyeth through a broad ſound, but all freſh water, and the chanell of great depth, nauigable for good ſhipping, but out of the chanell full of ſhoales.

The Townes about the water ſide ſituated by the way, are theſe following: Pyſhokonnok, The womans Towne, Chipanum, Weopomiok, Muſcamunge, and Mattaquen: all theſe being vnder the iuriſdiction of the king of Weopomiok, called Okiſco: from Muſcamunge we enter into the Riuer, and iuriſdiction of Choanoke: There the Riuer beginneth to ſtraighten vntill it come to Choanoke, and then groweth to be as narrowe as the Thames betweene Weſtminſter, and Lambeth.

Betweene Muſcamunge and Choanoke vpon the left hand as we paſſe thither, is a goodly high land, and there is a Towne which we called the blinde Towne, but the Sauages called it Ooanoke, and hath a very goodly corne field belonging vnto it: it is ſubiect to Choanoke.

Choanoke it ſelfe is the greateſt Prouince and Seignioꝛie lying vpon that Riuer, and the very Towne it ſelfe is able to put 700. fighting men into the fielde, beſides the forces of the Prouince it ſelfe. *The Towne of Choanoak able to make 700. men of warre.*

The King of the ſayd Prouince is called Menatonon, a man impotent in his lims, but otherwiſe for a Sauage, a very graue and wiſe man, and of very ſingular good diſcourſe in matters concerning the ſtate, not onely of his owne Countrey, and the diſpoſition of his owne men, but alſo of his neighbours round about him as wel farre as neere, and of the commodities that eche Countrey yeeldeth. When I had him priſoner with me, for two dayes that we were together, he gaue me more vnderſtanding and light of the Countrey then I had receiued by all the ſearches and ſaluages that before I or any of my companie had had conference with: it was in March laſt paſt 1586. Amongſt other things he tolde me, that going three dayes iourney in a canoa vp his Riuer of Choanoke, and then deſcending to the land, you are within foure dayes iourney to paſſe ouer land Northeaſt to a certaine Kings countrey, whoſe Prouince lyeth vpon the Sea, but his place of greateſt ſtrength is an Iland ſituate as he deſcribed vnto me in a Bay, the water round about the Iland very deepe. *An Iland in a Bay.*

Out of this Bay hee ſignified vnto mee, that this King had ſo great quantitie of Pearle, and doeth ſo ordinarily take the ſame, as that not onely his owne ſkins that he weareth, and the better ſort of his gentlemen and followers, are full ſet with the ſayd Pearle, but alſo his beds, and houſes are garniſhed with them, and that hee hath ſuch quantitie of them, that it is a wonder to ſee. *Pearles in exceeding quantitie.*

He shewed me that the sayd King was with him at Choanoak two yeeres before, and brought him certaine Pearle, but the same of the worst sort, yet was hee faine to buy them of him for copper at a deere rate, as he thought: He gaue me a rope of the same Pearle, but they were blacke, and naught, yet many of them were very great, and a fewe amongst a number very orient and round, all which I lost with other things of mine, comming aboorde Sir Francis Drake his Fleete: yet he tolde me that the sayd King had great store of Pearle that were white, great, and round, and that his blacke Pearle his men did take out of shalowe water, but the white Pearle his men fished for in very deepe water.

It seemed to mee by his speech, that the sayde king had traffike with white men that had clothes as we haue for these white Pearle, and that was the reason that he would not depart with other then with blacke Pearles, to those of the same Countrey.

The king of Choanoak promised to giue me guides to goe ouer land into that kings Countrey whensoeuer I would: but he aduised me to take good store of men with mee, and good store of victuall, for he sayd, that king would be loth to suffer any strangers to enter into his Countrey, and especially to meddle with the fishing for any Pearle there, and that hee was able to make a great many of men into the fielde, which he sayd would fight very well.

Hereupon I resolued with my selfe, that if your supplie had come before the end of Aprill, and that you had sent any store of boats, or men, to haue had them made in any reasonable time, with a sufficient number of men, and victuals to haue found vs vntill the new corne were come in, I woulde haue sent a small Barke with two Pinnesses about by Sea to the Northwarde to haue found out the Bay he spake of, and to haue sounded the barre if there were any, which shoulde haue ridden there in the sayd Bay about that Iland, while I with all the small boats I could make, and with two hundreth men would haue gone vp to the head of the Riuer of Choanoak, with the guides that Menatonon would haue giuen, which I would haue bene assured should haue bene of his best men, (for I had his best beloued sonne prisoner with me) who also should haue kept me companie in an handlocke with the rest foote by foote all the voyage ouer land.

My meaning was further at the head of the Riuer in the place of my descent where I would haue left my boates to haue raysed a sconse with a small trench, and a pallisado vpon the top of it, in the which, and in the garde of my boates I would haue left fiue and twentie, or thirtie men, with the rest would I haue marched with as much victuall as euery man could haue carried, with their furniture, mattocks, spades and axes, two dayes iourney. In the ende of my marche vpon some conuenient plot would I haue raysed another sconse according to the former, where I would haue left 15. or 20. And if it would haue fallen out conueniently, in the way I woulde haue raised my sayd sconse vpon some corne fielde, that my companie might haue liued vpon it.

Whether Master Ralph Lane meant to remoue.

And so I would haue holden this course of inconsing euery two dayes march, vntill I had bene arriued at the Bay or Porte he spake of: which finding to be worth the possession, I would there haue raised a mayne forte, both for the defence of the harborroughs, and our shipping also, and would haue reduced our whole habitation from Roanoak and from the harborough and port there (which by proofe is very naught) vnto this other before mentioned, from whence, in the foure dayes marche before specified could I at all times returne with my companie backe vnto my boats ryding vnder my sconse, very neere whereunto directly from the West runneth a most notable Riuer, and in all those partes most famous, called the Riuer of Morotico. This Riuer openeth into the broad sound of Weopomiok: And whereas the Riuer of Choanoak, and all the other sounds, and Bayes, salt and fresh, shewe no currant in the worlde in calme weather, but are mooued altogether with the winde: This Riuer of Morotico hath so violent a currant from the West and Southwest, that it made me almost of opinion that with oares it would scarse be nauigable: it passeth with many creeks and turnings, and for the space of thirtie miles rowing, and more, it is as broad as the Thames betwixt Greenwich, and the Ile of dogges, in some place more, and in some lesse: the currant runneth as strong being entred so high into the Riuer, as at London bridge vpon a bale water.

And for that not onely Menatonon, but also the Sauages of Morotico themselues doe report strange things of the head of that Riuer, and that from Morotico it selfe, which is a principall Towne vpon that Riuer, it is thirtie dayes as some of them say, and some say fourtie dayes voyage to the head thereof, which head they say springeth out of a maine rocke in that abundance, that forthwith it maketh a most violent streame: and further, that this huge rocke standeth nere vnto a Sea, that many times in stormes (the winde comming outwardly from ỹ Sea) the waues thereof are beaten into the said fresh streame, so that the fresh water for a certaine space, groweth salt and brackish:

I tooke

I tooke a resolution with my selfe, hauing dismissed Menatonon vpon a ransome agreed for, and sent his sonne into the Pinnesse to Roanoak, to enter presently so farre into that Riuer with two double whirries, and fourtie persons one or other, as I could haue victuall to carrie vs, vntill we could meete with more either of the Moratiks, or of the Mangoaks which is another kinde of Sauages, dwelling more to the Westwarde of the sayd Riuer: but the hope of recouering more victuall from the Sauages made me and my company as narowly to escape starue in that discouerie before our returne, as euer men did that missed the same.

For Pemisapan, who had changed his name of Wingina vpon the death of his brother Granganimo, had giuen both the Choanists, & Mangoaks word of my purpose touching them, I hauing bin inforced to make him priuie to ỹ same, to be serued by him of a guide to the Mangoaks, and yet he did neuer rest to solicite continually my going vpon them, certifying me of a generall assembly euen at that time made by Menatonon at Choanoak of all his Weroances, & allyes to the number of 3000. bowes preparing to come vpon vs at Roanoak, and that the Mangoaks also were ioyned in the same confederacie, who were able of themselues to bring as many more to the enterprise: And true it was, that at that time the assembly was holden at Choanoak about vs, as I found at my comming thither, which being vnlooked for did so dismay them, as it made vs haue the better hand at them. But this confederacie against vs of the Choanists and Mangoaks was altogether and wholly procured by Pemisapan himselfe, as Menatonon confessed vnto me, who sent them continuall worde that our purpose was fully bent to destroy them: on the other side he tolde me that they had the like meaning towards vs. Wingina chãgeth his name

Hee in like sort hauing sent worde to the Mangoaks of mine intention to passe vp into their Riuer, and to kill them (as he sayd) both they and the Moratiks, with whome before we were entred into a league, and they had euer dealt kindely with vs, abandoned their Townes along the Riuer, and retyred themselues with their ‖ Crenepoes, and their corne within the mayne: insomuch as hauing passed three dayes voyage vp the Riuer, we could not meete a man, nor finde a graine of corne in any their Townes: whereupon considering with my selfe, that wee had but two dayes victuall left, and that wee were then 160. miles from home, besides casualtie of contrarie windes or stormes, and suspecting treason of our owne Sauages in the discouerie of our voyage intended, though we had no intention to be hurtfull to any of them, otherwise then for our copper to haue had corne of them: I at night vpon the corps of garde, before the putting foorth of centinels, aduertised the whole companie of the case wee stoode in for victuall, and of mine opinion that we were betrayed by our owne Sauages, and of purpose drawen foorth by them, vpon vaine hope to be in the ende starued, seeing all the Countrey fledde before vs, and therefore while we had those two dayes victuall left, I thought it good for vs to make our returne homewarde, and that it were necessarie for vs to get the other side of the sound of Weopomiok in time, where we might be relieued vpon the weares of Chypanum, and the womans Towne, although the people were fled. ‖ Their women

Thus much I signified vnto them, as the safest way: neuertheless, I did referre it to the greatest number of voyces, whether we should aduenture the spending of our whole victuall in some further viewe of that most goodly Riuer in hope to meete with some better hap, or otherwise to retyre our selues backe againe.: And for that they might be the better aduised, I willed them to deliberate all night vpon the matter, and in the morning at our going aboorde to set our course according to the desires of the greatest part. Their resolution fully and wholly was (and not three found to be of the contrary opinion) that whiles there was left one halfe pinte of corne for a man, that we should not leaue the search of that Riuer, and that there were in the companie two mastiues, vpon the pottage of which with sassafras leaues (if the worst fell out) the companie would make shift to liue two dayes, which time would bring them downe the currant to the mouth of the Riuer, and to the entrie of the sound, and in two dayes more at the farthest they hoped to crosse the sounde and to bee relieued by the weares, which two dayes they would fast rather then be drawen backe a foote till they had seene the Mangoaks, either as friends or foes. This resolution of theirs did not a little please mee; since it came of them selues, although for mistrust of that which afterwards did happen, I pretended to haue bene rather of the contrary opinion.

And that which made me most desirous to haue some doings with the Mangoaks either in friendship or otherwise to haue had one or two of them prisoners, was, for ỹ is it a thing most notorious to all ỹ countrey, that there is a Prouince to the which the sayd Mangoaks haue recourse and traffike vp that Riuer of Morattico, which hath a marueilous and most strange Minerall. This Mine is so notorious amongst them, as not onely to the Sauages dwelling vp the sayde riuer, A marueilous Mineral in the countrey of Chaunis Temoatan.

riuer, and also to the Sauages of Choanoke, and all them to the westward, but also to all them of the mayne: the countries name is of fame, and is called Chaunis Temoatan.

The mineral they say is Wassador, which is copper, but they call by the name of Wassador euery mettall whatsoeuer: they say it is of the couler of our copper, but our copper is better then theirs: and the reason is for that it is redder and harder, whereas that of Chaunis Temoatan is very soft, and pale: they say that they take the sayd mettall out of a riuer that falleth very swift from hie rocks, and hyls, and they take it in shallowe water: the manner is this. They take a great bowle by their discription as great as one of our targets, and wrap a skinne ouer the hollowe part thereof, leauing one part open to receiue in the minerall: that done, they watch the comming downe of the currant, and the change of the couler of the water, and then suddenly chop downe the sayd bowle with the skin, and receiue into the same as much oare as will come in, which is euer as much as their bowle wil hold, which presently they cast into a fire, and forthwith it melteth, and doeth yeelde in 5. partes, at the first melting, two parts of metall for three partes of oare. Of this metall the Mangoaks haue so great store, by report of all the sauages adioyning, that they beautifie their houses with great plates of the same: and this to be true, I receiued by report of all the country, and particularly by yong Skiko, the king of Choanokes sonne my prisoner, who also himselfe had bene prisoner with the Mangoaks, and set downe all the particularities to mee before mentioned: but hee had not bene at Chawnis Temoatan himselfe: for he sayd, it was twentie dayes iourney ouerlande from the Mangoaks, to the saide minerall country, and that they passed through certaine other territories betweene them and the Mangoaks, before they came to the said country.

Upon reporte of the premisses, which I was very inquisitiue in all places where I came to take very particular information of, by all the sauages that dwelt towards those parts, and especially of Menatonon himselfe, who in euery thing did very particularly informe mee, and promised mee guides of his owne men, who shoulde passe ouer with mee, euen to the sayde country of Chaunis Temoatan, (for ouer lande from Choanok to the Mangoaks is but one dayes iourney from sunne rysing to sunne setting, whereas by water it is 7. daies with the soonest:) These things I say, made me verie desirous by all meanes possible to recouer the Mangoaks, & to get some of that their copper for an assay, and therefore I willingly yeelded to their resolution: But it fell out very contrarie to all expectation, and likelyhood: for after two dayes trauell, and our whole victual spent, lying on shoare all night, wee could neuer see man, onely fires wee might perceiue made alongst the shoare where we were to passe, and vp into the countrie vntill the very last day. In the euening whereof, about three of the clocke we heard certaine sauages call as we thought, Manteo, who was also at that time with mee in boate, whereof we all being verie glad, hoping of some friendly conference with them, and making him to answere them, they presently began a song, as we thought in token of our welcome to them: but Manteo presently betooke him to his peece, and tolde mee that they ment to fight with vs: which word was not so soone spoken by him, and the light horseman ready to put to shoare, but there lighted a vollie of their arrowes amongst them in the boate, but did no hurt God be thanked to any man. Immediatly, the other boate lying ready with their shot to skoure the place for our hand weapons to land vpon, which was presently done, although the lande was very high and steepe, the Sauages forthwith quitted the shoare, and betooke themselues to flight: we landed, and hauing fayre and easily followed for a smal time after them, who had wooded themselues we know not where: the sunne drawing then towards the setting, and being then assured that the next day, if wee would pursue them, though wee might happen to meete with them, yet we should bee assured to meete with none of their victuall, which we then had good cause to thinke of, therefore choosing for the companie a conuenient grounde in safetie to lodge in for the night, making a strong corps of garde, and putting out good centinels, I determined the next morning before the rising of the sunne to be going backe againe, if possibly wee might recouer the mouth of the riuer into the broade sownde, which at my first motion I found my whole companie ready to assent vnto: for they were nowe come to their dogs porredge, that they had bespoken for them selues, if that befell them which did, and I before did mistrust we should hardly escape. The ende was, we came the next day by night to the riuers mouth within 4. or 5. miles of the same, hauing rowed in one day downe the currant, as much as in 4. dayes we had done against the same: we lodged vpon an Islande, where wee had nothing in the worlde to eate but pottage of sassafras leaues, the like whereof for a meate was neuer vsed before as I thinke. The broad sownde wee had to passe, the next day all fresh and fasting: that day the winde blewe so strongly, and the billow so great, that there was no possibilitie of passage without sinking of our boates. This was vpon Easter eue, which

A conflict begun by ye Sauages.

The great currant of the Riuer of Morottico.

which was faſted very trulie. Upon Eaſter day in the morning the wind comming very calme, wee entred the ſownde, and by 4. of the clocke we were at Chipanum, where all the Sauages that wee had left there were fled, but their wears did yeelde vs ſome fiſh, as God was pleaſed not vtterly to ſuffer vs to be loſt: for ſome of our companie of the light horſemen were far ſpent. The next morning we arriued at our home Roanoake.

I haue ſet downe this voyage ſomewhat particularly, to the ende it may appeare vnto you, (as true it is) that there wanted no great good will from the moſt to the leaſt amongſt vs, to haue perfited this diſcouerie of the mine: for that the diſcouery of a good mine, by the goodneſſe of God, or a paſſage to the Southſea, or ſomeway to it, and nothing els can bring this country in requeſt to be inhabited by our nation. And with the diſcouery of any of the two aboue ſhewed, it wilbe the moſt ſweete, and healthfulleſt climate, and therewithall the moſt fertile ſoyle, being manured in the world: and then will Saſſafras, and many other rootes & gummes there found make good Marchandiſe and lading for ſhipping, which otherwiſe of themſelues will not bee worth the fetching.

Prouided alſo, that there be found out a better harborough then yet there is, which muſt bee to the Northward, if any there be, which was mine intention to haue ſpent this ſummer in the ſearch of, and of the mine of Chawnis Temoatan: the one I would haue done, if the barks that I ſhould haue had of S. Francis Drake, by his honorable curteſie, had not bene driuen away by ſtorme: the other if your ſupply of more men, and ſome other neceſſaries had come to vs in any conuenient ſufficiencie. For this riuer of Moratico promiſeth great things, and by the opinion of M. Harriots the heade of it by the deſcription of the country, either riſeth from the bay of Mexico, or els from very neere vnto the ſame, that openeth out into the South ſea.

And touching the Minerall, thus doth M. Vaughan affirme that though it be but copper, ſeeing the Sauages are able to melt it, it is one of the richeſt Minerals in the worlde.

Wherefore a good harborough founde to the Northward, as before is ſayd, and from thence foure dayes ouerland, to the riuer of Choanoak ſconſes being rayſed, from whence againe ouerlande through the prouince of Choanoak one dayes voyage to the firſt towne of the Mangoaks vp the riuer of Moratico by the way, as alſo vpon the ſayd riuer for the defence of our boats like ſconſes being ſet, in this courſe of proceeding you ſhall cleare your ſelfe from all thoſe dangers and broad ſhallowe ſownds before mentioned, and gayne within foure dayes trauell into the heart of the mayne 200. myles at the leaſt, and ſo paſſe your diſcouerie into that moſt notable, and to the likelieſt partes of the mayne, with farre greater felicitie then otherwiſe can bee performed.

Thus ſir, I haue though ſimply, yet truely ſet downe vnto you, what my labour with the reſt of the gentlemen, and poore men of our company, (not without both payne, and perill which the lorde in his mercy many wayes deliuered vs from) could yeelde vnto you, which might haue bene performed in ſome more perfection, if the lorde had bene pleaſed that onely that which you had prouided for vs had at the firſt bene left with vs, or that he had not in his eternall prouidence now at the laſt ſet ſome other courſe in theſe things, then the wiſedome of man could looke into, which truely the carying away, by a moſt ſtrange, & vnlooked for ſtorme all our prouiſion, with barks, maſter, Marryners, and ſundrie alſo of mine owne company, all hauing bene ſo curteouſly ſupplyed by the Generall S. Francis Drake, the ſame hauing bene moſt ſufficient to haue performed the greateſt part of the premiſſes, muſt euer make me to thinke, the hand of God only, for ſome his good purpoſe to my ſelfe yet vnknowne, to haue bene in the matter.

The ſecond part touching the conſpiracy of Pemiſapan, the diſcouerie of the ſame, and at the laſt, of our requeſt to depart with S. Francis Drake for England.

INſenore a ſauage father to Pemiſapan being the only frend to our nation that we had amongſt them, and about the king, dyed the 20. of Aprill, 1586. hee alone, had before oppoſed himſelfe in their conſultations againſt al matters propoſed againſt vs, which both the king, and all the reſt of them after Grangemoes death, were very willing to haue preferred. And he was not onely by the meere prouidence of God during his life, a meane to ſaue vs from hurt, aspoyſonings and ſuch like, but alſo to doe vs very great good, and ſingularly in this.

The king was aduiſed and of himſelfe diſpoſed, as a ready meane to haue aſſuredly brought

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vs to ruine in the moneth of March, 1586. himselfe also with all his Sauages to haue runne away from vs, and to haue left his ground in the Iland vnsowed, which if he had done, there had bene no possibilitie in common reason, (but by the immediate hand of God) that we could haue bene preserued from staruing out of hand. For at that time wee had no weares for fishe, neither could our men skill of the making of them, neither had wee one grayne of corne for seede to put into the ground.

In mine absence on my voyage that I had made against the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, they had raised a bruite among themselues, that I and my company were part slayne, and part starued by the Chaonists, and Mangoaks. One part of this tale was too true, that I and mine were like to be starued, but the other false.

Neuertheless vntill my returne, it tooke such effect in Pemisapans breast, and in those against vs, that they grew not onely into contempt of vs, but also (contrary to their former reuerend opinion in shew, of the almightie God of heauen, and Iesus Christ, whome wee serue and worship, whome before they would acknowledge and confesse the onely God:) nowe they began to blaspheme, and flatly to say, that our Lord God was not God, since hee suffered vs to sustaine much hunger, and also to be killed of the Renapoaks, for so they call by that generall name, all the inhabitants of the whole mayne, of what prouince soeuer. Insomuch as olde Ensenore, neither any of his fellowes, could for his sake haue no more credite for vs: and it came so farre that the King was resolued to haue presently gone away as is afore said.

But euen in the beginning of this bruite I returned, which when hee saw contrarie to his expectation, and the aduertisement that he had receiued: that not only my selfe, and my company were al safe, but also by report of his owne 3. sauages, which had bene with mee besides Manteo in that voyage, that is to say, Tetepano, his sisters husband Eracano, and Cosine, that the Chaonists, and Mangoaks, (whose name, and multitude besides their valour is terrible to al the rest of the prouinces) durst not for the most part of them abide vs, and that those that did abide vs were killed, and that we had taken Menatonon prisoner, and brought his sonne that he best loued to Roanoak with me, it did not a little asswage all deuises against vs: on the other side, it made Ensenors opinions to be receiued againe with greater respects. For hee had often before told them, and then renewed those his former speeches, both to the king and the rest, that wee were the seruants of God, and that wee were not subiect to be destroyed by them: but contrariwise, that they amongst them that sought our destruction, should finde their owne, and not be able to worke ours, and that we being dead men were able to doe them more hurt, then now we could do being aliue: an opinion very confidently at this day holden by the wisest amongst them, and of their olde men, as also, that they haue bene in the night, being 100. myles from any of vs in the ayre shot at, and stroken by some men of ours, that by sickenesse had dyed among them: and many of them holde opinion, that wee be dead men returned into the worlde againe, and that we doe not remayne dead but for a certaine time, and that then we returne againe.

All these speeches then againe grew in ful credite with them, the King and all touching vs, when hee saw the small troupe returned againe, and in that sort from those whose very names were terrible vnto them: but that which made vp the matter on our side for that time, was an accident, yea rather, (as all the rest was) the good prouidence of the Almightie for the sauing of vs, which was this.

Within certaine dayes after my returne from the said iourney, Menatonon sent a messenger to visite his sonne the prisoner with me, and sent me certaine pearle for a present, or rather as Pemisapan told me, for the ransome of his sonne, and therefore I refused them: but the greatest cause of his sending then, was to signifie vnto me, that hee had commaunded Okisko king of Weopomiok, to yelde himselfe seruant, and homager, to the great Weroanza of England, and after her to Sir Walter Ralegh: to performe which commandement receiued from Menatonon, the sayd Okisko ioyntly with this Menatonons messenger, sent foure and twentie of his principallest men to Roanoak to Pemisapan, to signifie that they were readie to performe the same, and so had sent those his men to let me knowe, that from that time forwarde hee, and his successours were to acknowledge her Maiestie their onely Soueraigne, and next vnto her, as is afore sayde.

All which being done, and acknowledged by them all, in the presence of Pemisapan his father, and all his Sauages in counsel then with him, it did for the time, thorowly (as it seemed) change him in disposition toward vs: Insomuch as forthwith Ensenore wan this resolution of him, that out of hand he should goe about, & withall, to cause his men to set vp weares forthwith for vs: both which he, at that present went in hand withal & did so labour the expedition of it, that

that in the end of April, he had ſowed a good quantitie of ground, ſo much as had bene ſufficient, to haue fed our whole company (God bleſſing the grouth) and that by the belly for a whole yere: beſides that he gaue vs a certaine plot of grounde for our ſelues to ſowe. All which put vs in marueilous comfort, if we could paſſe from Aprill, vntill the beginning of July, (which was to haue bene the beginning of their haruеſt,) that then a newe ſupplie out of Englande or els our owne ſtore would well inough maintayne vs: All our feare was of the two moneths betwixt, in which meane ſpace, if the Sauages ſhould not helpe vs with Caſſada, and Chyna, and that our weares ſhould fayle vs, (as often they did,) wee might very well ſtarue, notwithſtanding the growing corne, like the ſtaruing horſe in the ſtable, with the growing graſſe as the prouerbe is, which we very hardlye had eſcaped but onely by the hande of God, as it pleaſed him to try vs. For within few dayes after, as before is ſayde Enſenore our friende dyed, who was no ſooner dead, but certaine our great enemies about Pemiſapan, as Oſocan a Weroance, Tanaquiny and Wancheſe moſt principally, were in hand again to put their old practiſes in vre againſt vs, which were readily imbraced, & al their former deuiſes againſt vs renewed, & new brought in queſtion.

The beginning of their haruеſt in Julie.

But that of ſtaruing vs, by their forbearing to ſowe, was broken by Enſenore in his life, by hauing made the king all at one inſtant to ſowe his grounde not onely in the Iſlande but alſo at Addeſmocopeia in the mayne, within two leagues ouer againſt vs. Neuertheleſſe there wanted no ſtore of miſchеuous practiſes among them, and of all they reſoluеd principally of this following.

The conſpiracie of Pemiſapan.

Firſt that Okisko, king of Weopomiok, with the Mandoages, ſhould bee moued, and with great quantitie of copper intertayned to the number of ſeuen, or 800 bowes to the enterpriſe the matter thus to be ordred. They of Weopomiok ſhould be inuited to a certaine kind of moneths minde which they do vſe to ſolemniſe in their Sauage maner for any great perſonage dead, and ſhould haue bene for Enſenore. At this inſtant alſo ſhould the Mandoaks, who were a great people with the Cheſepians, and their friends to the number of 700. of them to be armed at a day appoynted to the mayne of Addeſmocopeio, and there lying cloſe at the ſigne of fyers, which ſhould interchangeably be made on both ſides, whē Pemiſapan w̄ his troup aboue named ſhould haue executed me, and ſome of our Weroances (as they called all our principall officers,) the mayne forces of the reſt ſhould haue come ouer into the Iland where they ment to haue diſpatched the reſt of the company, whome they did imagine to finde both diſmayed and diſperſed abroade in the Iſlande ſeeking of crabs, and fiſh to liue withall. The manner of their enterpriſe was this.

Tarraquine and Andacon two principall men about Pemiſapan, and very luſtie fellowes with twentie more appointed to them had the charge of my perſon to ſee an order taken for the ſame, which they ment ſhould in this ſort haue bene executed. In the dead time of the night they would haue beſet my houſe, and put fire in the reedes, that the ſame was couered with: meaning (as it was likelye) that my ſelfe woulde haue come running out of a ſudden amazed in my ſhirt without armes, vpon the inſtant whereof they woulde haue knocked out my braynes.

The ſame order was giuen to certaine of his fellowes, for M. Herriots: ſo for all the reſt of our better ſort, all our houſes at one inſtant being ſet on fire as afore is ſayde, and that as well for them of the forte, as for vs at the towne. Now to the end that we might be the fewer in number together, and ſo be the more eaſilie dealt withall (for in deede ten of vs with our armes prepared, were a terrour to a hundred of the beſt ſort of them,) they agreed and did immediatly put it in practiſe, that they ſhould not for any copper, ſell vs any victuals whatſoeuer: beſides that in the night they ſhould ſend to haue our weares robbed, and alſo to cauſe them to be broken and once being broken neuer to be repayred againe by them. By this meanes the King ſtood aſſured, that I muſt bee enforced for lacke of ſuſtenance, there to diſband my company into ſundry places to liue vpon ſhell fiſhe, for ſo the Sauages themſelues doe, going to Ottorasko, Crotoan, and other places fiſhing and hunting, while their grounds be in ſowing, and their corne growing, which fayled not his expectation. For the famine grewe ſo extreeme among vs, our weares fayling vs of fiſh, that I was enforced to ſend captaine Stafford with 20. with him to Crotoan my lord Admirals Iſland to ſerue two turnes in one, that is to ſay to feede himſelfe, and his company, and alſo to keepe watch, if any ſhipping came vpon the coaſt to warne vs of the ſame. I ſent maſter Prior with the Pynneſſe to Otteraſco, and ten with him, with the Prouoſt Marſhal to liue there, and alſo to wayte for ſhipping: alſo I ſent euery weeke 16. or 20. of the reſt of the companie to the mayne ouer againſt vs, to liue of Caſada, and oyſters.

The ſufficiencye of our men to deale againſt the Sauages, 10. to 100.

The ſauages liue by fiſhing, and hunting, till haruеſt.

In the meane while Pemiſapan went of purpoſe to Addeſmocopeio for 3. cauſes, the one, to ſee his grounds there broken vp, and ſowed for a ſecond croppe: the other to withdrawe himſelfe

selfe from my dayly sending to him for supply of victuall for my company, for hee was afrayde to denye me any thing, neither durst he in my presence but by colour, and with excuses, which I was content to accept for the time, meaning in the ende as I had reason, to giue him the iumpe once for all: but in the meane whiles, as I had euer done before, I and mine bare all wrongs, and accepted of all excuses.

My purpose was to haue relyed my selfe with Menatonon, and the Chaonists, who in truth as they are more valiant people and in greater number then the rest, so are they more faithfull in their promises, and since my late being there, had giuen many tokens of earnest desire they had to ioyne in perfect league with vs, and therefore were greatly offended with Pemisapan and Weopomiok for making him beleeue such tales of vs.

The third cause of his going to Addesmacopeio was to dispatch his messengers to Weopomiok, and to the Mandoages, as aforesaid, al which he did with great impresse of copper in hand, making large promises to them of greater spoyle.

The answere within fewe dayes after, came from Weopomiok, which was deuided into two parts. First for the King Okisko, who denyed to be of ỹ partie for himselfe, or any of his especial followers, and therefore did immediatly retyre himselfe with his force into the mayne: the other was concerning the rest of the sayd prouince who accepted of it: and in like sort the Mandoags receiued the impresse.

The day of their assembly aforesayd at Roanoak, was appoynted the 10. of July: all which the premises were discouered by Skyco, the king Menatonon his sonne my prisoner, who hauing once attempted to run away, I laid him in the bylboes, threatning to cut off his head, whome I remitted at Pemisapans request: whereupon he being perswaded that he was our enemie to the death, he did not only feede him with himselfe, but also made him acquainted with all his practises. On the other side, the yong man finding himself as well vsed at my hand, as I had meanes to shew, and that all my companie made much of him, he flatly discouered al vnto me, which also afterwards was reuealed vnto me by one of Pemisapans own men, ỹ night before he was slaine.

These mischiefes being al instantly vpon mee, and my companie to be put in execution, stood mee in hand to study how to preuent them, and also to saue all others, which were at that time as aforesaid so farre from me: whereupon I sent to Pemisapan to put suspition out of his heade, that I ment presently to goe to Croatoan, for that I had heard of the arriual of our fleete, (though I in trueth had neither heard nor hoped for so good aduenture,) and that I meant to come by him, to borrow of his men to fish for my company, and to hunt for me at Croatoan, as also to buy some foure dayes prouision to serue for my voyage.

He sent mee word that he would himselfe come ouer to Roanoak, but from day to day hee deferred, only to bring the Weopomioks with him, and the Mandoags, whose time appoynted was within 8. dayes after. It was the last of May, 1586. when all his owne sauages began to make their assembly at Roanoak, at his commandement sent abroad vnto them, and I resolued not to stay longer vpon his comming ouer, since he ment to come with so good company, but thought good to go, and visite him with such as I had, which I resolued to do the next day: but that night I ment by the way to giue them in the Iland a Canuisado, and at the instant to seaze vpon all the Canoas about the Iland to keepe him from aduertisements.

But the towne tooke the allarum, before I ment it to them: the occasion was this. I had sent the Master of the light horsemen with a few with him, to gather vp all the Canoas in the setting of the sunne, & to take as many as were going from vs to Adesmocopeio, but to suffer any that came from thence to land: he met with a Canoa, going from the shoare, and ouerthrew the Canoa, and cut off 2. sauages heads: this was not done so secretly but hee was discouered from the shoare, whereupon the cry arose: for in trueth they, priuie to their owne villanous purposes against vs, held as good espial vpon vs, both day and night, as we did vpon them.

The slaughter, and surprise of the Sauages.

The allarum giuen, they tooke themselues to their bowes, and we to our armes: some three or foure of them at the first were slayne with our shot, the rest fled into ỹ woods: The next morning with the light horseman, & one Canoa, taking 25. with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Seriant maior, I went to Adesmocopeio, and being landed sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne sauages that met me at the shore, that I was going to Croatoan, and ment to take him in the way to complaine vnto him of Osocon, who the night past was conueying away my prisoner, whom I had there present tied in an handlocke: hereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst 7. or 8. of his principal Weroances, & followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gaue the watchword agreed vpon, (which was Christ our victory,) and immediatly those his chiefe men, and himselfe, had by the mercie of God for our deliuerance,

uerance, that which they had purpoſed for vs. The king himſelfe being ſhot thorow by the Colonell with a piſtoll lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the ſauing of Manteos friends, as others were buſie that none of the reſt ſhould eſcape, ſuddenly he ſtarted vp, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, inſomuch as he ouerran all the companie, being by the way ſhot thwart the buttocks by mine Iriſh boy with my Petronell. In the end an Iriſh man ſeruing me, one Nugent and the deputie prouoſt vndertooke him, and following him in the woods ouertooke him, and I in ſome doubt leaſt we had loſt both the king, and my man by our owne negligence to haue bene intercepted by the Sauages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemiſapans head in his hand. Pemiſapan ſlaine.

This fell out the firſt of June, 1586. and the 8. of the ſame came aduertiſement to me from captaine Stafford, lying at my lord Admirals Iſland, that he had diſcouered a great Fleete of 23. ſailes: but whether they were friends or foes, he could not yet diſcerne, he aduiſed me to ſtand vpon as good gard as I could.

The 9. of the ſaid moneth, he himſelfe came vnto me, hauing that night before, and that ſame day trauelled by land 20. miles, and I muſt truly report of him from the firſt to the laſt, he was the gentleman that neuer ſpared labour or perill either by land or water, faire weather or foule, to performe any ſeruice committed vnto him.

He brought me a letter from the Generall ſir Francis Drake, with a moſt bountifull and honourable offer for the ſupplie of our neceſſities to the perfourmance of the action, we were entered into, and that not onely of victuals, munition and clothing, but alſo of barkes, pinnaces and boates, they alſo by him to be victualled, manned, and furniſhed to my contentation. A letter from ſir Francis Drake.

The 10. day hee arriued in the road of our bad harborough, and comming there to an anker, the 11. day I came to him, whom I found in deeds moſt honourably to perfourme that which in writing and meſſage he had moſt curteouſly offered, he hauing aforehand propounded the matter to all the captains of his Fleete, and got their liking and conſent thereto.

With ſuch thanks vnto him and his captaines for his care both of vs and of our action, not as the matter deſerued, but as I could both for my companie and my ſelfe, I (being aforehand) prepared what I would deſire, craued at his hands that it would pleaſe him to take with him into England a number of weake, and vnfit men for my good action, which I would deliuer to him, and in place of them to ſupply me of his company, with oare men, artificers, and others. 1

That he would leaue vs ſo much ſhipping and victuall, as about Auguſt then next following, would cary me and all my companie into England, whē we had diſcouered ſomwhat that for lacke of needfull prouiſion in time left with vs as yet remained vndone. 2

That it would pleaſe him withall to leaue ſome ſufficient maſters not onely to cary vs into England when time ſhould be, but alſo to ſearch the coaſt for ſome better harborow if there were any, and eſpecially to helpe vs to ſome ſmall boats and oare men. 3

Alſo for a ſupplie of calieuers, handweapons, match and lead, tooles, apparell, and ſuch like. 4

He hauing receiued theſe my requeſts according to his vſuall commendable maner of gouernement (as it was told me) calling his captaines to counſell, the reſolution was that I ſhould ſend ſuch of my officers of my companie, as I vſed in ſuch matters, with their notes to goe aboord with him, which were the maſter of the victuals, the keeper of the ſtore, and the Uicetreaſurer, to whom he appointed foorthwith for me the Francis, being a very proper barke of 70. tunnes, and tooke preſent order for bringing of victuall aboord her for 100. men for foure moneths withall my other demaunds whatſoeuer, to the vttermoſt.

And further appointed for me two fine pinnaces, and 4. ſmall boats, and that which was to perfourme all his former liberalitie towards vs, was that he had gotten the full aſſents of two of as ſufficient experimented maſters as were any in his fleete, by iudgement of them that knewe them, with very ſufficient gings to tarie with mee, and to employ themſelues moſt earneſtly in the action, as I ſhould appoynt them, vntill the terme which I promiſed of our returne into England agayne. The names of one of thoſe maſters was Abraham Kendall, the other Griffith Herne.

While theſe things were in hand, the prouiſion aforeſayd being brought, and in bringing aboord, my ſayd maſters being alſo gone aboord, my ſayd barkes hauing accepted of their charge, and mine owne officers with others in like ſort of my company with thē, all which was diſpatched by the ſaid Generall the 12. of the ſaid moneth: the 13. of the ſame there aroſe ſuch an vnwonted ſtorme, and continued foure dayes that had like to haue driuen all on ſhore, if the Lord had not held his holy hand ouer them, and the generall very prouidently foreſeene the worſt himſelfe, then about my diſpatch putting himſelfe aboord: but in the ende hauing driuen ſundry of the Fleete to

put to sea the Francis also with all my prouisions, my two masters, and my companie aboord, shee was seene to be free from the same, and to put cleare to sea.

This storme hauing continued from the 13. to the 16. of the moneth, and thus my barke put away as aforesayd, the Generall comming a shore, made a new proffer to me, which was a shippe of 170. tunnes, called the Barke Bonner, with a sufficient master and guide to carie with mee the time appointed, and victualled sufficiently to carie mee and my companie into England with all prouisions as before: but hee tolde mee that hee would not for any thing vndertake to haue her brought into our harbour, and therefore hee was to leaue her in the roade, and to leaue the care of the rest vnto my selfe, and aduised mee to consider with my companie of our case, and to deliuer presently vnto him in writing, what I would require him to doe for vs: which being within his power, hee did assure me as well for his Captaines, as for himselfe should be most willingly performed.

Hereupon calling such Captaines and Gentlemen of my companie as then were at hand, who were all as priuie as my selfe to the Generals offer, their whole request was to mee, that considering the case that we stood in, the weakenesse of our companie, the small number of the same, the carying away of our first appointed barke, with those two especiall masters, with our principall prouisions in the same, by the very hand of God as it seemed, stretched out to take vs from thence: considering also, that his second offer, though most honourable of his part, yet of ours not to be taken, insomuch as there was no possibilitie for her with any safetie to be brought into the harbour: Seeing furthermore our hope for supplie with sir Richard Greenuill so vndoubtedly promised vs before Easter, not yet come, neither then likely to come this peere considering the doings in England for Flaunders, as also for America, that therefore I would resolue my selfe, with my companie to goe into England in that Fleete, and accordingly to make request to the Generall in all our names, that he would bee pleased to giue vs present passage with him. Which request of ours by my selfe deliuered vnto him, hee most readily assented vnto, and so hee sending immediately his pinnaces vnto our Iland for the fetching away of fewe that there were left with our baggage, the weather was so boysterous, and the pinnaces so often on ground, that the most of all wee had, with all our Cardes, Bookes and writings, were by the Saylers cast ouer boord, the greater number of the Fleete being much agrieued with their long and daungerous abode in that miserable road.

From whence the Generall in the name of the Almightie, waying his ankers (hauing beckoned vs among his Fleete) for the releefe of whom hee had in that storme sustained more perill of wracke then in all his former most honourable actions against the Spaniards, with praises vnto God for all, set saile the 19. of June, 1586. and arriued in Portesmouth, the 27. of July the same peere.

The third voyage made by a Ship, sent in the yeere 1586.

to the releefe of the Colonie planted in Virginia, at the sole charges of Sir Walter Raleigh.

IN the yeere of our Lord, 1586. sir Walter Raleigh at his owne charge prepared a ship of 100. tunnes, fraighted with all maner of things in most plentiful maner for the supplie and relief of his Colonie then remaining in Virginia: but before they set saile from England, it was after Easter, so that our Colonie halfe dispaired of the comming of any supplie, wherefore euery man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life time in that countrey, and for the better performaunce of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessarie for their releefe in so plentifull a manner, as might haue sufficed them two yeeres without any further labor: thus trusting to their owne haruest they passed the summer till the tenth of June, at which time their corne which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping, but then it happened, that Sir Frauncis Drake in his prosperous returne from the sacking of Saint Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustines determined in his way homeward to visit his countrymen the English Colonie then remayning in Virginia: so sailing along the coastes of Florida, he fell with the partes, where our English Colony inhabited, and hauing espyed some of that company, there he ankered, and went alande where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and howe thinges had past with them: they aunswered him that they liued all, but hitherto in some scarsitie, and as yet coulde here of no supplye out of England: therefore they requested him that he would leaue with them some two or three shippes, that if in

some

ſome reaſonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themſelues: which hee agreed to: whileſt ſome were then writing their letters to ſend into England, and ſome others making reportes of the accidentes of their trauels each to other, ſome on lande, ſome on boord, a great ſtorme aroſe, and droue the moſt of their fleete from their ankers to Sea, in which ſhippes, at that inſtant were the chiefeſt of the Engliſh Colony: the reſt on land perceiuing this, haſted to thoſe three ſayles which were appointed to be left there, and for feare they ſhould be left behinde, left all thinges ſo confuſedly, as if they had bene chaſed from thence by a mightie armie, and no doubt ſo they were, for the hande of God came vpon them for the crueltie, and outrages committed by ſome of them againſt the native inhabitantes of that Countrie.

June. Immediatly after the departing of our Engliſh Colonie out of this paradiſe of the worlde, the ſhippe aboue mentioned ſent, and ſet forth at the charges of Sir VValter Ralegh, and his direction, arriued at Hatoraſk, who after ſome time ſpent in ſeeking our Colony vp in the Countrie, and not finding them, returned with all the aforeſayd prouiſion into England.

Sir Richard Grindfields third voyage. About fourteene or fifteene daies after the departure of the aforeſayd ſhippe, Sir Richard Grindfield Generall of Virginia, accompanied with three ſhippes well appointed for the ſame voyage arriued there, who not finding the aforeſaid ſhip according to his expectation, nor hearing any newes of our Engliſh Colony, there ſeated, and left by him, Anno 1585. him ſelfe trauailing vp into diuers places of the Countrey, as well to ſee if he could here any newes of the Colony left there by him the yere before, vnder the charge of Maſter Lane his deputie, as alſo to diſcouer ſome places of the Countrie: but after ſome time ſpent therein not hearing any newes of them, and finding the place which they inhabited deſolate, yet vnwilling to looſe the poſſeſſion of the Countrie, which Engliſhmen had ſo long holde: after good deliberation he determined to leaue ſome men behinde to retaine poſſeſſion of the Country: whereupon he landed 15. men in the Ile of Roanoake furniſhed plentifully with all maner of prouiſion for two yeeres, and ſo departed for England.

Not long after he fell with the Iſles of Açores, on ſome of which Ilandes he landed, and ſpoyled the Townes of all ſuch thinges as were worth cariage, where alſo he tooke diuers Spanyardes: with theſe, and many other exploytes done by him in this voyage, as well outwarde as homeward, he returned into England.

A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia: of the *commodities there found and to be raiſed, as well merchantable as others*:

Written by Thomas Harriot, ſeruaunt to Sir Walter Raleigh, a member of the Colonie, and there imployed in diſcouering, a full tweluemoneth.

Rafe Lane one of her Maieſties Equieres and Gouernour of the Colonie in Virginia aboue mentioned for the time there reſident, To the gentle Reader, wiſheth all happineſſe in the Lord.

ALbeit (gentle Reader) the credite of the reports in this treatiſe contained, can litle be furthered by the teſtimonie of one as my ſelfe, through affection iudged partiall, though without deſert: Neuertheleſſe, forſomuch as I haue bene requeſted by ſome my particular friends, who conceiue more rightly of me, to deliuer freely my knowledge of the ſame, not onely for the ſatisfying of them, but alſo for the true information of any other who ſoeuer, that comes not with a preiudicate minde to the reading thereof: Thus much vpon my credite I am to affirme, that things vniuerſally are ſo truely ſet downe in this treatiſe by the authour thereof, an Actor in the Colonie and a man no leſſe for his honeſtie then learning commendable, as that I dare boldly auouche, it may very well paſſe with the credite of trueth euen amongſt the moſt true relations of this age. Which as for mine owne part I am readie any way with my worde to acknowledge, ſo alſo (of the certaintie thereof aſſured by mine owne experience) with this my publique aſſertion, I doe affirme the ſame. Farewell in the Lord.

To the Aduenturers, Fauourers, and Welwillers of the enterprise for the inhabiting and planting in Virginia.

SInce the first vndertaking by sir Walter Ralegh to deale in the action of discouering of that Countrey which is now called and knowen by the name of Virginia, many voiages hauing bene thither made at sundry times to his great charge, as first in the yeere 1584. and afterwards in the yeeres 1585, 1586. and now of late this last yeere of 1587. There haue bene diuers and variable reportes, with some slaunderous and shamefull speaches bruited abroad by many that returned from thence. Especially of that discouerie which was made by the Colonie transported by Sir Richard Greenuill in the yeere 1585. being of all the others the most principall and as yet of most effect, the time of their abode in the countrey being a whole yeere, when as in the other voiage before they staied but sixe weekes, and the others after were onely for supplie and transportation, nothing more being discouered then had bene before. Which reports haue not done a litle wrong to many that otherwise would haue also fauoured and aduentured in the action, to the honour and benefite of our nation, besides the particular profite and credite which would redound to themselues the dealers therein, as I hope by the sequell of euents to the shame of those that haue auouched the contrary shall be manifest, if you the aduenturers, fauourers and welwillers doe but either increase in number, or in opinion continue, or hauing bene doubtfull, renew your good liking and furtherance to deale therein according to the worthinesse thereof alreadie found, and as you shall vnderstand hereafter to be requisite. Touching which worthinesse through cause of the diuersitie of relations and reports, many of your opinions could not be firme, nor the mindes of some that are well disposed, be setled in any certaintie.

I haue therefore thought it good being one that haue bene in the discouerie, and in dealing with the naturall inhabitaunts specially imployed: and hauing therefore seene and knowen more then the ordinarie, to impart so much vnto you of the fruits of our labours, as that you may know how iniuriously the enterprise is slaundered, and that in publique maner at this present, chiefly for two respects.

First, that some of you which are yet ignorant or doubtfull of the state thereof, may see that there is sufficient cause why the chiefe enterpriser with the fauour of her Maiestie, notwithstanding such reportes, hath not onely since continued the action by sending into the countrey againe, and replanting this last yeere a new Colonie, but is also readie, according as the times and means will afford, to folow and prosecute the same.

Secondly, that you seeing and knowing the continuance of the action, by the view hereof you may generally know and learne what the countrey is, and thereupon consider how your dealing therein if it proceed, may returne you profite and gaine, be it either by inhabiting and planting, or otherwise in furthering thereof.

And least that the substance of my relation should be doubtfull vnto you, as of others by reason of their diuersitie, I will first open the cause in a few words wherefore they are so different, referring my self to your fauourable constructions, and to be adiudged of as by good consideration you shall find cause.

Of our companie that returned some for their misdemeanour and ill dealing in the countrey, haue bene there worthily punished, who by reason of their bad natures, haue maliciously not onely spoken ill of their Gouernours, but for their sakes slaundered the countrey it selfe. The like also haue those done which were of their consort.

Some being ignorant of the state thereof, notwithstanding since their returne amongst their friends and acquaintance, and also others, especially if they were in companie where they might not be gainesayd, would seeme to know so much as no men more, and make no men so great trauellers as themselues. They stoode so much, as it may seeme, vpon their credite and reputation, that hauing bene a twelue moneth in the countrey, it would haue bene a great disgrace vnto them as they thought, if they could not haue sayd much whether it were true or false. Of which some haue spoken of more then euer they sawe, or otherwise knew to be there: Other some haue not bene ashamed to make absolute denial of that, which although not by them, yet by others is most certainly and there plentifully knowen, and other some make difficulties of those things they haue no skill of.

The cause of their ignorance was, in that they were of that many, that were neuer out of the Iland where wee were seated, or not farre, or at the least wise in few places els, during the time of our abode in the countrey, or of that many, that after golde and siluer was not so soone found,

found, as it was by them looked for, had litle or no care of any other thing but to pamper their bellies, or of that many which had litle vnderſtanding, leſſe diſcretion, and more tongue then was needfull or requiſite.

Some alſo were of a nice bringing vp, only in cities or townes, or ſuch as neuer (as I may ſay) had ſeene the world before. Becauſe there were not to be found any Engliſh cities, nor ſuch faire houſes, nor at their owne with any of their old accuſtomed daintie food, nor any ſoft beds of downe or feathers, the countrey was to them miſerable, and their reports thereof according.

Becauſe my purpoſe was but in briefe to open the cauſe of the varietie of ſuch ſpeeches, the particularities of them, and of many enuious, malicious and ſlanderous reports and deuiſes els, by our owne countreymen beſides, as trifles that are not woorthie of wiſe men to bee thought vpon, I meane not to trouble you withal, but wil paſſe to the commodities, the ſubſtance of that which I haue to make relation of vnto you.

The treatiſe whereof for your more readie view and eaſier vnderſtanding, I will diuide into three ſpeciall partes. In the firſt I will make declaration of ſuch commodities there already found or to bee raiſed, which will not onely ſerue the ordinarie turnes of you which are and ſhall be the planters and inhabitaunts, but ſuch an ouerplus ſufficiently to be yeelded, or by men of ſkill to be prouided, as by way of traffique and exchaunge with our owne nation of England, will enrich your ſelues the prouiders: thoſe that ſhall deale with you, the enterpriſers in generall, and greatly profite our owne countrymen, to ſupplie them with moſt things which heretofore they haue bene faine to prouide either of ſtrangers or of our enemies, which commodities for diſtinction ſake, I call Merchantable.

In the ſecond, I will ſet downe all the commodities which we know the countrey by our experience doth yeeld of it ſelfe for victuall and ſuſtenance of mans life, ſuch as is vſually fed vpon by the inhabitants of the countreys, as alſo by vs during the time we were there.

In the laſt part I will make mention generally of ſuch other commodities beſides, as I am able to remember, and as I ſhall thinke behoouefull for thoſe that ſhall inhabite, and plant there to know of, which ſpecially concerne building, as alſo ſome other neceſſarie vſes: with a briefe deſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the countrey.

The firſt part of Marchantable commodities.

Silke of graſſe, or graſſe Silke. There is a kinde of graſſe in the countrey, vpon the blades whereof there groweth very good Silke in forme of a thinne glittering ſkinne to bee ſtript off. It groweth two foote and an halfe high or better: the blades are about two foote in length, and halfe inche broad. The like groweth in Perſia, which is in the ſelfe ſame climate as Virginia, of which very many of the Silke workes that come from thence into Europe are made. Hereof if it be planted and ordered as in Perſia, it cannot in reaſon bee otherwiſe, but that there will riſe in ſhort time great profite to the dealers therein, ſeeing there is ſo great vſe and vent thereof as well in our countrey as elſewhere. And by the meanes of ſowing and planting it in good ground, it will be farre greater, better, and more plentifull then it is. Although notwithſtanding there is great ſtore thereof in many places of the countrey growing naturally and wild, which alſo by proofe here in England, in making a piece of ſilke Grogran, we found to be excellent good.

Worme Silke. In many of our iourneys wee found Silke wormes faire and great, as big as our ordinarie Walnuts. Although it hath not bene our happe to haue found ſuch plentie as elſewhere to be in the countrey wee haue heard of, yet ſeeing that the countrey doeth naturallie breed and nouriſh them, there is no doubt but if Arte be added in planting of Mulberie trees and others fit for them in commodious places, for their feeding and nouriſhing, and ſome of them carefully gathered and huſbanded in that ſort, as by men of ſkill is knowen to be neceſſarie: there will riſe as great profit in time to the Virginians, as thereof doeth now to the Perſians, Turkes, Italians and Spaniards.

Flaxe and Hempe. The trueth is, that of Hempe and Flaxe there is no great ſtore in any one place together, by reaſon it is not planted but as the ſoyle doeth yeeld of it ſelfe: and how ſoeuer the leafe and ſtemme or ſtalke doe differ from ours, the ſtuffe by iudgement of men of ſkill is altogether as good as ours. And if not, as further proofe ſhould finde other wiſe, we haue that experience of the ſoyle, as that there cannot bee ſhewed any reaſon to the contrary, but that it will growe there excellent well, and by planting will bee yeelded plentifully, ſeeing there is ſo much ground whereof ſome may well bee applied to ſuch purpoſes. What benefite

hereof may grow in cordage and linnens who cannot easily vnderstand?

Allum. There is a veine of earth along the sea coast for the space of fortie or fiftie miles, wherof by the iudgement of some that haue made triall here in England, is made good Allum, of that kind which is called Roche Allum. The richnesse of such a commoditie is so well knowen, that I neede not to say any thing thereof. The same earth doeth also yeeld White Copresse, Nitrum, and Alumen plumeum, but nothing so plentifully as the common Allum, which be also of price and profitable.

Wapeih. A kind of earth so called by the naturall inhabitants, very like to Terra sigillata, and hauing bene refined, it hath bene found by some of our Phisitions and Chirurgions, to bee of the same kind of vertue, and more effectuall. The inhabitants vse it very much for the cure of sores and wounds: there is in diuers places great plentie, and in some places of a blew sort.

Pitch, Tarre, Rozen and Turpentine. There are those kindes of trees which yeeld them abundantly and great store. In the very same Island where we were seated, being fifteene miles of length, and fiue or six miles in breadth, there are few trees els but of the same kind, the whole Island being full.

Sassafras. Called by the inhabitants Winauk, a kinde of wood of most pleasaunt and sweete smell, and of most rare vertues in phisike for the cure of many diseases. It is found by experience to bee farre better and of more vses then the Wood which is called Guaiacum, or Lignum vitæ. For the description, the maner of vsing, and the manifold vertues thereof, I referre you to the Booke of Monardus, translated and entituled in English, The ioyfull newes from the West Indies.

Cedar. A very sweete wood and fine timber, whereof if nestes of chestes be there made, or timber thereof fitted for sweete and fine bedsteads, tables, deskes, lutes, virginals and many things els, (of which there hath bene proofe made alreadie) to make vp fraight with other principal commodities, will yeeld profite.

Wine. There are two kindes of grapes that the soile doeth yeeld naturally, the one is small and sowre of the ordinarie bignesse as ours in England, the other farre greater and of himselfe lushious sweete. When they are planted and husbanded as they ought, a principall commoditie of wines by them may be raised.

Oile. There are two sortes of Walnuts both holding oyle, but the one farre more plentifull then the other. When there are mils and other deuises for the purpose, a commoditie of them may be raised because there are infinite store. There are also three seuerall kindes of Berries in the fourme of Oke akornes, which also by the experience and vse of the inhabitaunts, wee finde to yeeld very good and sweete oyle. Furthermore, the Beares of the countrey are commonly very fat, and in some places there are many. Their fatnesse because it is so liquid, may well bee termed oyle, and hath many speciall vses.

Furres. All along the Sea coast there are great store of Otters, which being taken by weires and other engines made for the purpose, wil yeeld good profite. We hope also of Marterne furres, and make no doubt by the relation of the people, but that in some places of the country there are store, although there were but two skins that came to our hands. Luzarnes also wee haue vnderstanding of, although for the time we saw none.

Deere skinnes dressed after the maner of Chamoes or vndressed, are to be had of the naturall inhabitants thousands yeerely by way of traffique for trifles, and no more waste or spoile of Deere then is and hath bene ordinarily in time before.

Ciuet cats. In our trauels there was found one to haue bene killed by a saluage or inhabitant, and in another place the smell where one or more had lately bene before, whereby wee gather besides then by the relation of the people, that there are some in the countrey: good profite will rise by them.

Iron. In two places of the countrey specially, one about fourescore, and the other sixe score miles from the Forte or place where wee dwelt, wee founde neere the water side the ground to bee rockie, which by the triall of a Minerall man, was found to holde iron richly. It is found in many places of the countrey els, I know nothing to the contrarie, but that it may bee allowed for a good merchauntable commoditie, considering there the small charge for the labour and feeding of men: the infinite store of wood, the want of wood and deerenesse thereof in England, and the necessitie of ballasting of ships.

Copper. An hundred and fiftie miles into the maine, in two townes we found with the inhabitaunts diuers small plates of Copper, that had bene made as wee vnderstoode by the inhabitaunts that dwell further into the Countrey, where as they say are mountaynes and Riuers

that

that yeeld alſo white graines of mettall, which is to be deemed ſiluer. For confirmation whereof, at the time of our firſt arriuall in the country, I ſaw with ſome others with me, two ſmall pieces of ſiluer groſly beaten, about the weight of a teſtrone, hanging in the eares of a Wiroans or Chiefe Lord that dwelt about foureſcore miles from vs: of whome through enquiry, by the number of dayes & the way, I learned that it had come to his hands from the ſame place or mere, where I after vnderſtood the copper was made, and the white graines of mettall found. The aforeſaid copper we alſo found by triall to holde ſiluer.

Pearle: Sometimes in feeding on muſcles we found ſome pearle: but it was our happe to meet with ragges, or of a pide colour: not hauing yet diſcouered thoſe places where we heard of better and more plenty. One of our company, a man of ſkill in ſuch matters, had gathered together from among the Sauage people about fiue thouſand: of which number he choſe ſo many as made a fayre chaine, which for theyr likeneſſe and vniformity in roundneſſe, orientneſſe, and pideneſſe of many excellent colours, with equalitie in greatneſſe, were very fayre and rare: and had therefore beene preſented to her Maieſty, had we not by caſualty, and through extremity of a ſtorme loſt them, with many things els in comming away from the countrey.

Sweet gummes of diuers kindes, and many other Apothecary drugges, of which we will make ſpeciall mention, when we ſhall receiue it from ſuch men of ſkill in that kinde, that in taking reaſonable paines ſhall diſcouer them more particularly then we haue done, and then now I can make relation of, for want of the examples I had prouided and gathered, and are now loſt, with other things by caſualty before mentioned.

Dies of diuers kindes: There is Shoemake well knowne, and vſed in England for blacke: the ſeed of an herbe called Waſebur, little ſmall roots called Chappacor, and the barke of the tree called by the inhabitants Tangomockonomindge: which Dies are for diuers ſorts of red: theyr goodneſſe for our Engliſh clothes remaine yet to be proued. The inhabitants vſe them only for the dying of hayre, and colouring of theyr faces, and mantles made of Deere ſkinnes: and alſo for the dying of rushes to make artificiall workes withall in theyr mats and baſkets: hauing no other thing beſides that they account of, apt to vſe them for. If they will not proue merchantable, there is no doubt but the planters there ſhall finde apt vſes for them, as alſo for other colours which we know to be there.

Woad: a thing of ſo great vent and vſes amongſt Engliſh Diers, which can not be yeelded ſufficiently in our owne countrey for ſpare of ground, may be planted in Virginia, there being ground enough. The growth thereof neede not to be doubted, when as in the Iſlands of the Aſores it groweth plentifully, which is in the ſame climate. So likewiſe of Madder.

We carryed thither Suger canes to plant, which being not ſo well preſerued as was requiſite, and beſides the time of the yeere being paſt for theyr ſetting when we arriued, we could not make that proofe of them as we deſired. Notwithſtanding, ſeeing that they grow in the ſame climate, in the South part of Spaine, and in Barbary, our hope in reaſon may yet continue. So likewiſe for Orenges and Limmons: there may be planted alſo Quinſes. Whereby may grow in reaſonable time if the action be diligently proſecuted, no ſmall commodities in Sugers, Suckets, and Marmelades.

Many other commodities by planting may there alſo be raiſed, which I leaue to your diſcreet and gentle conſiderations: and many alſo may be there, which yet we haue not diſcouered. Two more commodities of great value, one of certainty, and the other in hope, not to be planted, but there to be raiſed, and in ſhort time to be prouided and prepared, I might haue ſpecified. So likewiſe of thoſe commodities already ſet downe, I might haue ſaid more: as of the particular places where they are found, and beſt to be planted and prepared: by what meanes, and in what reaſonable ſpace of time they might be raiſed to profit, and in what proportion: but becauſe others then welwillers might be therewithall acquainted, not to the good of the action, I haue wittingly omitted them: knowing that to thoſe that are well diſpoſed, I haue vttered according to my promiſe and purpoſe, for this part ſufficient.

The

The second part of such commodities as Virginia is knowen to yeeld, *for victuall and sustenance of mans life, vsually fed vpon by* the naturall inhabitants: as also by vs, during the time of our abode. And first of such as are sowed and husbanded.

PAgatowr, a kinde of graine so called by the inhabitants: the same in the West Indies is called Mayze: English men call it Guinney wheat, or Turkie wheat, according to the names of the countries from whence the like hath bene brought. The graine is about the bignesse of our ordinary English peaze, and not much different in forme and shape: but of diuers colours: some white, some red, some yellow, and some blew. All of them yeeld a very white and sweete flowre: being vsed according to his kinde, it maketh a very good bread. We made of the same in the countrey some mault, whereof was brued as good ale as was to be desired. So likewise by the helpe of hops, thereof may be made as good beere. It is a graine of maruellous great increase: of a thousand, fifteene hundred, and some two thousand folde. There are three sorts, of which two are ripe in eleuen and twelue weeks at the most, sometimes in tenne, after the time they are set, and are then of height in stalke about sixe or seuen foot. The other sort is ripe in foureteene, and is about tenne foot high, of the stalks, some beare foure heads, some three, some one, and two: euery head conteining fiue, sixe, or seuen hundred graines, within a few more or lesse. Of these graines, besides bread, the inhabitants make victuall, either by parching them, or seething them whole vntill they be broken: or boiling the flowre with water into a pappe.

Okindgier, called by vs Beanes, because in greatnesse and partly in shape they are like to the beanes in England, sauing that they are flatter, of more diuers colours, and some pide. The leafe also of the stemme is much different. In taste they are altogether as good as our English peaze.

Wickonzowr, called by vs Peaze, in respect of the beanes for distinction sake, because they are much lesse, although in some they little differ: but in goodnesse of taste much like, and are farre better then our English peaze. Both the beanes and peaze are ripe in tenne weeks after they are set. They make them victuall either by boiling them all to pieces into a broth, or boiling them whole vntill they be soft, and begin to breake, as is vsed in England, either by themselues, or mixtly together: sometime they mingle of the wheat with them: sometime also, being whole sodden, they bruse or punne them in a morter, and thereof make loaues or lumps of dowish bread, which they vse to eat for variety.

Macocquer, according to their seueral formes, called by vs Pompions, Mellions, and Gourds, because they are of the like formes as those kindes in England. In Virginia such of seuerall formes are of one taste, and very good, and do also spring from one seed. There are of two sorts: one is ripe in the space of a moneth, and the other in two moneths.

There is an herbe which in Dutch is called Melden. Some of those that I describe it vnto, take it to be a kinde of Orage: it groweth about foure or fiue foot high: of the seed thereof they make a thicke broth, and pottage of a very good taste: of the stalke by burning into ashes they make a kinde of salt earth, wherewithall many vse sometimes to season their broths: other salt they know not. We our selues vsed the leaues also for potherbs.

There is also another great herbe, in forme of a Marigolde, about sixe foot in height, the head with the floure is a spanne in breath. Some take it to be Planta Solis: of the seeds hereof they make both a kinde of bread and broth.

All the afore said commodities for victuall are set or sowed, sometimes in grounds apart and seuerally by themselues, but for the most part together in one ground mixtly: the maner therof, with the dressing and preparing of the ground, because I will note vnto you the fertility of the soile, I thinke good briefly to describe.

The ground they neuer fatten with mucke, doong, or any other thing, neither plow nor digge it as we in England, but onely prepare it in sort as followeth. A few dayes before they sowe or set, the men with wooden instruments, made almost in forme of mattocks or hoes with long handles: the women with short peckers or parers, because they vse them sitting, of a foot long and about fiue inches in breath, doe onely breake the vpper part of the ground to raise vp the weedes, grasse, and olde stubbes of corne stalkes with their roots. The which after a day or twoes drying in the Sunne, being scrapt vp into many small heaps, to saue them labour for carrying them away, they burne into ashes. (And whereas some may thinke that they vse the ashes for to better

better the groũd: I ſay that then they would either diſperſe the aſhes abroad, which we obſerued they do not, except the heaps be too great: or els would take ſpeciall care to ſet they corne where the aſhes lie, which alſo we finde they are careleſſe of.) And this is all the huſbanding of they ground that they vſe.

Then they ſetting or ſowing is after this maner. Firſt for they corne, beginning in one corner of the plot, with a pecker they make a hole, wherein they put foure graines, with that care they touch not one another (about an inch aſunder) and couer them with the moulde againe: and ſo throughout the whole plot, making ſuch holes, and vſing them after ſuch maner: but with this regard, that they be made in ranks, euery ranke differing from other halfe a fathome or a yard, and the holes alſo in euery ranke, as much. By this meanes there is a yard ſpare ground betweene euery hole: where according to diſcretion heere and there, they ſet as many beanes and peaze: in diuers places alſo among the ſeeds of Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis.

The ground being thus ſet according to the rate, by vs experimented, an Engliſh acre conteining fortie pearches in length, and foure in breadth, doth there yeeld in croppe or encome of corne, beanes and peaze, at the leaſt two hundreth London buſhels: beſides the Macocquer, Melden, and Planta ſolis: when as in England fortie buſhels of our wheat yeelded out of ſuch an acre, is thought to be much.

I thought alſo good to note this vnto you, that you which ſhall inhabite, and plant there, may know how ſpecially that countrey corne is there to be preferred before ours: Beſides, the manifolde wayes in applying it to victuall, the increaſe is ſo much, that ſmall labor and paines is neceſſary in reſpect that muſt be vſed for ours. For this I can aſſure you, that according to the rate we haue made proofe of, one man may prepare and huſband ſo much ground (hauing once borne corne before) with leſſe then foure and twentie houres labour, as ſhall yeeld him victuall in a large proportion for a twelue moneth, if he haue nothing elſe but that which the ſame ground will yeeld, and of that kinde onely which I haue before ſpoken of: the ſayd ground being alſo but of fiue and twentie yards ſquare. And if need require, but that there is ground enough, there might be raiſed out of one and the ſelfeſame ground two haruells or encornes: for they ſow or ſet, and may at any time when they thinke good, from the midſt of March vntill the end of June: ſo that they alſo ſet when they haue eaten of they firſt croppe. In ſome places of the countrey notwithſtanding they haue two haruells, as we haue heard, out of one and the ſame ground.

For Engliſh corne neuertheleſſe, whether to vſe or not to vſe it, you that inhabite may do as you ſhall haue farther cauſe to thinke beſt. Of the growth you need not to doubt: for barly, oats, and peaze, we haue ſeene proofe of, not being purpoſely ſowen but fallen caſually in the worſt ſort of ground, and yet to be as fayre as any we haue euer ſeene heere in England. But of wheat, becauſe it was muſty, and had taken ſalt water, we could make no triall: and of rie we had none. Thus much haue I digreſſed, and I hope not vnneceſſarily: now will I returne againe to my courſe, and intreat of that which yet remaineth apperteining to this chapter.

There is an herbe which is ſowed apart by it ſelfe, and is called by the inhabitants Vppowoc: In the Weſt Indies it hath diuers names, according to the ſeuerall places and countryes where it groweth, and is vſed: the Spanyards generally call it Tobacco. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vſe to take the fume or ſmoke thereof, by ſucking it through pipes made of clay, into they ſtomacke and head: from whence it purgeth ſuperfluous fleame and other groſſe humors, and openeth all the pores and paſſages of the body: by which meanes the vſe thereof not onely preſerueth the body from obſtructions, but alſo (if any be, ſo that they haue not beene of too long continuance) in ſhort time breaketh them: whereby they bodyes are notably preſerued in health, and know not many grieuous diſeaſes, wherewithall we in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This Vppowoc is of ſo precious eſtimation amongſt them, that they thinke they gods are maruellouſly delighted therewith: whereupon ſometime they make hallowed fires, and caſt ſome of the powder therein for a ſacrifice: being in a ſtorme vpon the waters, to pacifie they gods, they caſt ſome vp into the ayre and into the water: ſo a weare for fiſh being newly ſet vp, they caſt ſome therein and into the ayre: alſo after an eſcape of danger, they caſt ſome into the ayre likewiſe: but all done with ſtrange geſtures, ſtamping, ſometime dancing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, and ſtaring vp into the heauens, vttering therewithall, and chattering ſtrange words and noiſes.

We our ſelues during the time we were there, vſed to ſucke it after they maner, as alſo ſince our returne, and haue found many rare and wonderfull experiments of the vertues thereof: of which the relation would require a volume by it ſelfe: the vſe of it by ſo many of late, men and

women

women of great calling as else, and some learned Physicians also, is sufficient witnesse.

And these are all the commodities for sustenance of life that I know and can remember they vse to husband: all else that follow are found growing naturally or wilde.

Of Roots.

OPenauk are a kinde of roots of round forme, some of the bignesse of walnuts, some farre greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds growing many together one by another in ropes, or as though they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden they are very good meat.

Okeepenauk are also of round shape, found in drie grounds: some are of the bignesse of a mans head. They are to be eaten as they are taken out of the ground, for by reason of their drinesse they will neither roste nor seethe. Their taste is not so good as of the former roots, notwithstanding for want of bread, and sometimes for variety the inhabitants vse to eat them with fish or flesh, and in my iudgement they do as well as the houshold bread made of rie heere in England.

Kaishucpenauk a white kinde of roots about the bignesse of henne egges, and neere of that forme: their taste was not so good to our seeming as of the other, and therefore their place and maner of growing, not so much cared for by vs: the inhabitants notwithstanding vsed to boyle and eat many.

Tsinaw a kinde of root much like vnto that which in England is called the China root brought from the East Indies. And we know not any thing to the contrary but that it may be of the same kinde. These roots grow many together in great clusters, and do bring foorth a brier stalke, but the leafe in shape farre vnlike: which being supported by the trees it groweth neerest vnto, will reach or climbe to the top of the highest. From these roots while they be new or fresh, being chopt into small pieces, and stampt, is strained with water a iuice that maketh bread, and also being boyled, a very good spoonemeat in maner of a gelly, and is much better in taste if it be tempered with oile. This Tsinaw is not of that sort, which by some was caused to be brought into England for the China root, for it was discouered since, & is in vse as is aforesaid: but that which was brought hither is not yet knowen, neither by vs nor by the inhabitants to serue for any vse or purpose, although the roots in shape are very like.

Coscushaw, some of our company tooke to be that kinde of root which the Spanyards in the West Indies call Cassauy, whereupon also many called it by that name: it groweth in very muddie pooles, and moist grounds. Being dressed according to the countrey maner, it maketh a good bread, and also a good spoonemeat, and is vsed very much by the inhabitants: the iuice of this root is poison, and therefore heed must be taken before any thing be made therewithall: either the roots must be first sliced and dried in the Sunne, or by the fire, and then being punned into floure, will make good bread: or els while they are greene they are to be pared, cut into pieces, and stampt: loaues of the same to be laid neere or ouer the fire vntill it be sowre, and then being well punned againe, bread, or spoonemeat very good in taste and wholesome may be made thereof.

Habascon is a root of hote taste, almost of the forme and bignesse of a parsnip, of it selfe it is no victuall, but onely a helpe being boiled together with other meats.

There are also Leeks, differing little from ours in England, that grow in many places of the countrey, of which, when we came in places where they were, we gathered and eat many, but the naturall inhabitants neuer.

Of Fruites.

CHestnuts, there are in diuers places great store: some they vse to eat raw, some they stampe and boile to make spoonemeat, and with some being sodden, they make such a maner of dow bread as they vse of their beanes before mentioned.

Walnuts: there are two kindes of walnuts, and of them infinite store: in many places where are very great woods for many miles together, the third part of trees are walnut trees. The one kinde is of the same taste and forme, or little differing from ours of England, but that they are harder and thicker shelled: the other is greater, and hath a very ragged and hard shell: but the kernell great, very oily and sweet. Besides their eating of them after our ordinarie maner, they breake them with stones, and punne them in mortars with water, to make a milke which they vse to put into some sorts of their spoonemeat: also among they sod wheat, peaze, beanes and pompions which maketh them haue a farre more pleasant taste.

Medlars,

Medlars a kinde of very good fruit, ſo called by vs chiefly for theſe reſpects: firſt in that they are not good vntill they be rotten: then in that they open at the head as our medlars, and are about the ſame bigneſſe: otherwiſe in taſte and colour they are farre different: for they are as red as cheries, and very ſweet: but whereas the cherie is ſharpe ſweet, they are luſhious ſweet.

Mutaqueſunnauk, a kinde of pleaſant fruit almoſt of the ſhape and bigneſſe of Engliſh peares, but that they are of a perfect red colour as well within as without. They grow on a plant whoſe leaues are very thicke, & full of prickles as ſharpe as needles. Some that haue bin in the Indies, where they haue ſeene that kinde of red die of great price, which is called Cochinele, to grow, do deſcribe his plant right like vnto this of Metaqueſunnauk, but whether it be the true Cochenile or a baſtard or wilde kinde, it can not yet be certified: ſeeing that alſo as I heard, Cochenile is not of the fruit, but found on the leaues of the plant: which leaues for ſuch matter we haue not ſo ſpecially obſerued.

Grapes there are of two ſorts, which I mentioned in the merchantable commodities.

Straberies there are as good and as great as thoſe which we haue in our Engliſh gardens.

Mulberies, Applecrabs, Hurts or Hurtleberies, ſuch as we haue in England.

Sacquenummener a kinde of berries almoſt like vnto capers, but ſomewhat greater, which grow together in cluſters vpon a plant or herbe that is ſound in ſhallow waters: being boiled eight or nine houres according to their kinde are very good meat and wholeſome, otherwiſe if they be eaten they will make a man for the time frantike or extremely ſicke.

There is a kinde of Reed which beareth a ſeed almoſt like vnto our rie or wheat, and being boiled is good meat.

In our trauels in ſome places we found Wilde peaze like vnto ours in England, but that they were leſſe, which are alſo good meat.

Of a kinde of fruit or berry in forme of Acornes.

There is a kinde of berrie or acorne, of which there are fiue ſorts that grow on ſeuerall kindes of trees: the one is called Sagatemener, the ſecond Oſamener, the third Pummuckoner. Theſe kinde of acornes they vſe to drie vpon hurdles made of reeds, with fire vnderneath, almoſt after the maner as we dry malt in England. When they are to be vſed, they firſt water them vntill they be ſoft, and then being ſod, they make a good victuall, either to eat ſo ſimply, or els being alſo pounded to make loaues or lumps of bread. Theſe be alſo the three kindes, of which, I ſaid before the inhabitants vſed to make ſweet oile.

Another ſort is called Sapummener, which being boiled or parched, doth eat and taſte like vnto cheſtnuts. They ſometime alſo make bread of this ſort.

The fift ſort is called Mangummenauk, and is the acorne of their kinde of Oake, the which being dried after the maner of the firſt ſorts, and afterward watered, they boile them, and their ſeruants, or ſometime the chiefe themſelues, either for variety or for want of bread, do eat them with their fiſh or fleſh.

Of Beaſts.

Deere, in ſome places there are great ſtore: neere vnto the ſea coaſt they are of the ordinarie bigneſſe as ours in England, and ſome leſſe: but further vp into the countrey, where there is better food, they are greater: they differ from ours onely in this, their tailes are longer, and the ſnags of their hornes looke backward.

Conies, Thoſe that we haue ſeene, and all that we can heare of are of a grey colour like vnto hares: in ſome places there are ſuch plenty that all the people of ſome townes make them mantles of the furre or flue of the ſkinnes of thoſe they vſually take.

Saquenuckot and Maquowoc, two kindes of ſmall beaſts, greater then conies, which are very good meat. We neuer tooke any of them our ſelues, but ſometime eat of ſuch as the inhabitants had taken and brought vnto vs.

Squirels which are of a grey colour, we haue taken and eaten.

Beares which are all of blacke colour. The beares of this country are good meat: the inhabitants in time of winter do vſe to take and eat many, ſo alſo ſometime did we. They are taken commonly in this ſort. In ſome Iſlands or places where they are, being hunted for, as ſoone as they haue ſpiall of a man, they preſently runne away, and then being chaſed, they clime and get vp the next tree they can, from whence with arrowes they are ſhot downe ſtarke dead, or with thoſe woũds

that

that they may after easily be killed: we sometime shot them downe with our caliuers.

I haue the names of eight and twenty seuerall sorts of beasts, which I haue heard of to be here and there dispersed in the countrey, especially in the maine: of which there are onely twelue kindes that we haue yet discouered, and of those that be good meat we know only them before mentioned. The inhabitants sometime kill the Lyon, & eat him: and we sometime as they came to our hands of their Woolues or Wooluish dogges, which I haue not set downe for good meat, least that some would vnderstand my iudgement therein to be more simple then needeth, although I could allege the difference in taste of those kindes from ours, which by some of our company haue beene experimented in both.

Of Foule.

TVrkie cocks and Turkie hennes: Stockdoues: Partridges: Cranes: Hernes: and in winter great store of Swannes and Geese. Of all sorts of foule I haue the names in the country language, of foure score and sixe, of which number, besides those that be named, we haue taken, eaten, and haue the pictures as they were there drawen, with the names of the inhabitants of seuerall strange sorts of water foule eight, and seuenteene kindes more of land foule, although we haue seene and eaten of many more, which for want of leasure there for the purpose, could not be pictured: and after we are better furnished and stored vpon further discouery, with their strange beasts, fish, trees, plants, and herbs, they shall be also published.

There are also Parrots, Faulcons, and Marlin hauks, which although with vs they be not vsed for meat, yet for other causes I thought good to mention.

Of Fish.

FOr foure moneths of the yeere, February, March, Aprill and May, there are plenty of Sturgeons: And also in the same moneths of Herrings, some of the ordinary bignesse as ours in England, but the most part farre greater, of eighteene, twentie inches, and some two foot in length and better: both these kindes of fish in those moneths are most plentifull, and in best season, which we found to be most delicate and pleasant meat.

There are also Trouts: Porpoises: Rayes: Oldwiues: Mullets: Plaice: & very many other sorts of excellent good fish, which we haue taken and eaten, whose names I know not but in the countrey language: we haue of twelue sorts more the pictures, as they were drawen in the countrey, with their names.

The inhabitants vse to take them two maner of wayes, the one is by a kinde of weare made of reeds, which in that countrey are very strong. The other way, which is more strange, is with poles made sharpe at one end, by shooting them into the fish after the maner as Irish men cast darts, either as they are rowing in their boats, or els as they are wading in the shallowes for the purpose.

There are also in many places plenty of these kindes which follow:

Sea crabbes, such as we haue in England.

Oisters, some very great, and some small, some round, and some of a long shape: they are found both in salt water and brackish, and those that we had out of salt water are far better then the other as in our countrey.

Also Muscles: Scalops: Periwinkles: and Creuises.

Seekanauk, a kinde of crusty shell fish, which is good meat, about a foot in breadth, hauing a crustie taile, many legges like a crab, and her eyes in her backe. They are found in shallowes of waters, and sometime on the shoare.

There are many Tortoyses both of land and sea kinde, their backs and bellies are shelled very thicke, their head, feet, and taile, which are in appearance, seeme ougly, as though they were members of a serpent or venemous beasts: but notwithstanding they are very good meat, as also their egges. Some haue beene found of a yard in breadth and better.

And thus haue I made relation of all sorts of victuall that we fed vpon for the time we were in Virginia, as also the inhabitants themselues, as farre forth as I know and can remember, or that are specially woorthy to be remembred.

The

The third and laſt part of ſuch other things as are behouefull *for thoſe which ſhall plant and inhabite to know of, with a de-* ſcription of the nature and maners of the people of the Countrey.

Of commodities for building and other neceſſary vſes.

THoſe other things which I am moꝛe to make rehearſall of, are ſuch as concerne building, and other mechanicall neceſſarie vſes, as diuers ſoꝛts of trees foꝛ houſe and ſhippe timber, and other vſes els: Alſo lime, ſtone, and bꝛicke, leaſt that being not mentioned ſome might haue bene doubted of, oꝛ by ſome that are malitious repoꝛted the contrary.

Okes, there are as faire, ſtraight, tall, and as good timber as any can be, and alſo great ſtoꝛe, and in ſome places very great.

Walnut trees, as I haue ſaid beſoꝛe very many, ſome haue bene ſeene excellent faire timber of foure and fiue fathome, and aboue foureſcoꝛe foote ſtreight without bough.

Firre trees fit foꝛ maſts of ſhips, ſome very tall and great.

Rakiock, a kinde of trees ſo called that are ſweete wood, of which the inhabitants that were neere vnto vs doe commonly make their boates oꝛ Canoes of the foꝛme of trowes, onely with the helpe of fire, hatchets of ſtones, and ſhels: we haue knowen ſome ſo great being made in that ſoꝛt of one tree that they haue carried well 20. men at once, beſides much baggage: the timber being great, tall, ſtreight, ſoft, light, and yet tough ynough I thinke (beſides other vſes) to be fit alſo foꝛ maſts of ſhips.

Cedar, a ſweete wood good foꝛ ſeelings, cheſts, boxes, bedſteads, lutes, virginals, and many things els, as I haue alſo ſaid beſoꝛe. Some of our companie which haue wandered in ſome places where I haue not bene, haue made certaine affirmation of Cyprus which foꝛ ſuch and other excellent vſes, is alſo a wood of pꝛice and no ſmall eſtimation.

Maple, and alſo Wich-hazle, whereof the inhabitants vſe to make their bowes.

Holly a neceſſary thing foꝛ the making of birdlime.

Willowes good foꝛ the making of weares and wheles to take fiſhe after the Engliſh maner, although the inhabitants vſe onely reedes, which becauſe they are ſo ſtrong as alſo flexible, do ſerue foꝛ that turne very well and ſufficiently.

Beech and Aſhe, good foꝛ caſke hoopes: and if neede require, plowe woꝛke, as alſo foꝛ many things els.

Elme.

Saſſafras trees.

Aſcopo a kinde of tree very like vnto Lawꝛel, the barke is hot in taſte and ſpicie, it is very like to that tree which Monardus deſcribeth to be Caſſia Lignea of the Weſt Indies.

There are many other ſtrange trees whoſe names I know not but in ỹ Virginian language, of which I am not nowable, neither is it ſo conuenient foꝛ the pꝛeſent to trouble you with particular relation: ſeeing that foꝛ timber and other neceſſary vſes I haue named ſufficient. And of many of the reſt, but that they may be applied to good vſe, I know no cauſe to doubt.

Now foꝛ ſtone, bꝛicke and lime, thus it is. Neere vnto the Sea coaſt where wee dwelt, there are no kinde of ſtones to be found (except a fewe ſmall pebbles about foure miles off) but ſuch as haue bene bꝛought from further out of the maine. In ſome of our voyages wee haue ſeene diuers hard raggie ſtones, great pebbles, and a kinde of grey ſtone like vnto marble, of which the inhabitants make their hatchets to cleeue wood. Vpon inquirie wee heard that a little further vp into the Countrey were of all ſoꝛtes very many, although of quarries they are ignoꝛant, neither haue they vſe of any ſtoꝛe whereupon they ſhould haue occaſion to ſeeke any. Foꝛ if euery houſhold haue one oꝛ two to cracke nuts, grinde ſhels, whet copper, and ſometimes other ſtones foꝛ hatchets, they haue ynough: neither vſe they any digging, but onely foꝛ graues about three foote deepe: and therefoꝛe no marueile that they knowe neither quarries, noꝛ lime ſtones, which both may be in places neerer then they wot of.

In the meane time vntil there be diſcouerie of ſufficient ſtoꝛe in ſome place oꝛ other conuenient, the want of you which are & ſhalbe the planters therin may be as well ſupplied by bꝛicke: foꝛ the

making whereof in diuers places of the Countrey there is clay both excellent good, and plentie, and also by lime made of oyster shels, and of others burnt, after the maner as they vse in the Iles of Tenet and Shepy, and also in diuers other places of England: Which kinde of lime is well knowen to be as good as any other. And of oyster shels there is plentie ynough: for besides diuers other particuler places where are abundance, there is one shallowe sounde along the coast, where for the space of many miles together in length, & two or three miles in breadth, the ground is nothing els, being but halfe a foote or a foote vnder water for the most part.

Thus much can I say further more of stones, that about 120. miles from our fort neere the water in the side of a hil, was found by a Gentleman of our company, a great veine of hard ragge stones, which I thought good to remember vnto you.

Of the nature and maners of the people.

Touching I speake a worde or two of the naturall inhabitants, their natures and maners, leauing large discourse thereof vntill time more conuenient hereafter: nowe onely so farre forth, as that you may knowe, howe that they in respect of troubling our inhabiting & planting, are not to be feared, but that they shall haue cause both to feare and loue vs, that shall inhabite with them.

They are a people clothed with loose mantles made of deere skinnes, and aprons of the same round about their middles, all els naked, of such a difference of statures onely as we in England, hauing no edge tooles or weapons of yron or steele to offend vs withal, neither knowe they howe to make any: those weapons that they haue, are onely bowes made of Witchhazle, and arrowes of reedes, flat edged truncheons also of wood about a yard long, neither haue they any thing to defend themselues but targets made of barks, and some armours made of sticks wickered together with thread.

Their townes are but small, and neere the sea coast but fewe, some containing but tenne or twelue houses: some 20. the greatest that wee haue seene, hath bene but of 30. houses: if they bee walled, it is onely done with barkes of trees made fast to stakes, or els with poles onely fixed vpright, and close one by another.

Their houses are made of small poles, made fast at the tops in rounde forme after the maner as is vsed in many arbories in our gardens of England, in most townes couered with barkes, and in some with artificial matts made of long rushes, from the tops of the houses downe to the ground. The length of them is commonly double to the breadth, in some places they are but 12. and 16. yards long, and in other some we haue seene of foure and twentie.

In some places of the Countrey, one onely towne belongeth to the gouernment of a Wiroans or chiefe Lorde, in other some two or three, in some sixe, eight, and more, the greatest Wiroans that yet we had dealing with, had but eighteene townes in his gouernment, & able to make not aboue seuen or eight hundreth fighting men at the most. The language of euery gouernment is different from any other, and the further they are distant, the greater is the difference.

Their maner of warres amongst themselues, is either by sudden surprising one an other most commonly about the dawning of the day, or moone light, or els by ambushes, or some subtile deuises. Set battels are very rare, except it fall out where there are many trees, where either part may haue some hope of defence, after the deliuerie of euery arrowe, in leaping behinde some or other.

If there fall out any warres betweene vs and them, what their fight is likely to bee, wee hauing aduantages against them so many maner of wayes, as by our discipline, our strange weapons and deuises els, especially ordinance great and smal, it may easily be imagined, by the experience we haue had in some places, the turning vp of their heeles against vs in running away was their best defence.

In respect of vs they are a people poore, and for want of skill and iudgement in the knowledge and vse of our things, doe esteeme our trifles before thinges of greater value: Notwithstanding, in their proper maner (considering the want of such meanes as wee haue,) they seeme very ingenious. For although they haue no such tooles, nor any such crafts, Sciences and artes as wee, yet in those thinges they doe, they shewe excellencie of wit. And by howe much they vpon due consideration shall finde our maner of knowledges and crafts, to exceede theirs in perfection, and speede for doing or execution, by so much the more is it probable that they shoulde desire our friendships and loue, and haue the greater respect for pleasing and obeying vs. Whereby may

be

be hoped, if meanes of good gouernement be vſed, that they may in ſhort time be brought to ciuilitie, and the imbracing of true religion.

Some religion they haue alreadie, which although it be farre from the trueth, yet being as it is, there is hope it may be the eaſier and ſooner reformed.

They beleeue that there are many Gods, which they call Mantoac, but of different ſorts and degrees, one onely chiefe and great God, which hath bene from all eternitie. Who, as they affirme, when hee purpoſed to make the worlde, made firſt other gods of a principall order, to bee as meanes and inſtruments to be vſed in the creation and gouernement to followe, and after the Sunne, Moone, and ſtarres, as pettie gods, and the inſtruments of the other order more principall. Firſt (they ſay) were made waters, out of which by the gods was made all diuerſitie of creatures that are viſible or inuiſible.

For mankinde they ſay a woman was made firſt, which by the wooring of one of the goddes, conceiued and brought forth children: And in ſuch ſort they ſay they had their beginning.

But how many yeeres or ages haue paſſed ſince, they ſay they can make no relation, hauing no letters nor other ſuch meanes as we to keepe recordes of the particularities of times paſt, but onely tradition from father to ſonne.

They thinke that all the gods are of humane ſhape, and therefore they repreſent them by images in the formes of men, which they call Kewaſowok, one alone is called Kewas: them they place in houſes appropriate or temples, which they call Machicomucke, where they worſhip, pray, ſing, and make many times offering vnto them. In ſome Machicomuck wee haue ſeene but one Kewas, in ſome two, and in other ſome three. The common ſort thinke them to bee alſo gods.

They beleeue alſo the immortalitie of the ſoule, that after this life as ſoone as the ſoule is departed from the body, according to the workes it hath done, it is either caried to heauen the habitacle of gods, there to enioy perpetuall bliſſe and happineſſe, or els to a great pitte or hole, which they thinke to be in the furtheſt partes of their part of the world towarde the Sunne ſet, there to burne continually: the place they call Popoguſſo.

For the confirmation of this opinion, they tolde mee two ſtories of two men that had bene lately dead and reuiued againe, the one happened but fewe yeeres before our comming into the Countrey of a wicked man, which hauing bene dead and buried, the next day the earth of the graue being ſeene to moue, was taken vp againe, who made declaration where his ſoule had bene, that is to ſay, very neere entring into Popoguſſo, had not one of the gods ſaued him, and gaue him leaue to returne againe, and teache his friendes what they ſhoulde doe to auoyde that terrible place of torment.

The other happened in the ſame yeere we were there, but in a towne that was threeſcore miles from vs, and it was tolde mee for ſtrange newes, that one being dead, buried, and taken vp againe as the firſt, ſhewed that although his body had lien dead in the graue, yet his ſoule was aliue, and had trauailed farre in a long broade way, on both ſides whereof grewe moſt delicate and pleaſant trees, bearing more rare and excellent fruites, then euer hee had ſeene before, or was able to expreſſe, and at length came to moſt braue and faire houſes, neere which hee mette his father, that had bene dead before, who gaue him great charge to goe backe againe, and ſhewe his friends what good they were to doe to enioy the pleaſures of that place, which when hee had done he ſhould after come againe.

What ſubtiltie ſoeuer be in the Wiroances and prieſtes, this opinion worketh ſo much in many of the common and ſimple ſort of people, that it maketh them haue great reſpect to their Gouernours, and alſo great care what they doe, to auoyde torment after death, and to enioy bliſſe, although notwithſtanding there is puniſhment ordeined for malefactours, as ſtealers, whoremongers, and other ſorts of wicked doers, ſome puniſhed with death, ſome with forfeitures, ſome with beating, according to the greatneſſe of the factes.

And this is the ſumme of their Religion, which I learned by hauing ſpecial familiaritie with ſome of their prieſtes. Wherein they were not ſo ſure grounded, nor gaue ſuch credite to their traditions and ſtories, but through conuerſing with vs they were brought into great doubts of their owne, and no ſmall admiration of ours, with earneſt deſire in many, to learne more then wee had meanes for want of perfect vtterance in their language to expreſſe.

Moſt things they ſawe with vs, as Mathematicall inſtruments, ſea Compaſſes, the vertue of the loadſtone in drawing yron, a perſpectiue glaſſe whereby was ſhewed many ſtrange ſights, burning glaſſes, wilde fireworkes, gunnes, hookes, writing and reading, ſpring clockes that

seeme to goe of themselues, and many other things that wee had, were so strange vnto them, and so farre exceeded their capacities to comprehend the reason and meanes how they should be made and done, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods then of men, or at the least wise they had bene giuen and taught vs of the gods. Which made many of them to haue such opinion of vs, as that if they knewe not the trueth of God and religion alreadie, it was rather to bee had from vs, whome God so specially loued then from a people that were so simple, as they found themselues to be in comparison of vs. Whereupon greater credite was giuen vnto that we spake of, concerning such matters.

Many times and in euery towne where I came, according as I was able, I made declaration of the contents of the Bible, that therein was set foorth the true and onely God, and his mightie workes, that therein was conteined the true doctrine of saluation through Christ, with many particularities of Miracles and chiefe pointes of Religion, as I was able then to vtter, and thought fit for the time. And although I tolde them the booke materially and of it selfe was not of any such vertue, as I thought they did conceiue, but onely the doctrine therein conteined: yet woulde many bee glad to touche it, to embrace it, to kisse it, to holde it to their breastes and heades, and stroke ouer all their body with it, to shewe their hungrie desire of that knowledge which was spoken of.

The Wiroans with whome we dwelt called Wingina, and many of his people would be glad many times to be with vs at our prayers, and many times call vpon vs both in his owne towne, as also in others whither he sometimes accompanied vs, to pray and sing Psalmes, hoping thereby to be partaker of the same effects which we by that meanes also expected.

Twise this Wiroans was so grieuously sicke that hee was like to die, and as he lay languishing, doubting of any helpe by his owne priestes, and thinking he was in such danger for offending vs and thereby our God, sent for some of vs to pray and bee a meanes to our God that it woulde please him either that hee might liue, or after death dwell with him in blisse, so likewise were the requests of many others in the like case.

On a time also when their corne began to wither by reason of a drought which happened extraordinarily, fearing that it had come to passe by reason that in some thing they had displeased vs, many would come to vs and desire vs to pray to our God of England, that hee woulde preserue their corne, promising that when it was ripe we also should be partakers of the fruite.

There coulde at no time happen any strange sickenesse, losses, hurtes, or any other crosse vnto them, but that they woulde impute to vs the cause or meanes thereof, for offending or not pleasing vs.

One other rare and strange accident, leauing others, will I mention before I ende, which mooued the whole Countrey that either knewe or heard of vs, to haue vs in wonderfull admiration.

There was no towne where we had any subtile deuise practised against vs, we leauing it vnpunished or not reuenged (because we sought by all meanes possible to win them by gentlenesse) but that within a fewe dayes after our departure from euery such towne, the people began to die very fast, and many in short space, in some townes about twentie, in some fourtie, and in one fire score, which in trueth was very many in respect of their nombers. This happened in no place that we could learne, but where we had bene, where they vsed some practise against vs, and after such time. The disease also so strange, that they neither knew what it was, nor how to cure it, the like by report of the oldest men in the Countrey neuer happened before, time out of minde. A thing specially obserued by vs, as also by the naturall inhabitants themselues.

Insomuch that when some of the inhabitants which were our friends, and especially the Wiroans Wingina, had obserued such effects in foure or fiue townes to followe their wicked practises, they were perswaded that it was the worke of our God through our meanes, & that we by him might kil and slay whom we would without weapons, and not come neere them.

And thereupon when it had happened that they had vnderstanding that any of their enemies had abused vs in our iourneys, hearing that we had wrought no reuenge with our weapons, and fearing vpon some cause the matter should so rest: did come and intreate vs that wee woulde be a meanes to our God that they as others that had dealt ill with vs might in like sort die, alleadging how much it would be for our credite and profite, as also theirs, and hoping furthermore that we would doe so much at their requests in respect of the friendship we professed them.

Whose entreaties although we shewed that they were vngodly, affirming that our God would not subiect himselfe to any such prayers and requests of men: that in deede all thinges haue bene and were to be done according to his good pleasure as hee had ordained: and that we to shewe our

selues

ſelues his true ſeruants ought rather to make petition for the contrary, that they with them might liue together with vs, be made partakers of his trueth and ſerue him in righteouſneſſe, but notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that wee referre that as all other things, to bee done according to his diuine will and pleaſure, and as by his wiſedome he had ordained to be beſt.

Yet becauſe the effect fell out ſo ſuddeinly and ſhortly after according to their deſires, they thought neuertheleſſe it came to paſſe by our meanes, and that wee in vſing ſuch ſpeaches vnto them, did but diſſemble the matter, and therefore came vnto vs to giue vs thankes in their maner, that although wee ſatisfied them not in promiſe, yet in deedes and effect wee had fulfilled their deſires.

This marueilous accident in all the Countrey wrought ſo ſtrange opinions of vs, that ſome people could not tel whether to thinke vs gods or men, and the rather becauſe that all the ſpace of their ſickenes, there was no man of ours knowen to die, or that was ſpecially ſicke: they noted alſo that we had no women amongſt vs, neither that we did care for any of theirs.

Some therefore were of opinion that wee were not borne of women, and therefore not mortall, but that wee were men of an olde generation many yeeres paſt, then riſen againe to immortalitie.

Some would likewyſe ſeeme to prophecie, that there were more of our generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places, as ſome thought the purpoſe was, by that which was alreadie done.

Thoſe that were immediatly to come after vs they imagined to be in the ayre, yet inuiſible and without bodies, and that they by our intreatie and for the loue of vs, did make the people to die in that ſort as they did, by ſhooting inuiſible bullets into them.

To confirme this opinion, their Phiſitions (to excuſe their ignorance in curing the diſeaſe,) would not bee aſhamed to ſay, but earneſtly make the ſimple people beleeue, that the ſtrings of blood that they ſucked out of the ſicke bodies, were the ſtrings wherewithall the inuiſible bullets were tied and caſt.

Some alſo thought that we ſhotte them our ſelues out of our pieces, from the place where wee dwelt, and killed the people in any ſuch towne that had offended vs as we liſted, how farre diſtant from vs ſoeuer it were.

And other ſome ſaide, that it was the ſpeciall worke of God for our ſakes, as wee our ſelues haue cauſe in ſome ſort to thinke no leſſe, whatſoeuer ſome doe, or may imagine to the contrary, ſpecially ſome Aſtrologers, knowing of the Eclipſe of the Sunne which we ſawe the ſame yeere before in our voyage thitherward, which vnto them appeared very terrible. And alſo of a Comet which beganne to appeare but a fewe dayes before the beginning of the ſaide ſickeneſſe. But to exclude them from being the ſpeciall cauſes of ſo ſpecial an accident, there are further reaſons then I thinke fit at this preſent to be alleadged.

Theſe their opinions I haue ſet downe the more at large, that it may appeare vnto you that there is good hope they may be brought through diſcreete dealing and gouernement to the imbracing of the trueth, and conſequently to honour, obey, feare and loue vs.

And although ſome of our companie towards the ende of the yeere, ſhewed themſelues to fierce, in ſlaying ſome of the people, in ſome townes, vpon cauſes that on our part, might eaſily ynough haue bene borne withall: yet notwithſtanding, becauſe it was on their part iuſtly deſerued, the alteration of their opinions generally and for the moſt part concerning vs is the leſſe to be doubted. And whatſoeuer els they may be, by carefulneſſe of our ſelues neede nothing at all to be feared.

The beſt neuertheleſſe in this, as in all actions beſides is to bee endeuoured and hoped, and of the worſt that may happen notice to bee taken with conſideration, and as much as may bee eſchewed.

The Concluſion.

NOwe I haue (as I hope) made relation not of ſo fewe and ſmall thinges, but that the Countrey (of men that are indifferent and well diſpoſed) may bee ſufficiently liked: If there were no more knowen then I haue mentioned, which doubtleſſe and in great reaſon is nothing to that which remaineth to bee diſcouered, neither the ſoyle, nor commodities. As wee haue reaſon ſo to gather by the difference wee founde in our trauailes, for although all which I haue before ſpoken of, haue bene diſcouered and experimented not farre from the Sea coaſt, where was our abode and moſt of

our trauailing: yet sometimes as wee made our iourneis further into the maine and Countrey; we found the soile to be fatter, the trees greater and to growe thinner, the grounde more firme and deeper mould, more and larger champions, finer grasse, and as good as euer we saw any in England; in some places rockie and farre more high and hillie ground, more plentie of their fruites, more abundance of beastes, the more inhabited with people, and of greater pollicie and larger dominions, with greater townes and houses.

Why may we not then looke for in good hope from the inner partes of more and greater plentie, as well of other thinges, as of those which wee haue alreadie discouered? Unto the Spaniards happened the like in discouering the maine of the West Indies. The maine also of this Countrey of Virginia, extending some wayes so many hundreth of leagues, as otherwise then by the relation of the inhabitants wee haue most certaine knowledge of, where yet no Christian prince hath any possession or dealing, cannot but yeelde many kindes of excellent commodities, which we in our discouerie haue not yet seene.

What hope there is els to bee gathered of the nature of the climate, being answerable to the Island of Iapan, the land of China, Persia, Iury, the Islands of Cyprus & Candy, the South parts of Greece, Italy, and Spaine, and of many other notable and famous Countreis, because I meane not to be tedious, I leaue to your owne consideration.

Whereby also the excellent temperature of the aire there at all seasons, much warmer then in England, and neuer so vehemently hot, as sometimes is vnder and betweene the Tropikes, or neere them, cannot be knowen vnto you without further relation.

For the holsomnesse thereof I neede to say but thus much: that for all the want of prouision, as first of English victual, excepting for twentie dayes, we liued onely by drinking water, and by the victual of the Countrey, of which some sorts were very strange vnto vs, and might haue bene thought to haue altered our temperatures in such sort, as to haue brought vs into some grieuous and dangerous diseases: Secondly the want of English meanes, for the taking of beastes, fishe, and foule, which by the helpe onely of the inhabitants and their meanes, could not be so suddenly and easily prouided for vs, nor in so great nomber and quantities, nor of that choise as otherwise might haue bene to our better satisfaction and contentment. Some want also wee had of clothes. Furthermore, in all our trauailes which were most speciall and often in the time of winter, our lodging was in the open aire vpon the ground. And yet I say for all this, there were but foure of our whole companie (being one hundreth and eight) that died all the yeere and that but at the latter ende thereof and vpon none of the aforesaide causes. For all foure, especially three were feeble, weake, and sickly persons before euer they came thither, and those that knewe them, much marueiled that they liued so long being in that case, or had aduentured to trauaile.

Seeing therefore the ayre there is so temperate and holsome, the soile so fertile, and yeelding such commodities, as I haue before mentioned, the voyage also thither to and fro being sufficiently experimented, to be performed twise a yeere with ease, and at any season thereof: And the dealing of Sir Walter Ralegh so liberall in large giuing and graunting lande there, as is alreadie knowen, with many helpes and furtherances else: (The least that he hath graunted hath bene fiue hundreth acres to a man only for the aduenture of his person) I hope there remaines no cause whereby the action should be misliked.

If that those which shall thither trauaile to inhabite and plant, be but reasonably prouided for the first yeere, as those are which were transported the last, and being there, doe vse but that diligence and care, as is requisite, and as they may with ease: There is no doubt, but for the time following, they may haue victuals that are excellent good and plentie ynough, some more English sortes of cattell also hereafter, as some haue bene before, and are there yet remayning, may, and shall be (God willing) thither transported. So likewise, our kinde of fruites, rootes, and hearbes, may be there planted and sowed, as some haue bene alreadie, and prooue well: And in short time also they may raise of those sortes of commodities which I haue spoken of, as shall both enriche themselues, as also others that shall deale with them.

And this is all the fruite of our labours, that I haue thought necessary to aduertise you of at this present: What else concerneth the nature and maners of the inhabitants of Virginia, the nomber with the particularities of the voyages thither made, and of the actions of such as haue bene by Sir Walter Ralegh therein, and there imployed, many worthy to be remembred, as of the first discouerers of the Countrey: of our Generall for the time Sir Richard Greinuile, and after his departure of our Gouernour there Master Rafe Lane, with diuers other directed and imployed vnder their gouernement: Of the Captaines and Masters of the voyages made since for transportation, of the Gouernour and assistants of those already transported,

ted,as of many perſons,accidents,and things els,I haue ready in a diſcourſe by it ſelfe,in manner of a Chronicle,according to the courſe of times: and when time ſhall be thought conuenient, ſhall be alſo publiſhed.

Thus referring my relation to your fauourable conſtructions, expecting good ſucceſſe of the action,from him which is to be acknowledged the author and gouernour, not onely of this, but of all things els,I take my leaue of you,this moneth of Februarie,1588.

The fourth voyage made to Virginia, with three ſhippes, in the yeere, 1587. *VVherein was tranſported the ſecond Colonie.*

IN the yeere of our Lorde, 1587. Sir Walter Ralegh intending to perſeuere in the planting of his Countrey of Virginia, prepared a newe Colonie of one hundred and fiftie men to be ſent thither,vnder the charge of Iohn White,whom he appointed Gouernour, and alſo appointed vnto him twelue Aſſiſtants, vnto whome he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of Gouernour, and Aſſiſtants of the Citie of Ralegh in Virginia.

Aprill.

OVr Fleete being in number three ſaile,viz. the Admirall,a ſhippe of one hundred and twentie tunnes: a Flie boate, and a Pinneſſe, departed the ſixe and twentieth of Aprill from Porteſmouth,and the ſame day came to an anker at the Cowes,in the Iſle of Wight, where wee ſtaied eight daies.

Maye.

THe 5. of Maye,at nine of the clocke at night, we came to Plymmouth, where we remained the ſpace of two daies.

The 8. we waied anker at Plymmouth,and departed thence for Virginia.

The 16. Simon Ferdinando Maſter of our Admirall,lewdly forſooke our Flie boate,leauing her diſtreſſed in the Baye of Portingall.

Iune.

THe 19. we fell with "Dominica,and the ſame euening we ſailed betweene it, and Guadalupe: the 21. the Flie boate alſo fell with Dominica.

"One of the Iſles of the Indias,inhabited with Sauages.

The 22. we came to an anker at an Iſle, called Santa Cruz, where all the planters were ſet on land,ſtaying there till the 25. of the ſame moneth. At our firſt landing on this Iſland, ſome of our women,and men,by eating a ſmall fruite,like greene apples, were fearefully troubled with a ſudden burning in their mouthes,and ſwelling of their tongues ſo bigge,that ſome of them could not ſpeake. Alſo a child by ſucking of one of thoſe womens breaſt, had at that inſtant his mouth ſet on ſuch a burning,that it was ſtrange to ſee how the infant was tormented for the time: but after 24. howres,it ware away of it ſelfe.

Alſo the firſt night of our being on this Iſland,we tooke fiue great Torteſes, ſome of them of ſuch bignes,that ſixteene of our ſtrongeſt men were tired with carrying of one of them but from the Sea ſide,to our cabbins. In this Iſland we found no watring place,but a ſtanding ponde, the water whereof was ſo euill,that many of our companie fell ſicke with drinking thereof: and as many as did but waſh their faces with that water, in the morning before the Sunne had drawen away the corruption,their faces did ſo burne,and ſwell,that their eies were ſhut vp, and could not ſee in fiue or ſixe daies,or longer.

The ſecond day of our abode there,we ſent foorth ſome of our men to ſearch the Iſland for freſh water,three one way,and two another way. The Gouernour alſo,with ſixe others, went vp to the toppe of an high hill, to view the Iſland,but could perceaue no ſigne of any men, or beaſtes, nor any goodnes, but Parots, and trees of Guiacum. Returning backe to our Cabbins another way, he found in the deſcent of a hill,certaine potſheards of ſauage making, made of the earth of that Iſland: whereupon it was iudged, that this Iſland was inhabited with Sauages, though Fernando had tolde vs for certaine, the contrarie. The ſame day at night, the reſt of our compa-

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nie very late returned to the Gouernour. The one companie affirmed, that they had seene in a valley, eleuen Sauages, and diuers houses halfe a mile distant from the steepe, or toppe of the hill where they staied. The other companie had found running out of a high rocke, a very faire spring of water, whereof they brought three bottles to the companie: for before that time, wee dranke the stinking water of the pond.

The same second day at night, Captaine Stafford, with the pinnesse, departed from our fleete, riding at Santa Cruz, to an Island, called Beake, lying neere S. Iohns, being so directed by Ferdinando, who assured him he should there finde great plentie of sheepe. The next day at night, our planters left Santa Cruz, and came all aboord, and the next morning after, being the 25. of June, we waied anker, and departed from Santa Cruz.

The seuen and twentieth we came to anker at Cottea, where we found the pinnesse riding, at our comming.

The 28. we waied anker at Cottea, and presently came to anker at S. Iohns in Musketas Bay, where we spent three daies vnprofitably, in taking in fresh water, spending in the meane time more beere, then the quantitie of the water came vnto.

Iulie.

"Musketas Baye, is a harbour vpon the South side of S. Iohns Island, where we take in fresh water.

The first we waied anker at "Muskitoes Baye, where were left behind two Irish men of our companie, Darbie Glauen, and Denice Carrell, bearing along the coast of S. Iohns, till euening, at which time we fell with Rosse Baye. At this place Fernando had promised wee should take in salt, and had caused vs before, to make and prouide as many sackes for that purpose, as we could. The Gouernour also, for that he vnderstoode there was a Towne in the bottome of the Baye, not farre from the salt hils, appointed thirtie shotte, ten pikes, and ten targets, to man the pinnesse, and to goe a land for salt: Fernando perceauing them in a readines, sent to the Gouernour, vsing great perswasions with him, not to take in salt there, saying that he knewe not well, whether that the same were the place or not: also, that if the pinnesse went into the Bay, she could not without great danger come backe, till the next day at night, and that if in the meane time any storme should rise, the Admirall were in danger to be cast away. Whilest he was thus perswading, he caused the lead to be cast, and hauing craftily brought the shippe in three fathome, and a halfe water, he suddenly began to sweare, and teare God in peeces, dissembling great danger, crying to him at the helme, beare vp hard, beare vp hard: so we went off, and were disappointed of our salt, by his meanes.

"A pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, lying on the west ende of S. Johns Island where groweth plentie of Orinages, Lemmons, Plantans, and Pynes.

The next day, sailing along the West ende of S. Iohns, the Gouernour determined to goe a land in S. Germans "Baye, to gather yong plants of Oringes, Pines, Mameas, and Platonos, to set at Virginia, which we knewe might easily be had, for that they growe neere the shoare, and the places where they grewe, well knowen to the Gouernour, and some of the planters: but our Simon denied it, saying: he would come to an anker at Hispaniola, and there lande the Gouernour, and some other of the Assistants, with the pinnesse, to see if he could speake with his friend Alanson, of whome he hoped to be furnished both of cattell, and all such thinges as wee woulde haue taken in at S. Iohns: but hee meant nothing lesse, as it plainely did appeare to vs afterwards.

The next day after, being the third of Iulie, wee sawe Hispaniola, and bare with the coast all that day, looking still when the pinnesse should be prepared to goe for the place where Fernando his friend Alanson was: but that day passed, and we sawe no preparation for landing in Hispaniola.

The 4. of Iulie, sailing along the coast of Hispaniola, vntill the next day at noone, and no preparation yet seene for the staying there, we hauing knowledge that we were past the place where Alanson dwelt, and were come with Isabella: hereupon Fernando was asked by the Gouernour, whether he meant to speake with Alanson, for the taking in of cattell, and other things, according to his promise, or not: but he answered, that he was now past the place, and that Sir Walter Ralegh tolde him, the French Ambassador certified him, that the king of Spaine had sent for Alanson into Spaine: wherefore he thought him dead, and that it was to no purpose to touch there in any place, at this voyage.

The next day, we left sight of Hispaniola, and haled off for Virginia, about 4. of the clocke in the afternoone.

The first of Iulie, wee came to the Islande Caycos, wherein Fernando saide were two salt pondes, assuring vs if they were drie, wee might finde salt to shift with, vntill the next supplie,

ſupplie, but it prooued as true as the finding of ſheepe at Beake. In this Iſland, whileſt Ferdinando ſolaced himſelf a ſhoare, with one of the company, in part of the Iſland, others ſpent the latter part of that day in other parts of the Iſland, ſome to ſeeke the ſalt ponds, ſome fowling, ſome hunting Swannes, whereof we caught many. The next daye, earely in the morning, we waied anker, leauing Caycos, with good hope, the firſt lande that wee ſawe next, ſhould be Virginia.

About the 16. of July, we fell with the maine of Virginia, which Simon Fernando tooke to be the Iſland of Croatoan, where we came to an anker, and rode there two or three daies: but finding himſelfe deceaued, he waied, and bare along the coaſt, where in the night, had not Captaine Stafforde bene more carefull in looking out, then our Simon Fernando, wee had beene all caſt away vpon the breache, called the Cape of Feare, for wee were come within two cables length vpon it: ſuch was the careleſnes, and ignorance of our Maſter.

The two and twentieth of Julie, we arriued ſafe at Hatoraske, where our ſhippe and pinneſſe ankered: the Gouernour went aboord the pinneſſe, accompanied with fortie of his beſt men, intending to paſſe vp to Roanoake foorthwith, hoping there to finde thoſe fifteene Engliſhmen, which Sir Richard Greenuill had left there the yeere before, with whome he meant to haue conference, concerning the ſtate of the Countrey, and Sauages, meaning after he had ſo done, to returne againe to the fleete, and paſſe along the coaſt, to the Baye of Cheſepiok, where we intended to make our ſeate and forte, according to the charge giuen vs among other directions in writing, vnder the hande of Sir Walter Ralegh: but aſſoone as we were put with our pinneſſe from the ſhippe, a Gentleman by the meanes of Fernando, who was appointed to returne for England, called to the ſailers in the pinneſſe, charging them not to bring any of the planters backe againe, but leaue them in the Iſland, except the Gouernour, and two or three ſuch as he approoued, ſaying that the Summer was farre ſpent, wherefore hee would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the ſailers, both in the pinneſſe, and ſhippe, perſwaded by the Maſter, wherefore it booted not the Gouernour to contend with them, but paſſed to Roanoake, and the ſame night, at Sunne ſet, went aland on the Iſland, in the place where our fifteene men were left, but we found none of them, nor any ſigne, that they had bene there, ſauing onely we found the bones of one of thoſe fifteene, which the Sauages had ſlaine long before.

The 23. of July, the Gouernour, with diuers of his companie, walked to the North ende of the Iſland, where Maſter Ralfe Lane had his forte, with ſundry neceſſarie and decent dwelling houſes, made by his men about it the yeere before, where wee hoped to finde ſome ſignes, or certaine knowledge of our fifteene men. When we came thither, wee found the forte raſed downe, but all the houſes ſtanding vnhurt, ſauing the neather roomes of them, and alſo of the forte, were ouergrowen with Melons of diuers ſortes, and Deere within them, feeding on thoſe Mellons: ſo we returned to our companie, without hope of euer ſeeing any of the fifteene men liuing.

The ſame day order was giuen, that euery man ſhould be imploied for the repairing of thoſe houſes, which we found ſtanding, and alſo to make other newe Cottages, for ſuch as ſhoulde neede.

The 25. our Flie boate, and the reſt of our planters, arriued all ſafe at Hatoraske, to the great ioye, and comfort of the whole companie: but the Maſter of our Admirall, Fernando grieued greatly at their ſafe comming: for he purpoſely left them in the Baye of Portingall, and ſtole away from them in the night, hoping that the Maſter therof, whoſe name was Edward Spicer, for that he neuer had beene in Virginia, would hardly finde the place, or els being left in ſo dangerous a place as that was, by meanes of ſo many men of warre, as at that time were aboord, they ſhould ſurely be taken, or ſlaine: but God diſappointed his wicked pretenſes.

The eight and twentieth, George Howe, one of our twelue Aſſiſtants was ſlaine by diuers Sauages, which were come ouer to Roanoake, either of purpoſe to eſpie our companie, and what number we were, or els to hunt Deere, whereof were many in the Iſland. Theſe Sauages beeing ſecretly hidden among high reedes, where oftentimes they finde the Deere aſleepe, and ſo kill them, eſpied our man wading in the water alone, almoſt naked, without any weapon, ſaue onely a ſmall forked ſticke, catching Crabs therewithall, and alſo being ſtrayed two miles from his companie, ſhotte at him in the water, where they gaue him fifteene wounds with their arrowes: and after they had ſlaine him with their woodden ſwordes, beat his head in peeces, and fled ouer the water to the maine.

On the thirtieth of Julie, Maſter Stafford, and twentie of our men, paſſed by water to the Iſland of Croatoan, with Manteo, who had his mother, and many of his kinred, dwelling in that

in that Iſland, of whome we hoped to vnderſtande ſome newes of our fifteene men, but eſpecially to learne the diſpoſition of the people of the Countrey towards vs, and to renew our olde friendſhippe with them. At our firſt landing, they ſeemed as though they would fight with vs: but perceauing vs begin to marche with our ſhot towards them, they turned their backes, and fled. Then Manteo their countreyman, called to them in their owne language, whom, aſſoone as they heard, they returned, and threwe away their bowes, and arrowes, and ſome of them came vnto vs, embracing and entertaining vs friendly, deſiring vs not to gather or ſpill any of their corne, for that they had but little. We anſwered them, that neither their corne, nor any other thing of theirs, ſhould be diminiſhed by any of vs, and that our comming was onely to renew the olde loue, that was betweene vs, and them, at the firſt, and to liue with them as brethren, and friendes: which anſwere ſeemed to pleaſe them well, wherefore they requeſted vs to walke vp to their Towne, who there feaſted vs after their manner, and deſired vs earneſtly, that there might be ſome token or badge giuen them of vs, whereby we might know them to be our friendes, when we met them any where out of the Towne or Iſland. They tolde vs further, that for want of ſome ſuch badge, diuers of them were hurt the yeere before, beeing founde out of the Iſland by Maſter Lane his companie, whereof they ſhewed vs one, which at that very inſtant laye lame, and had lien of that hurt euer ſince: but they ſaid, they knew our men miſtooke them, and hurt them in ſteede of Winginoes men, wherefore they held vs excuſed.

Auguſt.

THe next day, we had conference further with them, concerning the people of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, & Pomiock, willing them of Croatoan, to certifie the people of thoſe townes, that if they would accept our friendſhip, we would willingly receaue them againe, and that all vnfriendly dealings paſt on both partes, ſhould be vtterly forgiuen, and forgotten. To this the chiefe men of Croatoan anſwered, that they would gladly doe the beſt they could, and within ſeuen daies, bring the Weroances, and chiefe Gouernours of thoſe townes with them, to our Gouernour at Roanoak, or their anſwere. We alſo vnderſtoode of the men of Croatoan, that our man Maſter Howe, was ſlaine by the remnant of Winginoes men, dwelling then at Daſamongueponke, with whome Winchele kept companie: and alſo we vnderſtood by them of Croatoan, how that the 15. Engliſhmen left at Roanoak the yeere before, by Sir Richard Greenuill, were ſuddenly ſet vpon, by 30. of the men of Secota, Aquaſcogoc, and Daſamongueponke, in manner following. They conueied themſelues ſecretly behind the trees, neere the houſes, where our men carelеſſly liued: and hauing perceaued that of thoſe 15. they could ſee but 11. onely, two of thoſe Sauages appeared to the 11. Engliſhmen, calling to them by friendly ſignes, that but two of their chiefeſt men ſhould come vnarmed to ſpeake with thoſe two Sauages, who ſeemed alſo to be vnarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefeſt of our Engliſhmen, went gladly to them: but whileſt one of thoſe Sauages traitorouſly embraced one of our men, the other with his ſword of wood, which he had ſecretly hidden vnder his mantell, ſtroke him on the head, and ſlewe him, and preſently the other eight and twentie Sauages ſhewed themſelues: the other Engliſhman perceauing this, fled to his companie, whome the Sauages purſued with their bowes, and arrowes, ſo faſt, that the Engliſhmen were forced to take the houſe, wherein all their victuall, and weapons were: but the Sauages foorthwith ſet the ſame on fire, by meanes whereof, our men were forced to take vp ſuch weapons as came firſt to hand, and without order to runne foorth among the Sauages, with whome they ſkirmiſhed aboue an howre. In this ſkirmiſh, another of our men was ſhotte into the mouth with an arrowe, whereof he died: and alſo one of the Sauages was ſhot into the ſide by one of our men, with a wild fire arrowe, whereof he died preſently. The place where they fought, was of great aduantage to the Sauages, by meanes of the thicke trees, behinde which the Sauages through their nimblenes, defended themſelues, and ſo offended our men with their arrowes, that our men being ſome of them hurt, retired fighting to the water ſide, where their boate lay, with which they fled towards Hatoraſk. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they eſpied their foure fellowes comming from a creeke thereby, where they had bene to fetch Oyſters: theſe foure they receaued into their boate, leauing Roanoake, and landed on a litle Iſland on the right hand of our entrance into the harbour of Hatoraſk, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither, as yet we knowe not.

Hauing nowe ſufficiently diſpatched our buſines at Croatoan, the ſame day wee departed friendly, taking our leaue, and came aboord the fleete at Hatoraſke.

The

The eight of Auguſt, the Gouernour hauing long expected the comming of the Weroanſes of Pomioake, Aquaſcogoc, Secota, and Dalamongueponke, ſeeing that the ſeuen daies were paſt, within which they promiſed to come in, or to ſend their anſwers by the men of Croatoan, and no tidings of them heard, being certainly alſo informed by thoſe men of Croatoan, that the remnant of Wingino his men, which were left aliue, who dwelt at Daſamongueponke, were they which had ſlaine George Howe, and were alſo at the driuing of our eleuen Engliſhmen from Roanoake, he thought to differre the reuenging thereof no longer. Wherefore the ſame night, about midnight, he paſſed ouer the water, accompanied with Captaine Stafford, and 24. men, whereof Manteo was one, whome wee tooke with vs to be our guide to the place where thoſe Sauages dwelt, where he behaued himſelfe toward vs as a moſt faithfull Engliſh man.

The next day, being the ninth of Auguſt, in the morning ſo earely, that it was yet darke, wee landed neere the dwelling place of our enemies, and very ſecretly conueyed our ſelues through the woods, to that ſide, where we had their houſes betweene vs and the water: and hauing eſpied their fire, and ſome ſitting about it, we preſently ſette on them: the miſerable ſoules herewith amaſed, fledde into a place of thicke reedes, growing faſt by, where our men perceauing them, ſhotte one of them through the bodie with a bullet, and therewith wee entred the reedes, among which wee hoped to acquite their euill doing towards vs, but wee were deceaued: for thoſe Sauages were our friendes, and were come from Croatoan, to gather the corne, and fruite of that place, becauſe they vnderſtoode our enemies were fledde immediatly after they had ſlaine George Howe, and for haſte had left all their corne, Tabacco, and Pompions ſtanding in ſuch ſorte, that all had beene deuoured of the birdes, and Deere, if it had not beene gathered in time: but they had like to haue paide deerely for it: for it was ſo darke, that they beeing naked, and their men and women apparelled all ſo like others, we knewe not but that they were all men: and if that one of them, which was a Weroans wife, had not had her childe at her backe, ſhe had beene ſlaine in ſteede of a man, and as happe was, another Sauage knewe Maſter Stafford, and ranne to him, calling him by his name, whereby he was ſaued. Finding our ſelues thus diſappointed of our purpoſe, wee gathered all the corne, Peaſe, Pumpions, and Tabacco, that we found ripe, leauing the reſt vnſpoiled, and tooke Menatoan his wife, with the yong childe, and the other Sauages with vs ouer the water to Roanoak. Although the miſtaking of theſe Sauages ſomewhat grieued Manteo, yet he imputed their harme to their owne follie, ſaying to them, that if their Weroans had kept their promiſe in comming to the Gouernour, at the day appointed, they had not knowen that miſchance.

The 13. of Auguſt, our Sauage Manteo, by the commandement of Sir Walter Ralegh, was chriſtened in Roanoak, and called Lord therof, and of Daſamongueponke, in reward of his faithfull ſeruice.

The 18. Elenora, daughter to the Gouernour, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the Aſſiſtants, was deliuered of a daughter in Roanoak, and the ſame was chriſtened there the Sunday following, and becauſe this childe was the firſt Chriſtian borne in Virginia, ſhe was named Virginia. By this time our ſhippes had vnlanded the goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood, and freſh water, and to newe calke and trimme them for England: the planters alſo prepared their letters, and tokens, to ſend backe into England.

Our two ſhippes, the Lyon, and the Flieboate, almoſt ready to depart, the 21. of Auguſt, there aroſe ſuch a tempeſt at northeaſt, that our Admirall then riding out of the harbour, was forced to cut his cables, and put to Sea, where he laye beating off and on, ſixe dayes before hee coulde come to vs againe, ſo that wee feared hee had beene caſt away, and the rather, for that at the tyme that the ſtorme tooke them, the moſte, and beſt of their Saylers, were left aland.

At this time ſome controuerſies roſe betweene the Gouernour, and Aſſiſtants, about chooſing two out of the twelue Aſſiſtants, which ſhould goe backe as factors for the companie into England: for euery one of them refuſed, ſaue onely one, which all the other thought not ſufficient: but at length, by much perſwading of the Gouernour, Chriſtopher Cooper onely agreed to goe for England: but the next day, through the perſwaſion of diuers of his familiar friendes, he changed his minde. ſo that now the matter ſtoode as at the firſt.

The next day, the 22. of Auguſt, the whole companie, both of the Aſſiſtants, and planters, came to the Gouernour, and with one voice requeſted him to returne himſelfe into England, for the better and ſooner obtaining of ſupplies, and other neceſſaries for them: but he refuſed it, and alleaged many ſufficient cauſes, why he would not: the one was, that he could not ſo ſuddenly returne backe againe, without his great diſcredite, leauing the action, and ſo many, whome he partly had

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procured through his perswasions, to leaue their native Countrey, and vndertake that voyage, and that some enemies to him, and the action at his returne into England, would not spare to slander falsely both him, and the action, by saying he went to Virginia, but politikely, and to no other ende, but to leade so many into a Countrey, in which he neuer meant to stay himselfe, and there to leaue them behind him. Also he alleaged, that seing they intended to remoue 50. miles further vp into the maine presently, he being then absent, his stuffe, and goods might be both spoiled, and most of it pilfered away in the carriage, so that at his returne, hee should be either forced to prouide himselfe of all such things againe, or els at his comming againe to Virginia, finde himselfe vtterly vnfurnished, whereof already he had found some proofe, beeing but once from them but three daies. Wherefore he concluded, that he would not goe himselfe.

The next day, not onely the Assistants, but diuers others, as well women, as men, beganne to renewe their requests to the Gouernour againe, to take vppon him to returne into England for the supplie, and dispatch of all such thinges, as there were to be done, promising to make him their bonde vnder all their handes, and seales, for the safe preseruing of all his goods for him at his returne to Virginia, so that if any part thereof were spoiled, or lost, they would see it restored to him, or his Assignes, whensoeuer the same should be misled, and demanded: which bonde with a testimonie vnder their handes, and seales, they forthwith made, and deliuered into his hands. The copie of the testimonie, I thought good to set downe.

May it please you, her Maiesties Subiects of England, wee your friendes and Countrey men, the planters in Virginia, doe by these presents let you, and euery of you to vnderstande, that for the present and speedie supplie of certaine our knowen, and apparant lackes, and needes, most requisite and necessarie for the good and happie planting of vs, or any other in this lande of Virginia, wee all of one minde, and consent, haue most earnestly intreated, and vncessantly requested Iohn White, Gouernour of the planters in Virginia, to passe into England, for the better and more assured helpe, and setting forward of the foresayde supplies: and knowing assuredly that he both can best, and will labour, and take paines in that behalfe for vs all, and hee not once, but often refusing it, for our sakes, and for the honour, and maintenance of the action, hath at last, though much against his will, through our importunacie, yeelded to leaue his gouernment, and all his goods among vs, and himselfe in all our behalfes to passe into Englande, of whose knowledge, and fidelitie in handling this matter, as all others, wee doe assure our selues by these presents, and will you to giue all credite thereunto. the fiue and twentieth of August.

The Gouernour beeing at the last, through their extreame intreating, constrayned to returne into England, hauing then but halfe a daies respit to prepare him selfe for the same, departed from Roanoake, the seuen and twentieth of August in the morning: and the same daye about midnight, came aboord the Flie boate, who already had waied anker, and rode without the barre, the Admirall riding by them, who but the same morning was newly come thither againe. The same day, both the shippes waied anker, and sette saile for England: at this waying their ankers, twelue of the men which were in the Flieboate, were throwen from the Capestone, which by meanes of a barre that brake, came so fast about vpon them, that the other two barres thereof stroke and hurt most of them so sore, that some of them neuer recouered it: neuertheless they assaied presently againe to waigh their anker, but being so weakened with the first fling, they were not able to weigh it, but were throwen downe, and hurt the seconde time. Wherefore hauing in all but fifteene men aboord, and most of them by this infortunate beginning so bruised, and hurt, they were forced to cut their Cable, and leese their anker. Neuertheless, they kept companie with the Admirall, vntill the seuenteenth of September, at which time wee fell with Coruo, and saw Flores.

September.

The eighteenth, perceauing of all our fifteene men in the Flie boate, there remained but fiue, which by meanes of the former mischance, were able to stande to their labour: wherfore vnderstanding that the Admirall meant not to make any haste for England, but linger about the Iland of Tercera for purchase, the Flie boate departed for Englande with letters, where we hoped by the helpe of God to arriue shortly: but by that time wee had continued our course homeward, about twentie dayes, hauing had sometimes scarse, and variable windes, our fresh water also by leaking almost consumed, there arose such a storme at Northeast, which

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for 6. dayes ceaſed not to blowe ſo exceeding, that we were driuen further in thoſe 6. then wee could recouer in thirteene daies: in which time others of our ſaylers began to fall very ſicke, and two of them dyed, the weather alſo continued ſo cloſe, that our Maſter ſometimes in foure daies together could ſee neither Sunne nor ſtarre, and all the beuerage we could make, with ſtinking water, dregges of beere, and lees of wine which remained, was but 3. gallons, and therefore now we expected nothing but by fampne to periſh at Sea.

October.

The 16. of October we made land, but we knew not what land it was, bearing in with the ſame land at that day: about Sunne ſet we put into a harbour, where we found a Hulke of Dublin, and a pynneſſe of Hampton ryding, but we knew not as yet what place this was, neither had we any boate to goe a ſhoare, vntill the pinneſſe ſent off their boate to vs with 6. or 8. men, of whom we vnderſtood we were in Smewicke in the weſt parts of Ireland: they alſo releeued vs preſently with freſh water, wyne, and other freſh meate.

The 18. the Gouernour, and the Maſter ryd to Dingen Cuſhe, 5. myles diſtant, to take order of the new victualling of our Flye boate for England, and for releſe of our ſicke and hurt men, but within 4. dayes after the boatſwane, the ſteward, and the boatſwanes mate dyed aboord the flyeboate, and the 28. the Maſters mate and two of our chiefe Saylers were brought ſicke to Dingen.

Nouember.

The firſt the gouernour ſhipped him ſelfe in a ſhip called the Monkie, which at that time was readie to put to Sea from Dingen for England, leauing the Flyeboat and all his company in Ireland, the ſame day we ſet ſayle, and on the third day we fel with the Northſide of the lands end, and were ſhut vp the Seuerne, but the next day we doubled the ſame, for Monts bay.

The 5. the Gouernour landed in England at Partaſew, neere Saint Michaels mount in Cornewall.

The 8. we arriued at Hampton, where we vnderſtood that our conſort the Admirall was come to Portſmouth, and had beue there three weekes before: and alſo that Fernando the Maſter with all his company were not onely come home without any purchaſe, but alſo in ſuch weakeneſſe by ſicknes, and death of their cheefeſt men, that they were ſcarſe able to bring their ſhip into the harbour, but were forced to let fall anker wout, which they could not way againe, but might all haue periſhed there, if a ſmall barke by great hap had not come to them to helpe them. The names of the chiefe men that dyed are theſe, Roger Large, Iohn Mathew, Thomas Smith, and ſome other ther saylers, whoſe names I know not at the writing hereof. An. Do. 1587.

The names of all the men, women and Children, which ſafely arriued in *Virginia, and remained to inhabite there.* 1587.

Anno Regni Reginę Elizabethę. 29.

IOhn White.
Roger Bailie.
Ananias Dare.
Chriſtopher Cooper.
Thomas Steuens.
Iohn Sampſon.
Dyonis Haruie.
Roger Prat.
George Howe.
Simon Fernando.
Nicholas Iohnſon.
Thomas Warner.
Anthony Cage.
Iohn Iones.
William Willes.
Iohn Brooke.
Cutbert White.
Iohn Bright.
Clement Tayler.
William Sole.
Iohn Cotſmur.
Humfrey Newton.
Thomas Colman.
Thomas Gramme.
Marke Bennet.
Iohn Gibbes.
Iohn Stilman.
Robert Wilkinſon.

Iohn Tydway.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Edmond Engliſh.
Thomas Topan.
Henry Berrye.
Richard Berrye.
Iohn Spendloue.
Iohn Hemmington.
Thomas Butler.
Edward Powell.
Iohn Burden.
Iames Hynde.
Thomas Ellis.
William Browne.
Michael Myllet.
Thomas Smith.
Richard Kemme.
Thomas Harris.
Richard Tauerner.
Iohn Earneſt.
Henry Iohnſon.
Iohn Starte.
Richard Darige.
William Lucas.
Arnold Archard.
Iohn Wright.
William Dutton.
Morris Allen.
William Waters.
Richard Arthur.
Iohn Chapman.
William Clement.
Robert Little.
Hugh Tayler.
Richard Wildye.
Lewes Wotton.
Michael Biſhop.
Henry Browne.
Henry Rufoote.
Richard Tomkins.
Henry Dorrell.
Charles Florrie.
Henry Mylton.
Henry Payne.
Thomas Harris.
William Nicholes.
Thomas Pheuens.
Iohn Borden.
Thomas Scot.
Peter Little.
Iohn Wyles.
Brian Wyles.
George Martyn.
Hugh Pattenſon.
Martyn Sutton.
Iohn Farre.
Iohn Bridger.
Griffen Iones.
Richard Shaberdge.
Iames Laſie.
Iohn Cheuen.
Thomas Hewet.
William Berde.

VVomen.

Elyoner Dare.
Margery Haruie.
Agnes Wood.
Wenefrid Powell.
Ioyce Archard.
Iane Iones.
Elizabeth Glane.
Iane Pierce.
Audry Tappan.
Alis Chapman.
Emme Merrimoth.
Colman.
Margaret Lawrence.
Ioan Warren.
Iane Mannering.
Roſe Payne.
Elizabeth Viccars.

Iohn Sampſon.
Robert Ellis.
Ambroſe Viccars.
Thomas Archard.
Thomas Humfrey.
Tomas Smart.
George Howe.
Iohn Prat.
William Wythers.
} Boyes and Children.

Children borne in Virginia.

Virginia Dare.
Haruye.

Sauages.

Manteo.
Towaye.
} That were in Englande and returned home into Virginia with them.

The firſt voyage intended for the ſupply of the Colonie planted in *Virginia by Iohn VVhite which being vndertaken in the yeere* 1588 by caſualtie tooke no effect.

After the Gouernors returne out of Virginia the 20. of Nouember 1587. he delinered his letters and other aduertiſments concerning his laſt voyage and ſtate of the planters to Sir Walter Ralegh: whereupon he foorthwith appointed a pinneſſe to be ſent thither with all ſuch neceſſaries as he vnderſtood they ſtood in neede of: and alſo wrote his

his letters vnto them, wherein among other matters he comforted them with promiſe, that with all conuenient ſpeede he would prepare a good ſupply of ſhipping and men with ſufficience of all thinges needefull, which he intended, God willing, ſhould be with them the Sommer following. Which pinneſſe and fleete were accordingly prepared in the Weſt countrey at Bidiford vnder the charge of Sir Richard Greeneuil. This fleete being now in a readineſſe only ſtaying but for a faire wind to put to Sea, at the ſame time there was ſpred throughout all England ſuch report of the wonderfull preparation and inuincible fleetes made by the king of Spaine ioyned with the power of the Pope for the inuading of England, that moſt of the ſhips of warre then in a readines in any hauen in England were ſtaied for ſeruice at home: And ſir Richard Greeneuil was perſonally commanded not to depart out of Cornewall. The voyage for Virginia by theſe meanes for this yere thus diſappointed, the Gouernour notwithſtanding labored for the reliefe of the planters ſo earneſtly, that he obtained two ſmall pinneſſes the one of them being of 30. tonnes called the Brane, the other of 25. called the Roe, wherein 15. planters and all their proviſion, with certaine reliefe for thoſe that wintered in the Countrie was to be tranſported.

Thus the 22. of Aprill 1588. we put ouer the barre at Bidiford in the edge of the Northſide of Cornewal, and the ſame night we came to an anker vnder the Iſle of Lundy, where ſome of our company went on land: After we had roade there about the ſpace of three howers we waied anker againe and all that night we bare along the coaſt of Cornewall.

The next day being S. Georges day and the 23. of Aprill ſtil bearing along the coaſt we gaue chaſe to 4. ſhips, & boarded them & forced them all to come to anker by vs in a ſmal bay at the lands end, out of theſe ſhips we tooke nothing but 3. men, & the ſame night we weighed & put to Sea.

The 24. day we gaue chaſe to 2. ſhips, the one of them being a Scot the other a Breton. Theſe we boarded alſo & tooke from them whatſoeuer we could find worth the taking, & ſo let them goe.

The 26. of April we eſcried a ſhip on sterne of vs, for whom we ſtrooke our toppe ſayle, and ſtaied for it. By that time he came with vs we ſaw in his flagge a redd croſſe: wherupon we helde him for an Engliſhman, & gaue ouer our preparation to fight with him. But when he was come neere to vs we perceiued his flagge not to be a right S. George: whereupon we were ſomewhat amaſed hauing ſo farre miſtaken, for it was a very tall ſhip, and excellently well appointed & now readie to clap vs aboord. And it was not now neede to bid euery man to beſtirre himſelfe, for each one prepared with al ſpeed to fight. In the meane time we hayled them whence they were: They anſwered of Flu ſhing, bound for Barbarie. And they perceiuing vs to be Engliſhmen of warre bare from vs and gaue vs a piece, and we gaue them two pieces and ſo departed.

The 27. day in the morning we were come with the heigth of cape Finiſter, the winde being ſtill at Northeaſt.

The 28. day the wind ſhifted: about foure of the clocke in the afternoone the ſame day we eſcried a ſayle to the weather of vs, whom we kept ſo neere vnto vs as we could all that night.

The 29. in the morning we gaue chaſe to the ſame ſhip being then to the wind of vs almoſt as farre as we could ken. Aſſoone as our pinnes, came vp to them, the pinnes fought with the ſhip, & it was an Hulke of 200. tonnes & more, but after a few great ſhot beſtowed on both ſides, the pinneſſe perceiuing her conſort not able to come to ayd her left the Hulke & came roome with the Brane againe. At their comming they deſired the Captaine & Maſter of the Brane to lend them ſome men and other things wherof they had neede. Which things put aboord thē they returned againe to the chaſe of the Hulke earneſtly, and with ful purpoſe to boord her. But the Hulke bare all night in with the coaſt of Spaine, and by morning were ſo neere land, that we fearing eyther change of wind or to be calmed gaue ouer the fight and put off to Sea againe.

May.

The firſt day of May being Wedenſday the wind came large at Northeaſt.

The 3. being friday we gaue chaſe to another tal ſhip, but it was night before we ſpake w̄ her: and the night grew darke ſodenly in ſuch ſort, that we loſt ſight both of the great ſhip & of our conſort alſo, hauing thus in the darke loſt our pinneſſe, & knowing our barke ſo bad of ſayle that we could neither take nor leue, but were rather to be taken or left of euery ſhip we met, we made our courſe for the Iſle of Madera, hoping there to find our pinneſſe abiding for vs.

The ſame day following being the 5. of May we ſpake w̄ a man of warre of Rochel of 60. tons, very wel manned & brauely appointed being bound, as he ſaid for Peru: hauing hailed ech other, we parted frindly in outward ſhew, giuing ech other a voley of ſhot & a great piece: but neuertheleſs we ſuſpected ẏ which followed: for this Rocheller hauing takē perfect view of our ſhip, men, &

ordinance, towards euening fell on sterne of vs: and assoone as it was darke left vs, and returned to his consort which was a tal ship of 100. tonne lying then on hull to weather of vs out of ken, hauing 84. men in her, whereof 50. were smal shot, and 12. muskets, and in the ship 10. peeces of ordinance. This ship being this night certified by her consort that viewed vs, of what force we were and how bad of sayle, this greater ship tooke in 20. of the chiefest men that were in the smalest ship, and presently gaue vs chase.

The next morning being Monday and the 6. of May, we escried them in the weather of vs, so that it was in vaine to seeke by flight, but rather by fight to helpe our selues. The same day about 2. of the clocke in the afternoone they were come with vs. We hayled them, but they would not answere. Then we waued them to leewardes of vs, and they waued vs with a sword amayne, fitting their sailes to clappe vs aboord, which we perceiuing gaue them one whole side: with one of our great shot their Master gonners shoolder was stroken away, and our Master gonner with a smal bullet was shot into the head. Being by this time grappled and aboord each of other the fight continued without ceasing one houre and a halfe. In which fight were hurt & slaine on both sides 23. of the chiefest men, hauing most of them some 6. or 8. woundes, and some 10. or 12. woundes. Being thus hurt and spoiled they robbed vs of all our victuals, powder, weapons and prouision, sauing a smal quantity of biskuit to serue vs scarce for England. Our Master and his Mate were deadly wounded, so that they were not able to come forth of their beds. I my selfe was wounded twise in the head, once with a sword, and another time with a pike, and hurt also in the side of the buttoke with a shot. Three of our passengers were hurt also, whereof one had 10. or 12. woundes our Master hurt in the face with a pike and thrust quite through the head. Being thus put to our close fights, and also much pestred with cabbens and vnseruiceable folkes we could not stirre to handle our weapons nor charge a piece: againe hauing spent all the powder in our flaskes and charges which we had present for our defence, they cut downe our netting and entred so many of their men as could stand vpon our poope and forecastle, from whence they playd extreemely vpon vs with their shot. As thus we stood resolued to die in fight, the Captaine of the Frenchmen cried to vs to yeld and no force should be offred. But after we had yelded, they knowing so many of their best men to be hurt and in danger of present death, began to grow into a new furie, in which they would haue put vs to the sword had not their Captaine charged them, and perswaded them to the contrary. Being at length pacified they fell on all handes to rifling and carying aboord all the next day vntil 4. of the clock: at which time by ouer greedy lading both their owne boate and ours, they sunke the one and split the other by the ships side: by meanes whereof they left vs two cables and ankers, all our ordinance and most part of our sailes, which otherwise had ben taken away also. Furthermore they doubting the wind would arise, and night at hand, and a tal ship al that day by meanes of the calme in sight, they came aboord vs with their ship, and tooke in their men that were in vs, who left vs not at their departing any thing worth the carying away. Being thus ransacked and vsed as is aforesaid in all sorts, we determined (as our best shift in so hard a case) to returne for England, and caused all our able and vnhurt men, to fal to newe rigging & mending our sailes, tacklings, and such things as were spilled in our fight. By this occasion, God iustly punishing our former theeuerie of our euil disposed mariners, we were of force cõstrained to breake of our voyage intended for the relefe of our Colony left the yere before in Virginia, and the same night to set our course for England, being then about 50. leagues to the Northeast of Madera.

The 7. of May being Wednesday in the forenoone they wind came large at East northeast and we haled off as farre west and by north as we could vntill the 10. of May, fearing to meete with any more men of warre, for that we had no maner of weapons left vs.

The 11. the wind larged more, and thence forth we continued our due course for England.

The 17. of May we thrust our selues west of Vsshant, & sounded, but found no ground at 110 fathoms. The same day at night we sounded againe, and found ground at 80. fathoms.

The 20. being Sonday we fell with the coast of Ireland.

The 21. in the forenoone we saw the Northside of Cornewal at the lands end.

The 22. of May we came to an anker betweene Lunday and Parting point neere vnto Chauell key, where we road vntill the next tyde, and thence we put ouer the barre, and the same day landed at Biddeford.

Our other pinnesse whose company we had lost before the last cruell fight, returned also home into Cornwall within fewe weekes after our arriual, without performing our entended voyage for the relefe of the planters in Virginia, which thereby were not a litle distressed.

The

The Letters patents of the Queenes Maieſtie, graunted to Maſter *Adrian Gylbert and others, for the ſearch and diſcouerie of the* Northweſt Paſſage to China.

ELizabeth by the grace of God of England, Fraunce, & Ireland Queene, defender of the fayth, &c. To all, to whome theſe preſents ſhall come, greeting: Foraſmuch as our truſtie and welbeloued ſubiect Adrian Gylbert of Sandridge in the Countie of Deuon, Gentleman, to his great coſtes and charges, hath greatly & earneſtly trauailed and ſought, and yet doth trauel & ſeeke, & by diuers meanes indeuoureth & laboureth, that the Paſſage vnto China & the Iles of Molluccas, by the Northweſtward, Northeaſtwarde, or Northwarde, vnto which part or partes of the worlde, none of our Loyall ſubiects haue hitherto had any traffike or trade, may be diſcouered, knowen, & frequented by the ſubiects of this our Realme: Know ye therefore that for the conſiderations aforeſayd & for diuers other good conſiderations vs thereunto ſpecially mouing, We of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, haue giuen and graunted, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, doe giue and graunt free libertie, power, and full authoritie to the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, & to any other perſon by him or his heires to be aſſigned, and to thoſe his Aſſociates and aſſiſtants, whoſe names are written in a ſedule hereunto annexed, and to their heires, and to one aſſignee of eche of them, and ech of their heires at all times, and at any time or times after the date of theſe preſents, vnder our Banners and Enſignes freely, without let, interruption, or reſtraint of vs, our heires or ſucceſſors, any lawe, ſtatute, proclamation, patent, charter, or prouiſo to the contrary notwithſtanding, to ſayle, make voyage, and by any maner of meanes to paſſe and to depart out of this our Realme of Englande, or any our Realmes, Dominions, or Territories into all or any Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, Creekes, armes of the Sea, and all Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, that by the ſayd Northweſtward, Northeaſtward, or Northward, is to be by him, his aſſociates or aſſignes diſcouered, and for and in the ſayde ſayling, voyage, and paſſage, to haue and vſe ſo many ſhips, Barks, Pinneſſes, or other veſſels of any quantitie or burthen, with all the furniture of men, victuals, and all maner of neceſſary prouiſion, armour, weapons, ordinance, targets, and appurtenances whatſoeuer, as to ſuch a voyage ſhall or may be requiſite, conuenient or commodious, any lawe, ſtatute, ordinance or prouiſo to the contrarie thereof notwithſtanding. And alſo we doe giue and graunt to the ſayde Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates, and to ſuch aſſignee of him, & his heires, and to the heires & one aſſignee of euery of his ſayde aſſociates for euer, full power and abſolute authoritie to trade and make their reſiance in any of the ſayd Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, and all maner of other places whatſoeuer, with all commodities, profites, and emoluments in the ſayd place or any of them, growing and ariſing, with all maner of priuileges, prerogatiues, iuriſdictions and royalties both by ſea and land whatſoeuer, yeelding and paying therefore vnto vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, the tenth part of all ſuch golde and ſiluer oare, pearles, iewels, and precious ſtones, or the value thereof, as the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his ſayd aſſociates, their heires and aſſignes, ſeruants, factors, or workemen, and euery or any of them ſhall finde, the ſayd tenth to be deliuered duely to our Cuſtomer, or other officers by vs, our heires or ſucceſſors thereunto aſſigned, in the Portes of London, Dartmouth, or Plymmouth, at which three places onely the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates, their ſayd heires and aſſignes, ſhall lade, charge, arriue, and diſcharge all maner of wares, goods, and marchandizes whatſoeuer to the ſayd voyage, and newe trade belonging or appertaining. And moreouer, we haue giuen, graunted, and authorized, and by theſe preſents for vs, our heires and ſucceſſors, of our grace eſpeciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, doe giue, graunt, and authorize the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, and his ſayd aſſociates for euer, their heires, and their ſayde aſſignes and euery of them, that if the aforeſayd Iles, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, or Hauens, or any other of the premiſſes by the ſayd Adrian Gylbert or his aſſociates, their heires and their ſayd aſſignes, or any of them to be found by them diſcouered and traffiked vnto by any trade as aforeſayde, ſhall be by any other our ſubiects viſited, frequented, haunted, traded vnto or inhabited by the wayes aforeſayd, without the ſpeciall licence in writing of the ſayd Adrian Gylbert and his aſſociates, and their heires and aſſignes for euer, or by the moſt part of them, ſo that the ſayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires or aſſignes be one of them, that then aſwell their ſhippe, or ſhippes in any ſuch voyage or voyages vſed, as all

and singular their goods, wares, and marchandizes, or any other things whatsoeuer, from or to any of the places aforesaid transported, that so shal presume to visit, frequent, haunt, trade vnto, or inhabite, shalbe forfaited and confiscated, ipso facto, the one halfe of the same goods and marchandizes, or other things whatsoeuer, or the value thereof to be to the vse of vs, our heires or successours, and the other moytie thereof to be to the vse of the said Adrian Gylbert, and his said associates, their heires and assignes for euer: and vnto the said Adrian Gylbert and his said associates, their heires and assignes wee impose, giue, assigne, create and confirme this name peculiar to be named by, to sue and to be sued by, that is to wit, by the name of the Colleagues of the fellowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, and them for vs, our heires and successours by that name doe incorporate, and do erect and create as one body corporate to haue continuance for euer. Moreouer vnto the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his sayd associates, and vnto their heires and their sayd assignes for euer, by name of the Colleagues of the fellowship, for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, we haue giuen, graunted, & confirmed, and doe by these presents giue, graunt, and confirme full power and authoritie from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to make order, decree, and enact, constitute and ordeine, and appoint all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes, and acts, as the sayd newe corporation or body politique, Colleagues of the felowship for the discouerie of the Northwest passage, shal thinke meete, necessary, & conuenient, so that they or any of them be not contrary to the lawes of this realme, & of this our present graunt.

And wee by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of our authoritie of our grace especiall, certaine knowledge and meere motion, doe establish, confirme and ratifie all such ordinances, orders, decrees, lawes and acts to be in so full and great power and authoritie, as we, our heires or successours may or can in any such case graunt, confirme, or ratifie. And further for the better incouragement of our louing subiects in this discouerie, wee by our Royall prerogatiue, and fulnesse of authoritie for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue, graunt, establish, confirme, ordeine, ratifie and allowe by these presents, to the sayd Adrian Gylbert and to his associates, and to the heires and assignes of them and euery of them for euer, and to all other person or persons of our louing subiects whatsoeuer that shall hereafter trauell, sayle, discouer, or make voyage as aforesayd to any the Iles, Mainelands, Countries or Territories whatsoeuer, by vertue of this our graunt to be discouered, that the heires and assignes of them and euery of them being borne within any of the Iles, Mainelands & Countries, or Territories whatsoeuer before mentioned, shall haue and inioy all the priuileges of free Denizens, as persons natiue borne within this our Realme of England, or within our allegiance for euer, in such like ample maner and forme, as if they were or had bene borne and personally resiant within our sayde Realme, any lawe, statute, proclamation, custome or vsage to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding. Moreouer, for the consideration aforesayde by vertue hereof, wee giue and graunt vnto the sayde Adrian Gylbert, his heires and assignes for euer, free libertie, licence and priuilege, that during the space of fiue yeeres next & immediatly ensuing the date hereof, it shal not be lawfull for any person or persons whatsoeuer, to visite, haunt, frequent, trade, or make voyage to any Iles, Mainelands, Countries, Regions, Prouinces, Territories, Seas, Riuers, Portes, Bayes, and Hauens, nor to any other Hauens or places whatsoeuer hitherto not yet discouered by any of our subiects by vertue of this graunt to be traded vnto, without the speciall consent and good liking of the sayd Adrian Gylbert, his heires or assignes first had in writing. And if any person or persons of the associates of the sayde Adrian, his heires or assignes, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, free of this discouerie, shall doe any act or acts contrary to the tenour and true meaning hereof, during the space of the sayde fiue yeeres, that then the partie and parties so offending, they and their heires for euer shall loose (ipso facto) the benefite and priuilege of this our graunt, and shall stand and remaine to all intents and purposes as persons exempted out of this graunt: And further by vertue hereof, we giue & graunt for vs, our heires and successours at all times during the space of fiue yeeres next ensuing the date hereof, free libertie and licence, and full authoritie to the sayd Adrian Gylbert, and his heires and assignes, that if it shall happen any one or moe in any shippe or shippes sayling on their sayde voyage, to become mutinous, seditious, disorderly, or any way vnruly to the preiudice or hinderance of the hope for successe in the attempt or prosecuting of this discouerie or trade intended, to vse or execute vpon him or them so offending, such punishment, correction, or execution as the cause shall be found in iustice to require by the verdit of twelue of the companie sworne thereunto, as in such a case appertaineth: That expresse mention of the certainetie of the premises, or of other giftes or graunts by vs to the sayde Adrian Gylbert and his associates before this time made is not mentioned in these presents, or any other lawe, act, statute, prouiso, graunt, or proclamation

tion heretofore made or hereafter to be made to the contrary hereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents: Witnesse our selfe at Westminster, the sixt day of Februarie, in the sixe and twentie yeere of our Reigne.

The first voyage of Master Iohn Dauis, vndertaken in Iune 1585. *for the Discouerie of the Northwest Passage,*

Written by Iohn Ianes Marchant, seruant to the worshipfull M. William Sanderson.

CErtaine Honourable personages and worthy Gentlemen of the Court and Countrey, with diuers worshipfull Marchants of London and of the West Countrey, mooued with desire to aduance Gods glory and to seeke the good of their natiue Countrey, consulting together of the likelihood of the Discouerie of the Northwest passage, which heretofore had bene attempted, but vnhappily giuen ouer by accidents vnlooked for, which turned the enterprisers from their principall purpose, resolued after good deliberation, to put downe their aduentures to prouide for necessarie shipping, and a fit man to be chiefe Conductour of this so hard an enterprise. The setting foorth of this action was committed by the aduenturers, especially to the care of M. William Sanderson Marchant of London, who was so forward therein, that besides his trauaile which was not small, hee became the greatest aduenturer with his purse, and commended vnto the rest of the company one M. Iohn Dauis, a man very well grounded in the principles of the arte of Nauigation, for Captaine and chiefe Pilot of this exployt.

Thus therefore all things being put in a readines, wee departed from Dartmouth the seuenth of June, towards the discouerie of the aforesayd Northwest passage, with two Barks, the one being of 50. tunnes, named the Sunneshine of London, and the other being 35. tunnes, named the Mooneshine of Dartmouth. In the Sunneshine we had 23. persons, whose names are these following, M. Iohn Dauis Captaine, William Eston Master, Richard Pope Masters mate, Iohn Iane Marchant, Henry Dauie gunner, William Crosse boatswayne, Iohn Bagge, Walter Arthur, Luke Adams, Robert Coxworthie, Iohn Ellis, Iohn Kelly, Edward Helman, William Dicke, Andrew Maddocke, Thomas Hill, Robert Wats Carpenter, William Russel, Christopher Gorney boy: Iames Cole, Francis Ridley, Iohn Russel, Robert Cornish, Musicians.

The Mooneshine had 19. persons, William Bruton Captaine, Iohn Ellis Master, the rest Mariners.

The 7. of June the Captaine and the Master drewe out a proportion for the continuance of our victuals.

The 8. day the winde being at Southwest and West southwest, wee put in for Falmonth, where we remained vntill the 13.

The 13. the winde blewe at North, and being fayre weather we departed.

The 14. with contrarie winde we were forced to put into Sylley.

The 15. we departed thence, hauing the winde North & by East moderate and fayre weather.

The 16. we were driuen backe againe, and were constrained to arriue at newe Grymsbie at Sylley: here the winde remained contrary 12. dayes, and in that space the Captaine, the Master and I went about all the Ilands, and the Captaine did platte out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rockes and harboroughs to the exact vse of Nauigation, with lynes and scale thereunto conuenient.

The 28. in Gods name we departed the winde being Easterly, but calme. They depart from Syllie.

The 29. very foggie.

The 30. foggie.

The first of July we sawe great store of Porposes, The Master called for an harping yron, and shot twise or thrise: sometimes he missed, and at last shot one and strooke him in the side, and wound him into the shippe: when we had him aborde, the Master sayd it was a darlie head. July.

The 2. we had some of the fish sodden, and it did eate as sweete as any mutton.

The 3. we had more in sight, and the Master went to shoote at them, but they were so great, that they burst our yrons, and we lost both fish, yrons, pastime and all: yet neuerthelesse, the Master shot at them with a pike, and had welnigh gotten one, but he was so strong that he burst off the barres of the pike and went away: then hee tooke the boat hooke, and hit one with that, but all would not preuaile, so at length we let them alone.

The

The ſixt we ſawe a very great Whale, and euery day after we ſawe Whales continually.

The 16. 17. 18. we ſawe great ſtore of Whales.

The 19. of July we fell into a great whirling and buſtling of a tyde, ſetting to the Northwards: and ſayling about halfe a league wee came into a very calme Sea, which bent to the South ſouthweſt: Here we heard a mighty great roaring of the Sea as if it had bene the breach of ſome ſhoare, the ayre being ſo foggie and full of thicke miſt, that wee could not ſee the one ſhip from the other being a very ſmall diſtance aſunder: ſo the Captaine and the Maſter being in diſtruſt howe the tyde might ſet them, cauſed the Mooneſhine to hoyſe out her boate and to ſound, but they could not finde ground in 300. fathoms and better. Then the Captaine, Maſter, and I went towards the breach, to ſee what it ſhould be, giuing charge to our gunners that at euery glaſſe they ſhould ſhoote off a muſket ſhot, to the intent we might keepe our ſelues from looſing them: Then comming nere to the breach, we met many Ilands of yce floting, which had quickly compaſſed vs about: then we went vpon ſome of them, and did perceiue that all the roaring which we heard, was cauſed onely by the rouling of this yce together: Our company ſeeing vs not to returne according to our appointment, left off ſhooting muſkets, and began to ſhoote faukonets, for they feared ſome miſhap had befallen vs, but before night we came aboarde againe with our boat laden with yce, which made very good freſh water. Then wee bent our courſe towarde the North, hoping by that meanes to double the land.

The rouling of the yce together made a great roaring.

Yce turned into water.

The 20. as we ſayled along the coaſt the fogge brake vp, and wee diſcouered the land, which was the moſt deformed rocky and mountainous land that euer we ſawe: The firſt ſight hereof did ſhewe as if it had bene in forme of a ſugar loafe, ſtanding to our ſight aboue the cloudes, for that it did ſhewe ouer the fogge like a white liſte in the ſkye, the tops altogether couered with ſnowe, and the ſhoare beſet with yce a league off into the Sea, making ſuch yrkſome noyſe as that it ſeemed to be the true patterne of deſolation, and after the ſame our Captaine named it, The land of Deſolation.

The land of Deſolation.

The 21. the winde came Northerly and ouerblewe, ſo that we were conſtrained to bend our courſe South againe, for we perceiued that we were runne into a very deepe Bay, where wee were almoſt compaſſed with yce, for we ſawe very much toward the North northeaſt, Weſt and Southweſt: and this day and this night we cleared our ſelues of the yce, running South ſouthweſt along the ſhoare.

Upon Thurſday being the 22. of this moneth, about three of the clocke in the morning, wee hoyſed out our boate, and the Captaine with ſixe ſaylers went towards the ſhoare, thinking to find a landing place, for the night before we did perceiue the coaſt to be voide of yce to our iudgement, and the ſame night we were all perſwaded that wee had ſeene a canoa rowing along the ſhoare, but afterwards we fell in ſome doubt of it, but we had no great reaſon ſo to doe. The Captaine rowing towards the ſhoare, willed the Maſter to beare in with the land after him, and before he came neere the ſhore by the ſpace of a league, or about two miles, hee found ſo much yce, that he could not get to land by any meanes. Here our mariners put to their lines to ſee if they could get any fiſh, becauſe there were ſo many ſeales vpon the coaſt, and the birds did beate vpon the water, but all was in vaine: The water about this coaſt was very blacke and thicke, like to a filthy ſtanding poole, we ſounded and had ground in 120. fathoms. While the Captaine was rowing to the ſhoare, our men ſawe woods vpon the rocks like to the rocks of Newfoundland, but I could not diſcerne them, yet it might be ſo very well: for we had wood floting vpon the coaſt euery day, and the Mooneſhine tooke vp a tree at Sea not farre from the coaſt being ſixtie foote of length and fourteene handfuls about, hauing the roote vpon it: After, the Captaine came aboarde the weather being very calme and fayre we bent our courſe toward the South, with intent to double the land.

Very blacke water.

Floting wood

The 23. we coaſted the land which did lye Eaſt northeaſt and Weſt ſouthweſt.

The 24. the winde being very faire at Eaſt, we coaſted the land which did lie Eaſt & Weſt, not being able to come neere the ſhoare by reaſon of the great quantitie of yce. At this place, becauſe the weather was ſomewhat colde by reaſon of the yce, & the better to encourage our men, their alowance was increaſed: The Captaine and the Maſter tooke order that euery meſſe being fiue perſons, ſhould haue halfe a pound of bread and a kan of beere euery morning to breakfaſt. The weather was not very colde, but the ayre was moderate like to our April weather in England: when the winde came from the land or the yce it was ſomewhat colde, but when it came off the ſea it was very hotte.

Colde by reaſon of yce.

They ſayle Northweſtward aboue foure dayes.

The 25. of this moneth wee departed from ſight of this land, at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, directing our courſe to the Northweſtwarde, hoping in Gods mercy to finde our deſired

paſſage,

passage, and so continued aboue foure dayes.

The 29. of July, we discouered land in 64. degrees 15. mi. of latitude, bearing Northeast from vs. The winde being contrary to goe to the Northwestwards, we bare in with this land to take some view of it, being vtterly voyde of the perfect of yce, and very temperate. Comming neere the coast, we found many fayre sounds & good roads for shipping, and many great inlets into the land, whereby wee iudged this land, to be a great number of Islands standing together. Here hauing moored our barke in good order, we went on shoare vpon a small Islande, to seeke for water and wood. Upon this Island we did perceiue that there had bene people: for we found a small shoe and pieces of leather sowed with sinewes, and a piece of furre, and wooll like to Beuer. Then we went vpon another Island on the otherside of our ships: And the Captaine the Master and I, being got vp to the top of an high rocke, the people of the country hauing espied vs, made a lamentable noyse, as we thought, with great outcryes and shreechings: wee hearing them, thought it had bene the howling of wolues. At last I hallowed againe, and they likewise cryed. Then we perceiuing where they stood, some on the shoare, and one rowing in a Canoa about a smal Island fast by them, we made a great noyse partly to allure them to vs, and partly to warne our company of them. Whereupon M. Bruton, and the master of his ship with others of their company, made great haste towards vs, and brought our Musicians with them from our shippe, purposing either by force to rescue vs, if neede should so require, or with curtesie to allure the people. When they came vnto vs, we caused our Musicians to play, our selues dauncing, and making many signes of friendship. At length there came 10. Canoas from the other Islands, and two of them came so neere the shoare where we were, that they talked with vs, the other being in their boats a prettie way off. Their pronounciation was very hollow through the throate, and their speach such as we could not vnderstand: onely we allured them by friendly imbracings and signes of curtesie. At length one of them pointing vp to the sunne with his hande, would presently strike his brest so hard, that we might here the blowe. This he did many times, before he would any way trust vs. Then John Ellis the master of the Mooneshine, was appointed to vse his best policie to gaine their friendshippe: who strooke his breast and pointed to the sunne after their order: which when he had diuerse times done, they began to trust him, and one of them came on shoare, to whome we threwe our caps, stockings and gloues, and such other things as then we had about vs, playing with our musicke, and making signes of ioy, and dancing. So the night comming we bade them fareweell, and went aboord our barks.

Land in 64. degrees 15. mi.

The sounde where our ships did ride, was called Gilberts sound.

Musicians.

The people of the country came and conferre with our men.

The next morning being the 30. of July, there came 37. Canoas rowing by our shippes, calling to vs to come on shoare: Wee not making any great haste vnto them, one of them went vp to the top of the rocke, and lept and daunced as they had done the day before, shewing vs an seales skinne, and another thing made like a timbrel, which he did beate vpon with a sticke, making a noyse like a small drumme. Whereupon we manned our boats and came to them, they all staying in their Canoas: wee came to the water side where they were: and after we had sworne by the sunne after their fashion, they did trust vs. So I shooke hands with one of them, and hee kissed my hand, and we were very familier with them. We were in so great credit with them vpon this single acquaintance, that wee could haue any thing they had. We bought fiue Canoas of them: we bought their clothes from their backs, which were all made of seales skins and birdes skinnes: their buskins, their hose, their gloues, all being commonly sowed and well dressed: so that we were fully perswaded, that they haue diuers artificers among them. Wee had a paire of buskins of them full of fine wooll like beuer. Their apparell for heate, was made of birds skinnes with their feathers on them. We sawe among them leather dressed like glouers leather, and thicke thongs like white leather of a good length. Wee had of their darts and oares, and found in them that they would by no meanes displease vs, but would giue vs whatsoeuer we asked of them, and would be satisfied with whatsoeuer we gaue them. They tooke great care one of an other: for when we had bought their boates, then two other would come and carie him away betweene them that had soulde vs his. They are a very tractable people, voyde of craft or double dealing, and easie to be brought to any ciuilitie or good order: but wee iudge them to bee Idolaters and to worship the Sunne.

Their musick.

Great familiaritie with the Sauages.

During the time of our abode among these Islands, we found reasonable quantitie of wood, both firre, spruse and iuniper: which whither it came floting any great distance to these places where we found it, or whither it grew in some great Islands neere the same place by vs not yet discouered, we know not. But wee iudge that it groweth there further into the lande then wee were, because the people had great store of darts & oares, which they made none accompt of, but gaue them to vs for small trifles, as points and pieces of paper. Wee sawe about this coaste

Diuers sorts of Wood.

marueilous

They may make much trayne, if they had meanes how to vſe it.

Moſcouie glaſſe.

A fruite like Corinthes.

marueilous great aboundance of ſeales ſkulling together like ſkuls of ſmal fiſh. Wee found no freſh water among theſe Iſlands, but only ſnow water, whereof we found greate pooles. The cliffes were al of ſuch oare as M. Frobiſher brought from meta Incognita. Wee had diuerſe ſhewes of ſtudie or Muſkouie glaſſe ſhining not altogether vnlike to Chriſtal. Wee founde an herbe growing vpon the rocks, whoſe fruite was ſweete, full of red iuyce, & the ripe ones were like corinths. We found alſo birch & willow growing like ſhrubs low to the ground. Theſe people haue great ſtore of furs as we iudge. They made ſhewes vnto vs ỳ 30. of this preſent, which was the ſecond time of our being with them, after they perceiued we would haue ſkins, & furs, that they would goe into the country & come againe the next day, with ſuch things as they had: but this night the wind comming faire the Captaine & the maſter would by no meanes detract the purpoſe of our diſcouery. And ſo the laſt of this moneth about 4. of the clocke in the morning, in Gods name wee ſet ſayle, and were al that day becalmed vpon the coaſte.

Auguſt. Land in 66. degre. 40. mi.

The 1. of Auguſt we had a faire wind & ſo proceeded towards the northweſt for our diſcoueie.

The 6. of Auguſt we diſcouered land in 66. de. 40. mi. of latitude altogether voyd from ỳ peſter of yce: we ankered in a very faire rode, vnder a very braue mount, the cliffes wherof were as orient as gold. This mount was named mount Raleigh: the rode where our ſhips lay at anker was called Totnes Rode. The ſounde which did compaſſe the mount was named Exeter ſound: the foreland towards the North, was called Dyers Cape. The foreland toward the ſouth was named Cape Walſingham. So ſoone as we were come to an anker in Totnes Rode vnder mount Raleigh, we eſpied 4. white beares at the foote of the mount. We ſuppoſing them to bee goates or wolues, manned our boats and went towards them: but when wee came neere the ſhore, wee found them to be white beares of a monſtruous bigneſſe: we being deſirous of freſh victual and the ſport, began to aſſault them, & I being on land one of them came down the hil right againſt me: my piece was charged with hailſhot and a bullet, I diſcharged my piece and ſhot him in the necke: hee roared a litle and tooke the water ſtraight, making ſmal account of his hurt. Then we followed him wᵗʰ our boate, & killed him wᵗʰ boare ſpeares, & two more that night. We found nothing in their mawes, but we iudged by their dung, that they fed vpon graſſe, becauſe it appeared in al reſpects like the dung of an horſe, wherein we might very plainely ſee the very ſtrawes.

The 7. we went on ſhoare to another beare which lay alnight vpon the top of an Iſland vnder mount Raleigh, & when we came vp to him he lay faſt a ſleepe. I leueled at his head, & the ſtone of my peece gaue no fire, with that he looked vp and laid down his head againe: then I ſhot being charged with 2. bullets and ſtrooke him in the head: he being but amazed fel backewardes. wherupon we ran al vpon him with borespeares and thruſt him in the bodie: yet for all that he gryppe away our borespeares and went towards the water, and as he was going downe he came backe againe. Then our maſter ſhot his borespeare and ſtrooke him in the head, and made him to take the water, and ſwimme into a caue faſt by, where we killed him and brought him aborde. The breadth of his forefoote from one ſide to the other, was 14. ynches ouer. They were very fat ſo as we were conſtrayned to caſt the fat away. We ſaw a rauen vpon mount Raleigh We found withies alſo growing lowe like ſhrubs and flowers like primroſes in the ſayd place. The coaſt is very mountaynous, altogether without wood, graſſe or earth, and is only huge mountaines of ſtone, but the braueſt ſtone that euer we ſawe. The ayre was very moderate in this country.

The 8. we departed from mount Raleigh coaſting along the ſhoare, which lyeth ſouth ſouthweſt, and eaſt northeaſt.

The 9. our men fel in diſlike of their allowance, becauſe it was to ſmall as they thought. Whereupon we made a newe proportion: euery meſſe being fiue to a meſſe ſhould haue 4. pound of bread a day: 12. wine quarts of bere: 6. neweland fiſhes: and the fleſh dayes a gill of peaſe more: ſo we reſtrayned them from their butter and cheeſe.

The eleuenth we came to the moſt ſoutherly cape of this lande, which we named the Cape of Gods mercy: as being the place of our firſt entrance for the diſcouery. The weather being very foggie we coaſted this Northland: at length when it brake vp, we perceiued that we were ſhotte into a very fayre entrance or paſſage, being in ſome places 20. leagues broade, and in ſome 30. altogether voyde of any peſter of yce, the weather very tollerable, and the water of the very coulour, nature and qualitie of the mayne ocean, which gaue vs the greater hope of our paſſage. Hauing ſayled Northweſt ſixtie leagues in this entrance wee diſcouered certaine Iſlandes ſtanding in the middeſt thereof, hauing open paſſage on both ſides. Whereupon our ſhippes deuided themſelues, the one ſayling on the Northſide, the other on the ſouthſide, of the ſayde Iſles, where wee ſtayed fiue dayes hauing the winde at Southeaſt very foggie and foule weather.

The

The 14. we went on ſhoare and found ſignes of people, for we found ſtones layde vp together like a wall, and ſaw the ſkull of a man or a woman.

The 15. we heard dogs houle on the ſhoare, which we thought had bene Wolues, and therefore we went on ſhoare to kil them. When we came on lande, the dogs came preſently to our boate very gently, yet we thought they came to pray vpon vs, and therefore we ſhot at them and killed two: and about the necke of one of them we found a letheren coller, whervpon we thought them to be tame dogs. There were twentie dogs like maſtiues with pricked eares and long buſhy tayles: we found a bone in the priſels of their dogs. Then wee went farther and founde two ſleads made like ours in Englande. The one was made of firre, ſpruſe and oken boards, ſawen like inch boards: the other was made all of whale bone, and there hung on the toppes of the ſleds three heads of beaſts, which they had killed. We ſaw here, larkes, rauens, and partriges. Timber ſawen. Fowle.

The 17. we went on ſhoare, and in a litle thing made like an ouen with ſtones, I found many ſmal trifles, as a ſmall canoa made of wood, a piece of wood made like an image, a bird made of bone, beads hauing ſmall holes in one end of them to hang about their necks, and other ſmall things. The coaſt was very barbarous without wood or graſſe. The rockes were very faire like marble full of vaynes of diuerſe coulors. We found a ſeale which was killed not long before, being fleane and hid vnder ſtones. An image.

Our Captaine and maſter ſearched ſtill for probabilities of the paſſage, and firſt found, ‖ that this place was all Iſlands with great ſounds paſſing betweene them. Probabilities for the paſſage.

2 Secondly, the water remained of one coulour with the mayne ocean without altering.

3 Thirdly we ſaw to the weſt of thoſe Iles three or foure Whales in a ſkul, which they iudged to come from a weſterly ſea, becauſe to the Eaſtward, we ſaw not any whale. We neuer came into any bay before, or after, but the waters colour was altered very blackiſh.

4 Alſo as we were rowing into a very great ſound lying ſouthweſt, from whence theſe whales came, vpon the ſuddayne there came a violent counter checke of a tide from the ſouthweſt againſt the flood which we came with, not knowing from whence it was maintayned.

5 Fiftly, in ſayling 20. leagues within the mouth of this entrance we had ſounding in 90. fathoms, fayre gray oſie ſand, & the further we ran into the weſtwards, the deeper was the water, ſo that hard aboord the ſhoare among theſe yles, we could not haue ground in 330. fathoms.

6 Laſtly, it did ebbe and flowe 6. or 7. fathome vp and downe, the flood comming from diuerſe parts, ſo as we could not perceiue the chiefe maintenance thereof.

The 18. and 19. our Captaine and Maſter determined what was beſt to doe, both for the ſafegarde of their credites and ſatiſfying of the aduenturers, and reſolued, if the weather brake vp, to make further ſearch.

The 20. the winde came directly againſt vs, ſo they altered their purpoſe, and reaſoned both for proceeding and returning.

The 21. the wind being Northweſt, we departed from theſe Iſlands, and as wee coaſted the ſouth ſhore we ſawe many fayre ſounds, whereby we were perſwaded, that it was no firme land but Iſlands.

The 23. of this moneth the wind came ſoutheaſt very ſtormy and foule weather. So we were conſtrayned to ſeeke harborowe vpon the ſouthcoaſt of this entrance, where wee fell into a very fayre ſound, and ankered in 25. fathoms greene oſy ſand. Here we went on ſhoare, where we had manifeſt ſignes of people, where they had made their fire, and laide ſtones like a wall. In this place we ſawe 4. very faire faulcons, and M. Buton tooke from one of them his pray, which we iudged by the wings and legs to be a ſnyte, for the head was eaten off. Faulcons.

The 24. in the afternoone, the wind comming ſomewhat faire wee departed from this roade, purpoſing by Gods grace to returne for England. Their returne.

The 26. we departed from ſight of the Northlande of this entraunce, directing our courſe homewards, vntil the tenth of the next moneth.

The 10. of September we fell with The land of deſolation, thinking to goe on ſhoare, but we could get neuer a good harborough. That night we put to ſea againe thinking to ſearch it the next day: but this night aroſe a very great ſtorme, and ſeparated our ſhips ſo that we loſt the ſight of the Mooneſhine. September.

The 13. about noone (hauing tryed al the night before with a gooſe wing) we ſet ſaile, & within two houres after, we had ſight of the mooneſhine againe: this day we departed from this land. They ſaile from the land of Deſolation to England, in 14. dayes.

The 27. of this moneth wee fell with ſight of Englande. This night wee had a marueilous ſtorme and loſt the Mooneſhine.

The 30. of September wee came into Dartmouth where wee found the Mooneſhine being come in not two houres before.

A true

The second voyage attempted by Master Iohn Dauis *with others, for the discouerie of the Northwest* passage, in Anno 1586.

THe seuenth day of May, I departed from the porte of Dartmouth for the discouery of the Northwest passage, with a ship of an hundred and twentie tunnes, named the Mermayde, a barke of 60. tunnes, named the Sunneshine, a barke of 35. tunnes named the moonelight, and a Pynace of ten tunnes named the North starre.

And the 15. of June I discouered land in the latitude of 60. degrees, and in longitude from the meridian of London westward 47. degrees, mightily pestered with yce, and snow, so that there was no hope of landing: the yce lay in some places 10. leagues, in some 20. and in some 50. leagues off the shore, so that we were constrayned to beare into 57. degr. to double the same, and to recouer a free sea, which through Goos fauourable mercy we at length obtayned.

The nine and twentieth of June, after many tempestuous stormes, wee againe discouered lande, in longitude from the Meridian of London, 58. degrees 30. minutes, and in latitude, 64. being East from vs: into which course sith it pleased God by contrary windes to force vs, I thought it very necessary to beare in with it, and there to set vp our Pynnace, prouided in the Mermayde to be our scout for this discouerie, and so much the rather, because the yeere before I had bene in the same place, and founde it very conuenient for such a purpose, well stored with flote woode, and possessed by a people of tractable conuersation: so that the nine and twentieth of this moneth wee arriued within the Iles which lay before this lande, lying North Northwest, and South Southeast, wee knowe not howe farre. This lande is very high, and mountainous, hauing before it on the West side a mightie companie of Iles full of fayre soundes, and harboroughs. This land was very little troubled with snowe, and the sea altogether voyd of yce.

The shippes being within the soundes we sent our boates to searche for shole water, where wee might anker, which in this place is very harde to finde: and as the boate went sounding and searching, the people of the country hauing espyed them, came in their Canoas towardes them with many shoutes and cryes: but after they had espied in the boate, some of our companie that were the yeere before heere with vs, they presently rowed to the boate, and tooke holde in the oare, and hung about the boate with such comfortable ioy, as woulde require a long discourse to be uttered: they came with the boates to our shippes, making signes that they knewe all those, that the yere before had bene with them. After I perceiued their ioy, and smal feare of vs, my selfe with the merchaunts, and others of the company went a shoare bearing with me twentie kniues: I had no sooner landed, but they lept out of their Canoas, and came running to mee, and the rest, and imbraced vs with many signes of hartie welcome: at this present there were eighteene of them, and to each of them I gaue a knife: they offered skinnes to mee for rewarde, but I made signes that it was not solde but giuen them of curtesie: and so dismissed them for that time, with signes that they shoulde returne againe after certaine houres.

The next day with all possible speede the Pynace was landed, vpon an Ile there to bee finished to serue our purpose for the discouerie, which Ile was so conuenient for that purpose, as that we were very well able to defend our selues against many enemies. During the time that the Pynace was there setting vp, the people came continually vnto vs, sometime an hundred Canoas at a time, sometime fourtie, fiftie, more and lesse, as occasion serued. They brought with them seale skinnes, stagge skinnes, white hares, seale fishe, samon peale, smal codde, dry caplin, with other fish, and brydes, such as the country did yeelde.

My selfe still desirous to haue a farther search of this place, sent one of the shipboates to one part of the land, and my selfe went to another parte to searche for the habitation of this people, with straight commaundement that there should be no iniurie offered to any of the people, neither any gunne shot.

The boates that went from me found the tents of the people made with seale skinnes set vp vpon timber, wherin they founde great store of dried Caplin, being a litle fish no bigger then a pilchard: they found bags of trayne oyle, many little images cut in wood, seale skinnes in tan tubs, with many other such trifles, whereof they diminished nothing.

They

They also found temme miles within the snowy mountaines a plaine champion countrey, with earth and grasse, such as our mooxy and waste grounds of England are: they went vp into a riuer (which in the narrowest place is two leagues broad) about ten leagues, finding it still to continue they knew not how far: but I with my company tooke another riuer, which although at the first it offered a large inlet, yet it proued but a deepe bay, the end whereof in foure houres I attayned, and there leauing the boat well manned, went with the rest of my company three or foure miles into the country, but found nothing, nor saw any thing, saue onely gripes, rauens, and small birds, as larke and linnet. A goodly riuer.

The third of July I manned my boat, and went with fifty canoas attending vpon me vp into another sound, where the people by signes willed me to goe, hoping to finde their habitation: at length they made signes that I should go into a warme place to sleepe, at which place I went on shore, and ascended the toppe of an high hill to see into the country, but perceiuing my labor vaine, I returned againe to my boat, the people still following me, and my company very diligent to attend vs, and to helpe vs vp the rocks, and likewise downe: at length I was desirous to haue our men leape with them, which was done, but our men did ouerleape them: from leaping they went to wrestling, we found them strong and nimble, and to haue skill in wrestling, for they cast some of our men that were good wrestlers.

The fourth of July we launched our pinnesse, and had forty of the people to helpe vs, which they did very willingly: at this time our men againe wrestled with them, and found them as before, strong and skilfull. This fourth of July the maister of the Mermaid went to certaine Islands to store himselfe with wood, where he found a graue with diuers buried in it, onely couered with seale skinnes, hauing a crosse laid ouer them. The people are of good stature, well in body proportioned, with small slender hands and feet, with broad visages, and small eyes, wide mouthes, the most part vnbearded, great lips, and close toothed. Their custome is as often as they go from vs, still at their returne to make a new truce, in this sort, holding his hand vp to the Sunne, with a lowd voice cryeth Ylyaoute, and striketh his brest, with like signes being promised safetie, he giueth credit. These people are much giuen to bleed, and therefore stoppe their noses with deere hayre, or the hayre of an elan. They are idolaters, and haue images great store, which they were about them, and in their boats, which we suppose they worship. They are witches, and haue many kindes of inchantments, which they often vsed, but to small purpose, thanks be to God. A graue with a crosse layd ouer. The Tartars and people of Japon are also small eyed.

Being among them at shore the fourth of July, one of them making a long oration, beganne to kindle a fire, in his maner: he tooke a piece of a boord, wherin was a hole halfe thorow: into that hole he puts the end of a round sticke like vnto a bedstaffe, wetting the end therof in traine, and in fashion of a turner, with a piece of lether, by his violent motion doth very speedily produce fire: which done, with turfs he made a fire, into which with many words, and strange gestures, he put diuers things, which we supposed to be a sacrifice: my selfe and diuers of my company standing by, they were desirous to haue me go into the smoke, I willed them likewise to stand in the smoke, in which they by no meanes would do. I then tooke one of them, and thrust him into the smoke, and willed one of my company to tread out the fire, & to spurne it into the sea, which was done to shew them that we did contemne their sorcery. These people are very simple in all their conuersation, but maruellous theeuish, especially for iron, which they haue in great accoũt. They began through our lenity to shew their vile nature: they began to cut our cables: they cut away the Moonlights boat from her sterne, they cut our cloth where it lay to ayre, though we did carefully looke vnto it, they stole our oares, a caliuer, a boare speare, a sword, with diuers other things, wherat the company and maisters being grieued, for our better security, desired me to dissolue this new friendship, and to leaue the company of these theeuish miscreants: whereupon there was a caliuer shot among them, and immediatly vpon the same a faulcon, which strange noice did sore amaze them, so that with speed they departed: notwithstanding their simplicity is such, that within ten houres after they came againe to vs to intreat peace: which being promised, we againe fell into a great league. They brought vs seale skinnes, and sammon peale, but seeing iron, they could in no wise forbeare stealing: which when I perceiued it did but minister vnto me an occasion of laughter, to see their simplicity, and willed that in no case they should be any more hardly vsed, but that our owne company should be the more vigilant to keepe their things, supposing it to be very hard in so short time to make them know their euils. They eat all their meat raw, they liue most vpon fish, they drinke salt water, and eat grasse and ice with delight: they are neuer out of the water, but liue in the nature of fishes, but onely when dead sleepe taketh them, and then vnder a warme rocke, laying his boat vpon the land, he lyeth downe to sleepe. Their weapons are all darts, but some of them haue bowe and arrowes, and slings. They make nets to take their fish, of the finne of a whale: they Their maner of kindling fire like to theirs in America. Great theeues Their rude diet. Their weapons. Strange nets.

do all theyr things very artificially: and it should seeme that these simple theeuish Islanders haue warre with those of the maine, for many of them are sore wounded, which wounds they receiued vpon the maine land, as by signes they gaue vs to vnderstand. We had among them copper oare, blacke copper, and red copper: they pronoūce theyr language very hollow, and deepe in the throat: these words following we learned from them.

Copper oare.

Theyr language.

Kesinyoh, Eat some.	Conah, Leape.
Madlycoyte, Muske.	Maatuke, Fish.
Aginyoh, Go fetch.	Sambah, Below.
Yliaoute, I meane no harme.	Maconmeg, Will you haue this
Ponameg, A boat.	Cocah, Go to him.
Paaotyck, An oare.	Aba, Fallen downe.
Asanock, A dart.	Icune, Come hither.
Sawygmeg, A knife.	Awennye, Yonder.
Vderah, A nose.	Nugo, No.
Aoh, Iron.	Tucktodo, A fogge.
Blete, An eye.	Lechiksah, A skinne.
Vnuicke, Giue it.	Maccoah, A dart.
Tuckloak, A stagge or ellan.	Sugnacoon, A coat.
Panygmah, A needle.	Gounah, Come downe.
Aob, The sea.	Sasobneg, A bracelet.
Mysacoah, Wash it.	Vgnake, A tongue.
Lethicksaneg, A seale skinne.	Ataneg, A seale.
Canyglow, Kisse me.	Macuah, A beard.
Vgnera, My sonne.	Pignagogah, A threed.
Acu, Shot.	Quoysah, Giue it to me.

The seuenth of July, being very desirous to search the habitation of this countrey, I went my selfe with our new pinnesse into the body of the land, thinking it to be a firme continent, and passing vp a very large riuer, a great flaw of winde tooke me, whereby we were constrained to seeke succor for that night, which being had, I landed with the most part of my company, and went to the toppe of a high mountaine, hoping from thence to see into the countrey: but the mountaines were so many and so mighty as that my purpose preuailed not: whereupon I againe returned to my pinnesse, and willing diuers of my company to gather muscles for my supper, whereof in this place there was great store, my selfe hauing espyed a very strange sight, especially to me that neuer before saw the like, which was a mighty whirlewinde taking vp the water in very great quantity, furiously mounting it into the ayre, which whirlewinde was not for a puffe or blast; but continuall, for the space of three houres, with very little intermission, which sith it was in the course that I should passe, we were constrained that night to take vp our lodging vnder the rocks.

Muscles.

A strange whirlewinde.

The next morning the stoune being broken vp, we went forward in our attempt, and sailed into a mighty great riuer directly into the body of the land, and in briefe, found it to be no firme land, but huge, waste, and desert Isles with mighty sounds, and inlets passing betweene sea and sea. Whereupon we returned towards our shippes, and landing to stoppe a floud, we found the buriall of these miscreants, we found of theyr fish in bagges, plaices, and caplin dryed, of which we tooke onely one bagge, and departed. The ninth of this moneth we came to our shippes, where we found the people desirous in theyr fashion, of friendshippe and barter: our mariners complained heauily against the people, and said that my lenity and friendly vsing of them gaue them stomacke to mischiefe: for they haue stollen an anker from vs, they haue cut our cable very dangerously, they haue cut our boats from our sterne, and now since your departure, with slings they spare vs not with stones of halfe a pound weight: & will you still indure these iniuries? it is a shame to beare them. I desired them to be content, and said I doubted not but all should be well. The tenth of this moneth I went to the shore, the people following me in theyr canoas: I tolled them on shore, and vsed them with much curtesie, and then departed aboord, they following me, and my company. I gaue some of them bracelets, and caused seuen or eight of them to come aboord, which they did willingly, and some of them went into the toppe of our shippe: and thus curteously vsing them, I let them depart: the Sunne was no sooner downe, but they began to practise theyr deuilish nature, and with slings threw stones very fiercely into the Moonelight, & strake one of her men, the boatswaine that he ouerthrew withall: wherat being moued, I changed my curtesie, & grew to hatred, my selfe in

Slings.

my

my owne boat well manned, with shot, and the barks boat likewise pursued them, & gaue them diuers shot but to small purpose, by reason of theyr swift rowing: so small content we returned.

The 11 of this moneth there came siue of them to make a new truce: the maister of the Admiral came to me to shew me of theyr comming, and desired to haue them taken, & kept as prisoners vntill we had his anker againe: but when he saw that the chiefe ringleader, & maister of mischiefe was one of the siue, he then was vehement to execute his purpose, so it was determined to take him: he came crying Iliaout, & striking his brest offered a payre of gloues to sell, the maister offered him a knife for them: so two of them came to vs, the one was not touched, but the other was soone captiue among vs: then we pointed to him & his fellowes for our anker, which being had, we made signes that he should be set at liberty: within one houre that he came aboord, the winde came fayre, whereupon we weyed, and set saile, and so brought the fellow with vs: one of his fellowes still following our ship close aboord, talked with him, & made a kinde of lamentation, we still bring him well, with Yliaout, which was the common course of curtesie. At length this fellow aboord vs spake foure or fiue words vnto the other, and claped his two hands vpon his face, whereupon the other doing the like, departed, as we suppose, with heauy chere. We iudged the couering of his face with his hands, and bowing of his body downe, signified his death. At length he became a pleasant companion among vs. I gaue him a new suite of frize after the English fashion, because I saw he could not indure the colde, of which he was very ioyfull, he trimmed vp his darts, and all his fishing tooles, and would make okam, and set his hand to a ropes end vpon occasion. He liued with the dry caplin that I tooke when I was searching in the pinnesse, and did eat dry Newland fish.

One of the people taken, which after died.

All this while, God be thanked, our people were in very good health, onely one young man excepted, who dyed at sea the foureteenth of this moneth, and the fifteenth according to the order of the sea, with praise giuen to God by seruice, was cast ouerboord.

The 17 of this moneth, being in the latitude of 63 degrees 8 minuts, we fel vpon a most mighty and strange quantity of ice, in one intyre masse, so bigge, as that we knew not the limits thereof, and being withall so very high, in forme of a land, with bayes and capes, and like high cliffe land, as that we supposed it to be land, and therfore sent our pinnesse off to discouer it: but at her returne we were certainely informed that it was onely ice, which bred great admiration to vs all, considering the huge quantity thereof, incredible to be reported in truth as it was, and therefore I omit to speake any further therof. This onely, I thinke that the like before was neuer seene, and in this place we had very stickle and strong currants.

We coasted this mighty masse of ice vntill the 30 of July, finding it a mighty barre to our purpose: the ayre in this time was so contagious, and the sea so pestered with ice, as that all hope was banished of proceeding: for the 24 of July all our shrowds, ropes, and sailes were so frosen, and compassed with ice, onely by a grosse fogge, as seemed to me more then strange, sith the last peere I found this sea free and nauigable, without impediments.

The nature of fogges.

Our men through this extremity began to grow licke & feeble, and withal hopelesse of good successe: wherupon very orderly, with good discretion they intreated me to regard the state of this businesse, and withall aduised me, that in conscience I ought to regard the safety of mine owne life, with the preseruation of theyrs, & that I should not through my ouerboldnesse leaue their widowes and fatherlesse children to giue me bitter curses. This matter in conscience did greatly moue me to regard theyr estates: yet considering the excellency of the businesse, if it might be attained, the great hope of certainty by the last peres discouery, & that there was yet a third way not put in practise, I thought it would grow to my great disgrace, if this action by my negligence should grow into discredit: wherupon seeking helpe from God the fountaine of all mercies, it pleased his diuine Maiesty to moouc my heart to prosecute that which I hope shalbe to his glory, and to the contentation of euery Christian minde. Wherupon falling into consideration, that the Mermaid, albeit a very strong and sufficient ship, yet by reason of her burden, not so conuenient and nimble as a smaller barke, especially in such desperate hazzards: further hauing in account her great charge to the aduenturers, being at 100 li. the moneth: & that in doubtfull seruice, all the premises considered, with diuers other things, I determined to furnish the Moonelight with reuictualling & sufficient men, & to proceed in this action as God should direct me: wherupon I altered our course from the ice, & bare East southeast to recouer the next shore where this thing might be perfourned: so with fauorable winde it pleased God that the first of August we discouered the land in latitude 66 deg. 33 min. & in longitude from the meridian of London 70 deg. void of trouble without snow or ice.

August 1.

The second of August we harboured our selues in a very excellent good road, where with all speed we graued the Moonelight, and reuictualled her: we searched this country with our pinnesse while the barke was trimming, which William Elton did: he found all this land to be only islands,

with a ſea on the Eaſt, a ſea on the Weſt, and a ſea on the North. In this place we found it very
Great heat. hot, and we were very much troubled with a flie which is called Musketa, for they did ſting grieuouſly. The people of this place at our firſt comming in caught a ſeale, and with bladders faſt tied to him ſent him vnto vs with the floud, ſo as he came right with our ſhippes, which we tooke as a friendly preſent from them.

The firſt of Auguſt I went with the two maiſters and others to the toppe of a hill, and by the way William Eſton eſpied three Canoas lying vnder a rocke, and went vnto them: there were in them ſkinnes, darts, with diuers ſuperſtitious toyes, whereof we diminiſhed nothing, but left vpon euery boat a ſilke point, a bullet of lead, and a pinne. The next day being the firſt of Auguſt, the people came vnto vs without feare, and did barter with vs for ſkinnes, as the other people did: they differ not from the other, neither in their canoas nor apparell, yet is their pronunciation more plaine then the others, and nothing hollow in the throat. Our miſcreant aboord vs kept himſelfe cloſe, and made ſhew that he would faine haue another companion. Thus being prouided, I departed from this land the twelft of Auguſt, at ſixe of the clocke in the morning, where I left the Mermaid at an anker: the foureteenth ſailing Weſt about fiftie leagues, we diſcouered land, being in latitude 66 degrees 19 minuts: this land is 70 leagues from the other from whence we came. This foureteenth day from nine a clocke at night till three a clocke in the morning, we ankered by an Iſland of ice, twelue leagues off the ſhore, being moored to the ice.

The fifteenth day at three a clocke in the morning we departed from this land to the South, and the eighteenth of Auguſt we diſcouered land Northweſt from vs in the morning, being a very fayre promontory, in latitude 65 degrees, hauing no land on the South. Heere we had great
Great hope of a paſſage. hope of a through paſſage.

This day at three a clocke in the afternoone we againe diſcouered land Southweſt and by South from vs, where at night we were becalmed. The nineteenth of this moneth at noone, by obſeruation, we were in 64 degrees 20 minuts. From the eighteenth day at noone vnto the nineteenth at noone, by preciſe ordinary care, we had ſailed 15 leagues South and by Weſt, yet by art
A great currant to the Weſt. and more exact obſeruation, we found our courſe to be Southweſt, ſo that we plainely perceiued a great currant ſtriking to the Weſt.

This land is nothing in ſight but Iſles, which increaſeth our hope. This nineteenth of Auguſt at ſixe a clocke in the afternoone, it began to ſnow, and ſo continued all night with foule weather, and much winde, ſo that we were conſtrained to lie at hull all night fiue leagues off the ſhore: In the morning, being the twentith of Auguſt, the fogge and ſtorme breaking vp, we bare in with the land, and at nine a clocke in the morning we ankered in a very fayre and ſafe road and locket for all weathers. At tenne of the clocke I went on ſhore, to the toppe of a very high hill, where I
Iſlands. perceiued that this land was Iſlands: at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we weyed anker, hauing a fayre North northeaſt winde, with very fayre weather: at ſix of the clocke we were cleere
Hope of a paſſage. without the land, and ſo ſhaped our courſe to the South, to diſcouer the coaſt, whereby the paſſage may be through Gods mercy found.

We coaſted this land till the eight and twentith of Auguſt, finding it ſtill to continue towards the South, from the latitude of 67 to 57 degrees: we found maruellous great ſtore of birds, guls & mewes, incredible to be reported, whereupon being calme weather, we lay one glaſſe vpon the lee, to proue for fiſh, in which ſpace we caught 100 of cod, although we were but badly prouided for fiſhing, not being our purpoſe. This eight and twentith, hauing great diſtruſt of the weather, we arriued in a very fayre harbor in the latitude of 56 degrees, and ſailed ten leagues into the ſame,
Faire woods. being two leagues broad, with very fayre woods on both ſides: in this place we continued vntill the firſt of September, in which time we had two very great ſtormes. I landed, and went ſixe miles by gheſſe into the country, and found that the woods were firre, pineapple, alder, yew, withy, and birch: here we ſaw a blacke beare: this place yeeldeth great ſtore of birds, as fezant, partridge, Barbary hennes, or the like, wilde geeſe, ducks, blacke birds, ieyes, thruſhes, with other kindes of ſmall birds. Of the partridge and fezant, we killed great ſtore with bowe and arrowes: in this
Store of cod. place, at the harborough mouth, we found great ſtore of cod.

The firſt of September at tenne a clocke, wee ſet ſaile, and coaſted the ſhore with very faire weather. The third day being calme, at noone we ſtroke ſaile, and let fall a cadge anker, to proue whether we could take any fiſh, being in latitude 54 degrees 30 minuts, in which place we found great abundance of cod, ſo that the hooke was no ſooner ouerboord, but preſently a fiſh was taken. It was the largeſt and beſt reſet fiſh that euer I ſaw, and diuers fiſher men that were with me ſayd that they neuer ſaw a more ſuaule or better ſkull of fiſh in their liues: yet had they ſeene great abundance.

The

The fourth of September at fiue a clocke in the afternoone we ankered in a very good road among great ſtore of Iſles, the countrey low land, pleaſant, and very full of fayre woods. To the North of this place eight leagues, we had a perfect hope of the paſſage, finding a mighty great ſea paſſing betweene two lands Weſt. The South land to our iudgement being nothing but Iſles, we greatly deſired to go into this ſea, but the winde was directly againſt vs. We ankered in foure fathome fine land. In this place is foule and fiſh mighty ſtore. A perfect hope of the paſſage.

The ſixt of September hauing a fayre North northweſt winde, hauing trimed our barke, we purpoſed to depart, and ſent fiue of our ſailers yoong men a ſhore to an Iſland, to fetch certaine fiſh which we purpoſed to weather, and therefore left it all night couered vpon the Iſle: the brutiſh people of this countrey lay ſecretly lurking in the wood, and vpon the ſudden aſſaulted our men: which when we perceiued, we preſently let ſlippe our cables vpon the halſe, and vnder our foreſaile bare into the ſhoare, and with all expedition diſcharged a double muſket vpon them twiſe, at the noiſe wherof they fled: notwithſtanding to our very great griefe, two of our men were ſlaine with theyr arrowes, and two grieuouſly wounded, of whom at this preſent we ſtand in very great doubt, onely one eſcaped by ſwimming, with an arrow ſhot thorow his arme. Theſe wicked miſcreants neuer offered parly or ſpeech, but preſently executed theyr curſed fury. Two of our men ſlaine by the Sauages.

This preſent euening it pleaſed God further to increaſe our ſorrowes with a mighty tempeſtuous ſtorme, the winde being North northeaſt, which laſted vnto the tenth of this moneth very extreme. We vnrigged our ſhippe, and purpoſed to cut downe our maſts, the cable of our ſhut anker brake, ſo that we onely expected to be driuen on ſhoare among theſe Canibals for theyr pray. Yet in this deepe diſtreſſe the mighty mercy of God, when hope was paſt, gaue vs ſuccor, and ſent vs a fayre lee, ſo as we recouered our anker againe, and new mored our ſhippe: where we ſaw that God manifeſtly deliuered vs: for the ſtraines of one of our cables were broken, we only road by an olde iunke. Thus being freſhly mored, a new ſtorme aroſe, the winde being Weſt northweſt, very forcible, which laſted vnto the tenth day at night.

The eleuenth day with a fayre Weſt northweſt winde we departed with truſt in Gods mercy, ſhaping our courſe for England, and arriued in the Weſt countrey in the beginning of October.

Maiſter Dauis being arriued, wrote his letter to M. William *Sanderſon of London, concerning his voyage,* as followeth.

SIr, the Sunneſhine came into Dartmouth the fourth of this moneth: ſhe hath beene at Iſland, and from thence to Groenland, and ſo to Eſtotiland, from thence to Deſolation, and to our merchants, where ſhe made trade with the people, ſtaying in the countrey twenty dayes. They haue brought home fiue hundred ſeale ſkinnes, and an hundred and forty halfe ſkinnes, and pieces of ſkinnes. I ſtand in great doubt of the pinneſſe, God be mercifull vnto the poore men, and preſerue them if it be his bleſſed will.

I haue now full experience of much of the Northweſt part of the world, and haue brought the paſſage to that certainty, as that I am ſure it muſt be in one of foure places, or els not at all. And further, I can aſſure you vpon the perill of my life, that this voyage may be performed without further charge, nay with certaine profit to the aduenturers, if I may haue but your fauour in the action. Surely it ſhall coſt me all my hope of welfare, and my portion of Sandridge, but I will by Gods mercy, ſee an end of theſe buſineſſes. I hope I ſhall finde fauour with you to ſee your card. I pray God it be ſo true as the card ſhall be which I will bring to you: and I hope in God, that your ſkill in nauigation ſhall be gainefull vnto you, although at the firſt it hath not proued ſo. And thus with my moſt humble commendations I commit you to God, deſiring no longer to liue then I ſhall be yours moſt faithfully to command. From this 14 of October. 1586.

Yours with my heart, body and life to command IOHN DAVIS.

The relation of the courſe which the Sunſhine a barke of fiftie *tunnes, and the Northſtarre a ſmall pinneſſe, being two veſſels of the* fleet of M. Iohn Dauis held after he had ſent them from him to diſcouer the paſſage betweene Groenland and Iſland, written by Henry Morgan ſeruant to M. William Sanderſon of London.

1 May. THe ſeuenth day of May 1586 we departed out of Dartmouth hauen foure ſailes, to wit, the Mermaid, the Sunſhine, the Mooneſhine, and the Northſtarre. In the Sunſhine were ſixteene men, whoſe names were theſe: Richard Pope maiſter, Marke Carter maiſters mate, Henry Morgan purſer, George Dyward, Iohn Mandie, Hugh Broken, Philip Jane, Hugh Hempſon, Richard Boyden, Iohn Filpe, Andrew Madocke, William Wolcome, Robert Wagge carpenter, Iohn Brulkome, William Aſhe, Simon Ellis.

Our courſe was Weſt northweſt the ſeuenth and eight dayes: and the ninth day in the morning we were on head of the Tarroſe of Syllie. Thus coaſting along the South part of Ireland the 11 day, we were on head of the Doyſes: and our courſe was South ſouthweſt vntill ſix of the clocke the 12 day. The 13 day our courſe was Northweſt. We remained in the company of the Mermaid and the Mooneſhine vntill we came to the latitude of 60 degrees: and there it ſeemed beſt to our Generall M. Dauis to diuide his fleet, himſelfe ſailing to the Northweſt & to direct the Sunſhine, wherein I was, & the pinneſſe called the Northſtar, to ſeeke a paſſage Northward betweene Groenland and Iſland to the latitude of 80 degrees, if land did not let vs. So the ſeuenth day of June we departed from them: and the ninth of the ſame we came to a firme land of ice, which we coaſted along the ninth, the tenth, and the eleuenth dayes of June: and the eleuenth day at ſix of the clocke at night we ſaw land, which was very high, which afterward we knew to be Iſland: and the twelft day we harbored there, and found many people: the land lyeth Eaſt and by North in 66 degrees.

M. Dauis diuideth his fleet into 2 parts.

June.

Iſlands deſcried.

Theyr commodities.

Theyr dwellings.

Their boats.

Theyr commodities were greene fiſh, and Iſland lings, and ſtockfiſh, and a fiſh which is called catefiſh: of all which they had great ſtore. They had alſo kine, ſheepe, and horſes, and hay for theyr cattell, and for theyr horſes. We ſaw alſo of theyr dogges. Theyr dwelling houſes were made on both ſides with ſtones, and wood laid croſſe ouer them, which was couered ouer with turfs of earth, and they are flat on the toppes, and many of theſe ſtood hard by the ſhoare. Theyr boats were made with wood, and iron all along the keele like our Engliſh boats: and they had nailes for to naile them withall, and fiſh hooks and other things for to ketch fiſh as we haue heere in England. They had alſo braſen kettles, and girdles and purſes made of leather, and knoppes on them of copper, and hatchets and other ſmall tooles as neceſſarie as we haue. They dry theyr fiſh in the Sun, and when they are dry, they packe them vp in the toppe of their houſes. If we would go thither to fiſhing more then we do, we ſhould make it a very good voyage: for we got an hundreth greene fiſh in one morning. We found heere two Engliſh men with a ſhippe, which came out of England about Eaſter day of this preſent yeere 1586, and one of them came aboord of vs, and brought vs two lambs. The Engliſh mans name was M. Iohn Royden of Ipſwich, merchant: he was bound for London with his ſhippe. And this is the ſumme of that which I obſerued in Iſland.

M. Iohn Royden of Ipſwich.

They departed frō Iſland Northweſt.

We departed from Iſland the ſixteenth day of June in the morning, and our courſe was Northweſt, and ſaw on the coaſt two ſmall barkes going to an harborough: we went not to them, but ſaw them a farre off. Thus we continued our courſe vnto the end of this moneth.

Iuly.

Groenland diſcouered.

The third day of July we were in betweene two firme lands of iſe, and paſſed in betweene them all that day vntill it was night: and then the maiſter turned backe againe, and ſo away we went towards Groenland. And the ſeuenth day of July we did ſee Groenland, and it was very high, and it looked very blew: we could not come to harborough into the land becauſe we were hindered by a firme land, as it were, of ice, which was along the ſhoares ſide: but we were within three leagues of the land, coaſting the ſame diuers dayes together. The ſeuenteenth day of July we ſaw the place which our captaine M. Iohn Dauis the yeere before had named The land of Deſolation, where we could not go on ſhoare for ice. The eighteenth day we were likewiſe troubled with ice, and went in amongſt it at three of the clocke in the morning. After we had cleered our ſelues thereof, we ranged all along the coaſt of Deſolation vntill the end of the aforeſayd moneth.

The land of Deſolation.

The

The third day of Auguſt we came in ſight of Gilberts ſound in the latitude of 64. deg. 15. min. which was the place where we were appointed to meete our generall and the reſt of our Fleete. Here we came to an harborow at 6. of the clocke at night. Auguſt.

The 4. day in the morning the maſter went on ſhore with 10. of his men, and they brought vs foure of the people rowing in their boates aboord of the ſhip. And in the afternoone I went on ſhore with ſix of our men, and there came to vs ſeuen of them when we were on land. We found on ſhore three dead people, and two of them had their ſtaues lying by them, and their olde ſkins wrapped about them, and the other had nothing lying by, wherfore we thought it was a woman. Wee alſo ſawe their houſes neere the Sea ſide, which were made with pieces of wood on both ſides, and croſſed ouer with poles & then couered ouer with earth: we found Foxes running vpon the hils: as for the place, it is broken land all the way that we went, and full of broken Iſlands.

The 21. of Auguſt the maſter ſent the boate on ſhore for wood, with ſixe of his men, and there were one and thirtie of the people of the countrey which went on ſhore to them, and they went about to kill them as we thought, for they ſhot their dartes towards them, and we that were aboord the ſhip, did ſee them goe on ſhore to our men: whereupon the maſter ſent the pinnace after them, and when they ſaw the pinnace comming towards them, they turned backe, and the maſter of the pinnace did ſhoote off a caliuer to them the ſame time, but hurt none of them, for his meaning was onely to put them in feare. Diuers times they did weaue vs on ſhore to play with them at the foot-ball, and ſome of our company went on ſhore to play with them, and our men did caſt them downe as ſoone as they did come to ſtrike the ball. And thus much of that which we did ſee and do in that harborow where we arriued firſt. Our men play at football with the Sauages.

The 23. day we departed from the merchaunts where we had bene firſt, and our courſe from thence was South and by Weſt, and the wind was Northeaſt, and we ran that day and night about 5. or 6. leagues, vntill we came to another harborow.

The 24. about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, wee entered into the aforeſayd new harborow, and as we came in, we did ſee dogs running vpon the Iſlands. When wee were come in, there came to vs foure of the people which were with vs before in the other harborow, and where we rode, we had ſandie ground. We ſaw no wood growing, but found ſmall pieces of wood vpon the Iſlands, & ſome ſmall pieces of ſweete wood among the ſame. We found great Harts hornes, but could ſee none of the Stagges where we went, but we found their footings. As for the bones which we receiued of the Sauages, I cannot tell of what beaſts they be. Sweete wood found.

The ſtones that we found in the countrey, were blacke and ſome white, as I thinke they bee of no value, neuertheleſſe I haue brought examples of them to you.

The 30. of Auguſt we departed from this harborow towards England, & the wind tooke vs contrary, ſo that we were faine to goe to another harborow the ſame day at 11. of the clocke. And there came to vs 39. of the people, and brought vs 13. Seale ſkins, and after we receiued theſe ſkinnes of them, the maſter ſent the carpenter to change one of our boates which we had bought of them before, and they would haue taken the boate from him perforce, and when they ſawe they could not take it from vs, they ſhot with their dartes at vs, and ſtroke one of our men with one of their dartes, and Iohn Filpe ſhot one of them into the breſt with an arrow. And they came to vs againe, and foure of our men went into the ſhipboate, and they ſhot with their dartes at our men: but our men tooke one of their people in his boate into the ſhipboate, and he hurt one of them with his knife, but we killed three of them in their boates: two of them were hurt with arrowes in the breſts, and he that was aboord our boat, was ſhot in with an arrow, and hurt with a ſword, and beaten with ſtaues, whom our men caſt ouer boorde, but the people caught him and caried him on ſhore vpon their boats, and the other two alſo, and ſo departed from vs. And three of them went on ſhore hard by vs, where they had their dogs, and thoſe three came away from their dogs, and preſently one of their dogs came ſwimming towards vs hard aboord the ſhip, whereupon our maſter cauſed the Gunner to ſhoote off one of the great pieces towards the people, and ſo the dog turned backe to land, and within an houre after there came of the people hard aboord the ſhip, but they would not come to vs as they did come before. A ſkirmiſh betwixt the Sauages and our men.

The 31. of Auguſt we departed from Gilberts ſound for England, and when we came out of the harborow, there came after vs 17. of the people looking which way we went.

The 2. of September we loſt ſight of the land at 12. of the clocke at noone. September.

The third day at night we loſt ſight of the Northſtarre our pinnace in a very great ſtorme, & lay a hull tarying for them the 4. day, but could heare no more of them. Thus we ſhaped our courſe the 5. day South ſouthealt, and ſayling vntill the 27. of the ſayd moneth we came in ſight of Cape Clere in Ireland. The pinnace neuer returned home.

The

The 30. day we entred into our owne chanell.

The 2. of October we had ſight of the Ile of Wight.

The 3. we coaſted all along the ſhore, and the 4. and 5.

The 6. of the ſayd moneth of October we came into the riuer of Thames as high as Ratcliffe in ſafetie God be thanked.

The third voyage Northweſtward, made by Iohn Dauis Gentleman, as chiefe Captaine and Pilot generall, for the diſcouerie of a paſſage to the Iſles of the Molucca, or the coaſt of China, in the yeere, 1587. Written by Iohn Ianes ſeruant to the aforeſayd M. William Sanderſon.

May.

THe 19. of this preſent moneth about midnight, we weighed our ankers, ſet ſaile and departed from Dartmouth with two barkes and a Clincher, the one named the Elizabeth of Dartmouth, the other the Sunne ſhine of London, and the Clincher called the Ellin of London: thus in Gods name we ſet forwards with the wind at Northeaſt a good freſh gale. About 3. howers after our departure, the night being ſomwhat thicke with darkneſſe, we had loſt the pinnace, the captaine imagining that the men had runne away with her, willed the maſter of the Sunne ſhine, to ſtand to Seawards, and ſee if we could deſcrie them, we bearing in with the ſhore for Plimmouth. At length we deſcried her, bare with her, and demanded what the cauſe was: They anſwered that the tiller of their helme was burſt. So shaping our courſe Weſt Southweſt, we went forward, hoping that a hard beginning would make a good ending, yet ſome of vs were doubtfull of it, falling in reckoning that ſhe was a Clincher, neuertheleſſe we put our truſt in God.

The 21. we met with the Red Lion of London, which came from the coaſt of Spaine, which was afraid that we had bene men of warre, but we hailed them, and after a litle conference, we deſired the maſter to carie our letters for London, directed to my vncle Sanderſon, who promiſed vs ſafe deliuerie. And after we had heaued them a lead and a line, whereunto wee had made faſt our letters, before they could get them into the ſhip, they fell into the ſea, and ſo all our labour and theirs alſo was loſt, notwithſtanding they promiſed to certifie our departure at London, and ſo we departed, and the ſame day we had ſight of Sillie. The 22. the wind was at Northeaſt by Eaſt, with faire weather, and ſo the 23. and 24. the like. The 25. we laied our ſhippes on the Lee for the Sunne ſhine, who was a rommaging for a leake, they had 500. ſtrokes at the pumpe in a watch, the wind at Northweſt.

The 26. and 27. we had faire weather, but this 27. the pinnaces foremaſte was blowen ouerboord. The 28. the Elizabeth towed the pinnace, which was ſo much bragged of by the owners report before we came out of England, but at Sea ſhe was like to a cart drawen with oxen. Sometimes we towed her becauſe ſhe could not ſaile for ſcant wind.

The 31. day our captaine aſked if the pinnace were ſtanch, Peerſon anſwered that ſhe was as ſound and ſtanch as a cuppe. This made vs ſomething glad, when we ſawe ſhe would brooke the Sea, and was not leake.

Iune.

THe firſt 6. dayes we had faire weather: after that for 5. dayes we had fogge and rayne, the wind beyng South. The 12. we had cleare weather. The Mariners in the Sunne ſhine, and the maſter could not agree: the mariners would goe on their voyage a fiſhing, becauſe the yeere began to waſte: the maſter would not depart till hee had the companie of the Elizabeth, whereupon the maſter told our captaine that he was afrayd his men would ſhape ſome contrarie courſe while he was a ſleep, and ſo he ſhould looſe vs. At length after much talke and many threatnings, they were content to bring vs to the land which we looked for daily.

The 13. we had fogge and raine.

The 14. day we diſcouered land at fiue of the clocke in the morning, being very great and high mountaines, the tops of the hils being couered with ſnow. Here the wind was variable, ſomtimes Northeaſt, Eaſt Northeaſt, and Eaſt by North: but wee imagined our ſelues to be 16. or 17. leagues off from the ſhore.

The 15. we had reaſonable cleare weather.

The 16. we came to an anker about 4. or 5. of the clocke after noone, the people came preſently

to

to vs after the old maner, with crying Il y a oute, and ſhewing vs Seale ſkinnes. The 17. we began to ſet vp the pinnace that Peerſon framed at Dartmouth, with the boords which hee brought from London.

The 18. Peerſon and the Carpenters of the ſhips, began to ſet on the plankes. The 19. as we went about an Iſland, were found blacke Pummiſe ſtones, and ſalt kerned on the rockes very white and glittering. This day alſo the maſter of the Sunne ſhine tooke one of the people, a very ſtrong luſtie yong fellow.

The 20. about two of the clocke in the morning, the Sauages came to the Iſland where our pinnace was built readie to bee launched, and toze the two vpper ſtrakes, and caried them away onely for the loue of the iron in the boords. While they were about this practiſe, wee manned the Elizabeths boate to goe a ſhoze to them: our men being either afrayd, or amazed, were ſo long before they came to ſhoze, that our captaine willed them to ſtaie, and made the Gunner giue fire to a Saker, and laied the piece leuell with the boate which the Sauages had turned on the one ſide, becauſe we ſhould not hurt them with our arrowes, and made the boate their bulwarke againſt the arrowes which wee ſhot at them. Our Gunner hauing made all things readie, gaue fire to the peece, and fearing to hurt any of the people, and regarding the owners profite, thought belike hee would ſaue a Sakers ſhot, doubting we ſhould haue occaſion to fight with men of warre, and ſo ſhot off the Saker without a bullet, we looking ſtill when the Sauages that were hurt ſhould run away without legs, at length wee could perceiue neuer a man hurt, but all hauing their legges could carie away their bodies: we had no ſooner ſhot off the piece, but the maſter of the Sunneſhine manned his boate, and came rowing towards the Iſland, the very ſight of whom made each of them take that he had gotten, and flie away as faſt as they could to another Iſland about two miles off, where they tooke the naples out of the timber, and left the wood on the Iſle. When we came on ſhoze and ſaw how they had ſpoiled the boate, after much debating of the matter, we agreed that the Elizabeth ſhould haue her to fiſh withall: whereupon ſhe was preſently caried aboord, and ſtowed.

Now after this trouble, being reſolued to depart with the firſt wind, there fell out another matter woꝛſe then all the reſt, and that was in this maner. John Churchyard one whom our captaine had appointed as Pilot in the pinnace, came to our Captaine, and maſter Buton, and told them that the good ſhip which we muſt all hazard our lines in, had three hundzed ſtrokes at one time as ſhe rode in the harbour: This diſquieted vs all greatly, and many doubted to goe in her. At length our captaine by whom we were all to be gouerned, determined rather to end his life with credite, then to returne with infamie and diſgrace, and ſo being all agreed, we purpoſed to liue and die together, & committed our ſelues to the ſhip. Now the 21. hauing brought all our things aboord, about 11. or 12. of the clocke at night, we ſet ſaile and departed from thoſe Iſles, which lie in 64. degrees of latitude, our ſhips being now all at Sea, and wee ſhaping our courſe to goe, coaſting the land to the Northwards vpon the Eaſterne ſhoze, which we called the ſhoze of our Merchants, becauſe there we met with people which traffiked with vs, but here we were not without doubt of our ſhip. The 22. and 23. we had cloſe fogge and raine.

The 24. being in 67. degrees, and 40. minutes, we had great ſtoze of Whales, and a kinde of ſea birdes which the Mariners call Cortinous. This day about ſixe of the clocke at night, we eſpied two of the countrey people at Sea, thinking at the firſt they had bene two great Seales, vntill we ſawe their oares glittering with the Sunne: they came rowing towardes vs, as faſt as they could, and when they came within hearing, they held vp their oares, and cried Il y a oute, making many ſignes: and at laſt they came to vs, giuing vs birdes for bracelets, and of them I had a darte with a bone in it, or a piece of Unicorns horne, as I did iudge. This dart he made ſtoze of, but when he ſaw a knife, he let it go, being moze deſirous of the knife then of his dart: theſe people continued rowing after our ſhip the ſpace of 3. howers.

The 25. in the morning at 7. of the clocke we deſcried 30. Sauages rowing after vs, being by iudgement 10. leagues off from the ſhoze: they brought vs Salmon Peales, Birdes, and Caplin, and we gaue them pinnes, needles, bracelets, nailes, kniues, bels, looking glaſſes, and other ſmall trifles, and for a knife, a naile or a bracelet, which they call Ponigmah, they would ſell their boat, coates, or any thing they had, although they were farre from the ſhoze. Wee had but few ſkinnes of them, about 20. but they made ſignes to vs that if wee would goe to the ſhoze, wee ſhould haue moze ſtoze of Chichſanege: they ſtaied with vs til 11. of the clocke, at which time we went to prayer, and they departed from vs.

The 26. was cloudie, the wind being at South.

The 27. faire with the ſame wind.

The

The 28. and 29. were foggie with clouds, the 30. day we tooke the heigth, and found our ſelues in 72. degrees and 12. min. of latitude both at noone and at night, the Sunne being 5. degr. aboue the horizon. At midnight the compaſſe ſet to the variation of 28. degr. to the Weſtward. Now hauing coaſted the land which we called London coaſt, from the 21. of this preſent, til the 30. the ſea open all to the Weſtwards and Northwards, the land on ſtarboord ſide Eaſt from vs, the winde ſhifted to the North, whereupon we left that ſhore, naming the ſame Hope Sanderſon, and ſhaped our courſe Weſt, and ran 40. leagues and better, without the ſight of any land.

72. deg. 12. mi.

London coaſt.

Iuly.

The ſecond we fel with a mighty banke of Ice Weſt from vs, lying North and South, which banke we would gladly haue doubled out to the Northwards, but the winde would not ſuffer vs, ſo that we were faine to coaſt it to the Southwards, hoping to double it out that we might haue run ſo farre Weſt till wee had found land, or els to haue bene thoroughly reſolued of our pretended purpoſe.

The 3. we fell with the Ice againe, and putting off from it, we ſought to the Northwards, but the wind croſſed vs.

The 4. was foggie: ſo was the 5. alſo with much wind at North.

The 6. being very cleere, we put our barke with oares through a gappe in the Ice, ſeeing the Sea free on the Weſt ſide as we thought, which falling out otherwiſe, cauſed vs to returne after we had ſtaied there betweene the Ice. The 7. and the 8. about midnight, by Gods helpe we recouered the open ſea, the weather being faire and calme, and ſo was the 9. The 10. we coaſted the Ice. The 11. was foggie, but calme.

The 12. we coaſted againe the Ice, hauing the wind at Weſt northweſt. The 13. bearing off from the Ice, we determined to goe with the ſhore and come to an anker, and to ſtay fiue or 6. daies for the diſſoluing of the Ice, hoping that the ſea continually beating it, and the ſunne, with the extreme force of heate which it had alwayes ſhining vpon it, would make a quicke diſpatch, that we might haue a further ſearch vpon the Weſterne ſhore. Now when we were come to the Eaſterne coaſt, the water ſomething deepe, and ſome of our company fearefull withall, we durſt not come to an anker, but bare off into ſea againe. The poore people ſeeing vs goe away againe, came rowing after vs into the Sea, the waues being ſomewhat loftie. We truckt with them for a few ſkinnes and dartes, and gaue them beads, nailes, pinnes, needles and cardes, they pointing to the ſhore, as though they would ſhew vs great friendſhip: but we litle regarding their curteſie, gaue them the gentle farewell, and ſo departed.

The 14. we had the wind at South. The 15. there was ſome fault either in the barke, or the ſet of ſome currant, for we were vnder 6. points out of our courſe. The 16. we fell with ꝑ banke of Ice Weſt from vs. The 17. and 18. were foggie. The 19. at one a clocke after noone, we had ſight of the land which we called mount Raleigh, and at 12. of the clocke at night, wee were thwart the ſtreights which we diſcouered the firſt yeere. The 20. wee trauerſed in the mouth of the ſtreight, the winde being at Weſt, with faire and cleare weather. The 21. and 22. we coaſted the Northerne coaſt of the ſtreights. The 23. hauing ſayled 60. leagues Northweſt into the ſtreights, at two a clocke after noone, we ankered among many Iſles in the bottome of the gulfe, naming the ſame the erle of Cumberlands Iſles, where riding at anker, a Whale paſſed by our ſhip and went Weſt in among the Iſles. Here the compaſſe ſet at 30. degrees Weſtward variation. The 24. we departed, ſhaping our courſe Southeaſt to recouer the Sea. The 25. we were becalmed in the bottome of the gulfe, the aire being extreme hote. Maſter Buton and ſome of the Mariners went on ſhore to courſe dogs, where they found many Graues and Trane ſpilt on the ground, the dogs being ſo fat that they were ſcant able to runne.

The erle of Cumberlands Iſles.

The 26. wee had a pretie ſtorme, the wind being at Southeaſt. The 27. and 28. were faire. The 29. we were cleare out of the ſtreights, hauing coaſted the South ſhore, and this day at noone we were in 64. degrees of latitude. The 30. in the afternoone we coaſted a banke of Ice, which lay on the ſhore, and paſſed by a great banke or inlet, which lay betweene 63. and 62. degrees of latitude, which we called Lumleis Inlet. We had oftentimes as we ſailed alongſt the coaſt, great rootes, the water as it were whirling and ouerfalling, as if it were the fall of ſome great water through a bridge. The 31. as we ſayled by a head land, which wee named Warwikes Foreland, we fell into one of thoſe ouerfals with a freſh gale of wind, and bearing all our ſailes, we looking vpon an Iſland of Ice betweene vs and the ſhore, had thought that our barke did make no way, which cauſed vs to take markes on the ſhore: at length we perceiued our ſelues to go very faſt, and

My lord Lumleys Inlet.

Warwikes foreland.

the

the Iſland of Iee which we ſaw before was caried very forcibly with the ſet of the currant faſter then our ſhip went. This day and night we paſſed by a very great gulfe, the water whirling and roring, as it were the meetings of tides.

Auguſt.

The firſt hauing coaſted a banke of Iee which was driuen out at the mouth of this gulfe, wee fell with the Southernmoſt Cape of the gulfe, which we named Chidleis Cape, which lay in 6. degrees and 10. minutes of latitude. The 2. and 3. were calme and foggie, ſo were the 4. 5. and 6. The 7. was faire and calme: ſo was the 8. with a litle gale in the morning. The 9. was faire, and we had a litle gale at night. The 10. wee had a friſking gale at Weſt Northweſt. The 11. faire. The 12. we ſawe fiue Deere on the top of an Iſland, called by vs Darcies Iſland. And wee hoiſed out our boate, and went a ſhore to them, thinking to haue killed ſome of them. But when we came on ſhore and had courſed them twiſe about the Iſland, they tooke the Sea and ſwamme towards Iſlands diſtant from that 3. leagues. When wee perceiued that they had taken the Sea, we gaue them ouer becauſe our boat was ſo ſmall that it could not carie vs, and rowe after them, they ſwamme ſo faſt: but one of them was as big as a good prętie Cowe and very fat, their feete as big as Oxe feete. Here vpon this Iſland I killed with my peece a grey hare.

Chidleis Cape.

The lord Darcies Iſland.

The 13. in the morning we ſaw 3. or 4. white Beares, but durſt not goe on ſhore to them for lacke of a good boat. This day we ſtroke a rocke, ſeeking for an harborow, and receiued a leake, and this day we were in 54. deg. of latitude.

The 14. we ſtopt our leake in a ſtorme not very outragious, at noone.

The 15. being almoſt in 51. degrees of latitude, and not finding our ſhips, nor (according to their promiſe) any kind of marke, token or beacon, which we willed to ſet vp, and they proteſted to doe ſo vpon euery head land, Iſland or Cape, within 20. leagues euery way off from their fiſhing place, which our captaine appointed to be betweene 54. and 55. degrees: This 15. I ſay we ſhaped our courſe homewards for England, hauing in our ſhip but litle wood, and halfe a hogſhead of freſh water. Our men were very willing to depart, and no man more forward then Peerſon, for he feared to be put out of his office of Stewardſhip: he was ſo inſatiate, that the allowance of two men was ſcant ſufficient to fill his greedie appetite: but becauſe euery man was ſo willing to depart, and conſidering our want, I doubted the matter very much, fearing that the ſeething of our mens victuall in ſalt water, would breed diſeaſes, and being but fewe (yet too many for the roome, if any ſhould be ſicke) and likely that all the reſt might bee infected therewith, wee conſented to returne for our owne countrey, and ſo we had the 16. faire with the winde at South-weſt.

The 17. wee met a ſhippe at Sea, and as farre as wee could iudge it was a Biſkaine: wee thought ſhe went a fiſhing for Whales, for in 52. degrees or thereabout, we ſaw very many.

The 18. was faire with a good gale at Weſt.

The 19. faire alſo, but with much wind at Weſt and by South.

And thus after much variable weather and change of windes, we arriued the 15. of September in Dartmouth, Anno 1587. giuing thanks to God for our ſafe arriuall.

A letter of the ſaid M. Iohn Dauis, written to M. Sanderſon of *London, concerning his forewritten voyage.*

GOod M. Sanderſon, with Gods great mercy I haue made my ſafe returne in health, with all my companie, and haue ſailed 60. leagues further then my determination at my departure. I haue bene in 73. degrees finding the Sea all open, and 40. leagues betweene land and land: The paſſage is moſt certaine, the execution moſt eaſie, as at my comming you ſhall fullie know. Yeſterday the 15. of September, I landed all wearie, therefore I pray you pardon my ſhortneſſe. Sandridge, this 16. of September, Anno 1587.

Yours equall as mine owne, which by triall you ſhall beſt know,

Iohn Dauis.

An

An extract of M. Lanes letter, to M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, and another gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia: the right place whereof is next before the Account of master Lane. Pagina 737.

IN the meane while you shall vnderstand that since sir Rich. Greenuils departure from vs, as also before, we haue discouered the maine to bee the goodliest soile vnder the cope of heauen, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and most pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnes, yet wild, as France, Spaine nor Italy hath no greater, so many sortes of Apothecarie drugs, such seuerall kindes of flaxe, and one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we haue found here a Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread, 400. vpon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect suger, also Terra Samia, otherwise Terra sigillata. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territorie of the world (for the soile is of an huge vnknowen greatnesse, and very wel peopled and towned, though sauagelie) and the climate so wholesome, that we haue not had one sicke, since we touched land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but Horses and Kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this alreadie we find, that what commodities soeuer Spaine, France, Italy, or the East parts do yeeld vnto vs in wines of all sortes, in oiles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankincence, currans, sugers, & such like, these parts do abound with ẏ growth of them all, but being Sauages that possesse the land, they know no vse of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, haue, here we finde great abundance of. The people naturally most curteous, & very desirous to haue clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canuas they also like wel of, but copper carieth ẏ price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and master H. I haue ioyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I loue dearely well, and commending me most hartily to you both, I commit you to ẏ tuition of the almighty. Frō the new Fort in Virginia, this 3. Sept. 1585.

Your most assured friend, Rafe Lane.

The voiage set out by the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, in the yeere 1586. intended for the South Sea, but performed no farther then the latitude of 44. deg. to the South of the Equinoctiall, written by Iohn Sarracoll Merchant in the same voyage.

THe 26. day of June, in the yeere 1586. and in the 28. yeere of the Queens maiesties raigne, we departed from Grauesend in two ships, the Admirall called the Red dragon, and the other the barke Clifford, the one of the burden of 260. tunnes, with 130. men, and the other of the burden of 130. tunnes, with 70. men: the captaine of the Admirall was M. Robert Withrington, of the Viceadmirall, M. Christopher Lister, both being furnished out at the costes and charges of the right honourable the Erle of Cumberland, hauing for their masters two brethren, the one Iohn Anthonie, and the other William Anthonie.

The 24. of July we came into the sound of Plimmouth, and being there constrained by Westerlie winds, to stay till the 17. of August, wee then departed with another ship also for our Rearadmirall called the Roe, whereof M. Hawes was captaine, and a fine pinnace also called the Dorothie, which was sir Walter Raleighs. We 4. being out in the sea, met the 20. of August, with 16. sailes of Hulkes in the fleete, who named themselues to be men of Hamborough, laden and come from Lisbone. Our Admirall hailed their Admirall with curteous wordes, willing him to strike his sailes, and to come aboord to him onely to know some newes of the countrey, but hee refused to do so, only stroke his flag and tooke it in. The Viceadmirall of the hulkes being a head, would neither strike flag nor saile, but passed on without budging, whereupon our Admirall lent him a piece of ordinance, which they repaied double, so that we grew to some litle quarell, whereupon one of the sternemost hulkes, being as I suppose more afraid then hurt, stroke amaine, our Admirall being neere him, laid him aboord, and entred with certaine of his men, how many I know not, for that we were giuing chase to the Windermost men, thinking our Admirall would haue come vp againe to vs, to haue made them all to haue stroke: but the weather growing to be very thicke and foggie, with small raine, he came not vp but kept with another of the hulkes which captaine Hawes had boorded and kept all night, and tooke out of her some prouision that they best liked. They learned of the men that were in the Hulke, that there were 7. hulkes laden in Lisbone with Spaniards goods, and because their lading was very rich, they were determined to go about Ireland, and so they let her goe againe like a goose with a broken wing.

The

The next day after being the 21. day, we eſpied 5. ſailes more, which laye along to the Eaſtwards, but by reaſon of the night which then was neere at hand, we coulde hardly come to them. Yet at laſt we hailed one of the biggeſt of them, and they told vs that they were all of Hambrough: but another ſaid ſhe was of Denmarke, ſo that in deede they knewneither what to ſay, nor what to doe. Our Admirall being more deſirous to follow his courſe, then to linger by chaſing the hulkes, called vs from purſuing them with his trumpet, and a piece of Ordinance, or els wee would haue ſeene what they had bene, and wherewith they had bene laden.

The 22. day becauſe of contrary winde we put into Dartmouth all 4. of vs, and tarried there 7. dayes.

The 29. we departed thence and put out to ſea, and beganne our voyage, thinking at the firſt to haue runne along the coaſt of Spaine, to ſee if we could haue mette with ſome good prize to haue ſent home to my Lord: but our Captaine thought it not the beſt courſe at the laſt, but rather kept off in the ſea from the coaſt. And vpon Saturday the 17. of September we fell with the coaſt of Barbarie, and the 18. hailed in with the roade of Sancta Cruz. The 21. day wee fell with one of the Iſlands of the Canaries, called Forteuentura. In running alongſt this Iſland, we eſpied vpon a hill by the water ſide, one wauing with a white flagge, whereupon wee manned both our boates, and ſent them towards the ſhoare, to vnderſtand what newes. They found them to be two ragged knaues and one horſeman, and they tolde vs that Lancerote was taken, and ſpoyled in Auguſt by the Turkes: when we ſaw they had nothing elſe to ſay, we left them, and proceeded in our courſe, and fell againe with the coaſt of Barbarie.

September.

Lancerota ſpoiled by the men of Algiers.

The 25. day of September about 10. of the clocke we fell with Rio de Oro, ſtanding iuſt vnder our Tropike: we ancred in the mouth of it in 8. fathome, the entrance of it is about 2. leagues ouer. And the next day our Captaine with the boate ſearched the Riuer, and found it to be as broad 14. or 15. leagues vp, as at the entrie of it, but founde no towne nor habitation, ſauing that there came downe 2. poore men, & one of them ſpake good Spaniſh, and told our Captaine, that certaine Frenchmen vſed to come thither, and laded ſome oxe hides, and goates hides, but other commoditie there was none. We departed thence the 27. day, and the laſt day of the moneth being calme we went aboorde our Generall, and there conſented to goe for Sierra Leona, to wood and water. From thence till the 10. of October we were much becalmed with extreeme hotte weather, much lightning, and great ſtore of raine. This 10. day we ſounded, finding a great currant as wee ſuppoſed by the ripling water, which after wee founde to be an ordinarie tide, the floud ſetting to the Northweſt, and the ebb Southeaſt, and here wee had but 18. fathome water, and no lande to be ſeene: it was on the ſouthermoſt part of the ſhowles that lye in about 11. degr. but halling South off againe, it preſently deeped vnto 50. fathome, and after halling Southeaſt, and by Eaſt, and Eaſt Southeaſt, we ſounded, but had no ground in 120. fathome.

Rio del Oro, in 23. degr. and a halfe.

October.

The 21. of October we fell with lande vpon the coaſt of Guinea, in the height of 8. degrees, a very high land, but of no great length: it was the high land ouer Sierra Leona. Wee drewe into the land, and found neere the ſhoare more water then in the offing: at the Northren ende of the high land we ancred about a mile, and ſomewhat more from the ſhoare in 11. fathome. To goe into the harbour of Sierra Leona we did borrowe vpon the Southſide, hauing no ground in 10. fathome, halfe a mile from the ſhoare. Upon the Northſide of this harbour is very ſhoale water, but on the Southſide no feare, more then is to be ſeene.

Sierra Leona.

The 23. day being Sunday wee came to an ancre in the Bay of freſh water, and going a ſhoare with our boate, wee ſpake with a Portingall, who tolde vs that not farre off there were Negroes inhabiting, and that in giuing to the king a Buttiſio of wine, and ſome linnen cloth, hee would ſuffer vs to water and wood at our pleaſure. But our Captaines thinking it not good to giue any thing for that which they might take freely, landed, and certaine of our men with them, whereupon the Portingall and the Negroes ranne all away into the woods. Then we returned againe into our boates, and preſently went and landed in another place, thinking to haue fetcht a walke, and ſo to come to our boates againe. But wandering through a little wood, wee were ſuddenly and vnawares vpon a towne of the Negroes, whereupon they ſtrooke vp their drumme, giuing withall a great ſhowt, and off went their arrowes as thicke as haile. We were in nomber about 30. calceuers, and 20. with our weapons, which we alſo let flie into the woods among them, and what hurt wee did, we know not.

A towne of the Negroes.

Then wee returned to our boates, and tooke wood and water at our pleaſure, and reaſonable ſtore of fiſhe, and amongſt the reſt wee hailed vp a great foule monſter, whoſe head and backe were ſo harde, that no ſworde coulde enter it: But being thruſt in vnder the belly in diuers places, and much wounded, he bowed a ſworde in his mouth, as a man woulde doe a

girdle of lether about his hande, and likewiſe the yron of a boare ſpeare: Hee was in length about nine foote, and had nothing in his bellie, but a certaine quantitie of ſmall ſtones, to the value of a pottel.

November. The fourth of Nouember wee went on ſhoare to a towne of the Negroes, which ſtoode on the Southeaſt ſide of the harbour, about a Sacar ſhotte from the roade, which wee founde to bee but lately built: it was of about two hundreth houſes, and walled about with mightie great trees, and ſtakes ſo thicke, that a ratte could hardly get in or out. But as it chaunced, wee came directly vpon a port which was not ſhutte vp, where we entred with ſuch fierceneſſe, that the people fledde all out of the towne, which wee founde to bee finely built after their faſhion, and the ſtreetes of it ſo intricate, that it was difficult for vs to finde the way out, that we came in at. Wee founde their houſes and ſtreetes ſo finely and cleanely kept, that it was an admiration to vs all, for that neither in the houſes nor ſtreetes was ſo much duſt to be founde, as would fill an egge ſhell. Wee founde little in their houſes, except ſome matts, goards, and ſome earthen potts. Our men at their departure ſet the towne on fire, and it was burnt (for the moſt part of it) in a quarter of an houre, the houſes being couered with reede and ſtrawe.

Another great and fine towne of the Negroes.

After this we ſearched the Countrey about it, where we found in diuers plaines good ſtore of rice in ſtackes, which our men did beate out, and brought aboord in the huſke, to the quantitie of 14. or 15. tunnes in both our ſhippes.

The 17. day of Nouember wee departed from Sierra Leona, directing our courſe for the Streight of Magellane. In this harbour diuers of our men fell ſicke of a diſeaſe in the belly, which for the time was extreeme, but (God bee thanked) it was but of ſmall continuance. Wee founde alſo in diuers places of the woods, images ſet vpon pinnes, with diuers thinges before them, as egges, meale, rice, rounde ſhot of ſtones, and diuers other thinges, ſuch as the barbarous people had to offer vp.

When we came neere to the Line, wee found it nothing ſo hot as it is at Sierra Leona, by reaſon of the great winde and raine.

About the 24. day of Nouember one or two of our men died, and others alſo were ſicke of a Calentura.

Ianuarie. The 2. day of Ianuarie wee had a little ſight of lande, being about the height of 28. degr. to the Southward of the Line.

The 4. day we fell with the ſhoare high and bolde, being in 30. degrees, and a terſe, little more or leſſe. All of it to the Northward was a high land, but to the Southwarde it did preſently faile, and was a very lowe land, and all ſandie. About ſixe leagues from the ſhoare wee ſounded, and had about 15. or 16. fadome water, and blacke ſandie oze. Wee thought to haue gone to the ſhoare, and to haue watered, but we could not diſcerne any good harbour, and therefore wee caſt off to ſeaward againe.

The 12. day wee found our ſelues in 32. degrees and 27. minutes. From the day of the Natiuitie of Chriſt, till the 13. day of this moneth, although the Sunne was very neere vnto vs, yet wee found no want of windes but variable as in England, and not ſo hotte but that a mans ſhoulders might well diſgeſt a friſe gowne, and his bellie the beſt Chriſtmas cheere in England, yet we for our parts had no want, but ſuch as might content honeſt men.

The tenth day being about 8. leagues from the ſhoare, and a little ſhort of the Riuer of Plate, it was my good happe to eſpie a ſaile, which was a ſmall Portingall bounde for the Riuer, to a towne called Sancta Fee: and from thence by horſe and cartes, the Marchants, and part of their goods were to be tranſported into Peru. This ſhip being about the burthen of 45. or 50. tunnes, we tooke that day about three of the clocke, wherein there was for Maſter or Pilote an Engliſhman called Abraham Cocke borne in Lee. We examined him and the reſt concerning the ſtate of the Riuer, and they tolde vs that there were in the Riuer 5. townes, ſome of 70. houſholds, and ſome of more. The firſt towne was about 50. leagues vp the Riuer called Bonos Ayres, the reſt ſome 40. ſome 50. leagues one from another, ſo that the vppermoſt towne is 230. leagues from the entrance of the Riuer, called Tuckaman. In the townes is great ſtore of corne, cattell, wine, and ſundry fruites, but no money of golde or ſiluer: they make a certaine kinde of ſlight cloth, which they giue in trucke of ſuger, rice, Marmalade, and Sucket, which were the commodities that this ſhippe had.

A Portingall ſhip taken, wherein was for Pilot Abraham Cocke an Engliſhman, left there before by the Minion of London 1581.

They had aboorde alſo 45. Negroes, whereof euery one in Peru yeelde 400. duckets a piece, and beſides theſe, there were as paſſengers in her, two Portingall women and a childe.

Another Portingal taken. The 11. day wee eſpied another ſaile, which was the conſort of this Portingall, and to him alſo wee gaue chaſe, and tooke him the ſame day: Hee was of the burthen of the other, and

had

had in her good store of suger, Marmalade, and Succats, with diuers other things, which we noted downe in our booke. In this shippe also we found about 35. Negro women, and foure or fiue friers, of which one was an Irish man, of the age of three or foure and twentie yeeres, and two Portingall women also, which were borne in the riuer of Genero. Both these shippes were bought in Brasile, by a yong man which was Factor for the bishop of Tuccaman, and the friers were sent for by that bishoppe to possesse a newe Monasterie, which the bishoppe was then a building. The bookes, beades, and pictures in her, cost (as one of the Portingals confessed) aboue 1000. duckats. *An Irish frier taken.*

Of these shippes wee learned, that M. John Drake, who went in consort with M. Fenton, had his barke cast away a little short of the Riuer of Plate, where they were taken captiues by the Sauages, all sauing them which were slaine in the taking: the Sauages kept them for a time, and vsed them very hardly, yet at the last Iohn Drake and Richard Faireweather, and 2. or three more of their company with them got a Canoa, and escaped, and came to the first towne of the Spaniards. Faireweather is maried in one of the townes, but Iohn Drake was caried to Tuccaman by the Pilot of this shippe, and was liuing, and in good health the last yeere. Concerning this voyage of the Portingals they told vs that it was the third voyage that was made into the riuer of Plate these 30. yeeres. *The newes of M. Iohn Drake.* *Richard Faire weather.*

The 12. of Ianuarie we came to Seale Iland, and the 14. day to the Greene Iland, where going in wee founde hard aboord the maine 8. fathome, 7. and 6. and neuer lesse then 5. fathome. There lies a ledge of rocks in the faire way, betwixt the Iland and the maine, so that you must be sure to borrowe hard aboord the maine, and leaue the ledge on the larboord side.

One of the Portingals which wee carried along with vs in our shippe, seemed to be a man of experience, and I entred into speach with him concerning the state of the Riuer: hee tolde mee that the towne of Bonos Ayres, is from the Greene Iland about 70. leagues, standing on the South side of the Riuer, and from thence to Sancta Fee, is 100. leagues, standing on the same side also. At which towne their shippes doe discharge all their goods into small barkes, which rowe and towe vp the Riuer to another towne called Ascension, which is from Sancta Fee 150. leagues, where the boates discharge on shoare, and so passe all the goods by cartes, and horses to Tuccaman, which is in Peru.

The towne of Ascension standes in a very fertile place, reaping corne twise in the yeere, with abundance of wine, cattell, and fruites. In the townes of Ascension, and Tuccaman, a rapier of 20. rials, is worth 30. duckats, a box of Marmalade 20. duckats: a looking glasse a foote ouer, is worth 30. li. pictures in tables of 14. inches, 30. and 40. li. a piece.

The 16. day wee went from Greene Iland to the watering place, which is about a league to the Westwarde, where wee tooke in about 18. tunnes of water, and the 22. day came againe to Seale Iland to make prouision of Seales, where a storme arose, which put vs in some danger, by the breaking of our ancres and cables, and the winde blew so colde, that we much marueiled at it, considering the height of the place. I must needes in this place finde fault with our selues and the whole company, that riding in this Riuer 16. dayes, the chanell was not sounded, nor the way made perfect.

The 29. day we tooke into our shippe one Miles, which was left in the West Indies by master Hawkins.

The 1. of Februarie I tooke the sunne in 38. degr. And the 3. day I tooke it againe & I found it to be 41. degrees. *Februarie.*

The 7. day of Februarie our Captaine M. Lister being in one of the pyles, hoysed ouer boorde his Gundelo, and went aboorde the Admirall, and being there they sent their Gundelo aboord vs, for our Master, M. Collins, and my selfe, and at our comming wee were called into the Captaines cabbin, where were set in counsell for matters touching the state of our voyage, these men whose names are vnder written.

Master Robert Withrington Captaine of the Admiral.
M. Christopher Lister Captaine of the Barke Clifford.
Iohn Anthonie, Master of the Admirall.
Thomas Hoode Pilot for the Streights.
William Anthony, Master of the Barke Clifford.
Dauid Collins. } Tristram Gennings.
Master William Withrington.
Master Beumond Withrington.
Master Wasnes. } Master Norton.

Maſter Wilkes.
Maſter Harris.
Thomas Anthonie.
Nicholas Porter.
The Maſter Gunner:
Alexander Gundie his mate.
Iohn Sarracol.

This companie being all aſſembled together, the Maſter of the Admirall declared that the cauſe of our aſſemblie was to determine after good aduice, what courſe or way were beſt and moſt likely to all mens iudgements to be taken. Firſt for the good preferment of my Lordes voyage, then the health of our men, and laſtly the ſafegard of our ſhips, and further ſhewed his minde to vs all in theſe wordes, as neere as I could carry them away.

My maſters, my Lords determination touching this our voyage is not vnknowen vnto you all, hauing appointed it to be made, and by the grace of God to be performed by vs for the South ſea. But for as much as we doe all ſee the time of the yeere to be farre ſpent, as alſo the windes to hang contrary, the weather drawes on colder and colder, the nights longer and longer, our bread ſo conſumed that we haue not left aboue two moneths biſket, our drinke in a maner al ſpent, ſo that we haue nothing but water, which in ſo colde a Countrey as the Streights, if we ſhould get in, and be forced there to winter, would no doubt be a great weakening to our men, and a hazard of the ouerthrowe of the voyage: theſe things conſidered, both our Captaine, Maſter Hood, and I, doe rather thinke it good for the wealth of our voyage, the health of our men, and ſafetie to our ſhippes, to goe roome with the coaſt of Braſill, where by Gods grace wee ſhall well victuall our ſelues, both with wine which is our greateſt want, and other neceſſaries.

Beſides, it is giuen vs here to vnderſtande, by the Portingals which we haue taken, that there is no doubt, but that by Gods helpe and our endeuour, wee ſhall be able to take the towne of Bayea at our pleaſure, which if wee doe put in practiſe, and doe not performe it, being ſomewhat aduiſed by them, they offer to looſe their liues. And hauing by this meanes victualed our ſelues, wee may there ſpende vpon the coaſt ſome three or foure moneths, except in the meane time wee may happen vpon ſome good thing to content my Lorde, and to purchaſe our owne credits: otherwiſe, wee may take the Spring of the yeere, and ſo proceede, according to my Lords directions. And aſſure your ſelues (by the aſſiſtance of God) wee will not returne without ſuch benefite by this voyage, as may redound to my Lords profite, and the honour of our Countrey. Now if there bee any of you, that can giue better courſe and aduiſe, then this which I haue deliuered, let him ſpeake, and wee will not onely heare him, but thanke him for his counſell, and followe it.

To this ſpeach of M. Anthonie, M. Liſter our Captaine anſwered in this ſort: M. Withrington, & M. Anthonie both, you know, that the laſt words that my Lord had with vs in ſuch a chamber was, that in any caſe we ſhould follow our voyage onely for the South ſea, except by the way, we might perchance meete with ſuch a purchaſe, as that we might returne with 6000. pounds: and therefore I ſee no ſafetie, howe wee may dare offer to goe backe againe, being ſo neere the Straights as we are: for my part I neither dare nor wil conſent vnto it, except we be further forced, then yet we are. My accompt is this, that he that dieth for this yeere is excuſed for the next, and I rather chooſe death, then to returne in diſgrace with my Lord.

Hereunto both the Captaine & M. of the Admirall replied that they were all of that minde: yet notwithſtanding, that in going roome the voyage was in better poſſibilitie to be performed, then in wintring either in the Streights, or at Port S. Iulian, all things conſidered. And ſo agreeing, and concluding all in one, they were determined preſently to beare vp.

The next day being the 8. of Febuarie, there fell out many and diuers ſpeaches on eche part concerning the altering of our courſe, ſome would continue for the Straights, and otherſome would not. Whereupon a viewe was taken in both ſhippes of victuals, and reaſonable ſtore was found for both companies: and the winde withall comming to the North, we determined to take out of the prizes the beſt neceſſaries that were in them, and ſo caſt them off, and to plie for the Streights.

They returne being in the latitude of 44. degrees.

All this time we helde on our courſe, and the 15. day wee found our ſelues in the height of 44. degrees, but then the winde came to the South, with much raine, winde, colde, and other vntemperate weather, continuing in that ſort 5. or 6. dayes, in which time we hulled backe againe into the height of 42. degrees.

Sunday being the 20. of Febuarie, our Admirall being ſomething to the leeward of vs,

and

and the ſtorme ſomewhat ceaſed, put abroade his flagge in the mizen ſhrowds, as a token that hee would ſpeake with vs, and thereupon wee bare roome with him, and hauing hailed one another, Captaine Withrington ſhewed the diſpoſition of all his companie, which was rather to go roome with the coaſt of Braſil, then to lie after that ſort in the ſea with foule weather, and contrary winds. Our Captaine on the other ſide, ſhewed the contrary diſpoſition of his men, and company, willing notwithſtanding to proceede: but in the ende, both the ſhippes fell aſunder, and our Captaine ſaid, Seeing then there is no remedie, I muſt be content, though againſt my will.

The 21. day the weather grewe faire, and the winde good at the South for the Streights, yet our Admirall bare roome ſtill, we ſuppoſing he would haue taken the benefite of the time: whereupon our whole companie beganne to thinke of the inconueniences that would ariſe by deuiding our ſelues, and looſing our Admiral, being very willing to continue their courſe, and yet not without the company of the Admirall. And then wee beganne to caſt about after him, and at the laſt bare with him, and hee tolde vs, that vpon a ſecond viewe of the victuals, hee founde their ſtore ſo ſlender, and their want ſo great, that there was no remedie for them but to ſeeke ſome meanes to be relieued, which was the onely cauſe that hee bare Northward. This ſpeache made vs of the Barke, to enter into a newe conſultation: and wee founde many of our men weake, and all our caleeuers not ſeruiceable, and the Smiths that ſhould mende them to be in the Admiral. Wee conſidered alſo, that by breaking of companie, eche ſhippe ſhoulde be the more weakened: we continued in this conſultation till the 24. day, and in all that time founde Maſter Captaine Liſter moſt deſirous to accompliſh, and to fulfill the voyage, and not willing in any caſe to turne his ſhippe, but that the deſire which we all had to continue in conſort with our Admirall, made vs to thinke wel of his companie, and in fine, an agreement and concluſion was thus made on all ſides, to follow the Admirall, without any more talke of the Streights till the Spring.

The 10. day of March, it fell out ſo vnfortunately, that Samuel Teller our Maſters mate, fell ouer boord, and ſo periſhed, we being not able by any meanes to recouer him. March.

The 28. day being in the height of 21. degr. we eſpied a ſaile, which we iudged came out of the Streights, and had rich lading, but the night being at hand, wee loſt her very vnluckely, and the next day could haue no ſight of her.

The 5. day of April we fell with the lande of Braſilia, in the height as I iudge of 16. degrees and a terſe, and our Captaine went then aboorde the Admirall, where they concluded to ſende the pinneſſe and our boate a ſhoare for freſh water, becauſe wee ſtoode in neede of it, which did ſo with 18. good men, and three or foure tunne of water caſke. They were from vs, till the 8. day in the morning, at which time wee eſpied them againe, and that day wee came all together into the roade of Camanao, where there came a Canoa aboorde vs, and one of the chiefeſt Portingals that belonged to the place. Here wee tooke in beeſes, hogges, water and wood at our pleaſure, hauing almoſt no man able to reſiſt vs, but ſome of our Portingals ſtole from vs in the Canoa. April.

The 11. day wee entred into the hauen of Bayea, where wee were receiued at the point comming in with two great pieces of Ordinance, which diſcharged bullets at vs 5. times a piece, but they loſt ſhotte and powder, and did vs no harme. After we had paſſed the point, wee halled in for the roade as cloſe as the winde would permit vs, but could not come ſo neere as we deſired, and therefore we came to an ancre a faire birth off the towne, not without great ſtore of ſhotte from thence, but yet our harme was none at all for ought they could doe. They come into the riuer of Bayea.

At our comming in, wee founde in the roade eight ſhippes and one caruell, of the which one was a hulke or double flie boate of the burden of 250. tunnes, hauing in her 24. pieces of good Ordinance: ſhee with the reſt of the ſhippes, together with the towne, gaue vs ſhotte, and ſhotte, but not one touched ſo much as any of our ſailes. And leaſt wee ſhoulde ſeeme in the meane time to be idle, wee repayed for euery ſhot of theirs, two or three ſometimes at the ſhippes and the towne together.

The next day at night wee thought to haue halled in with the ſhippes, and to haue fetched out ſome of them: but the winde blewe then off the ſhoare, ſo that we could not poſſibly doe it. And againe the next day at night we concluded to goe with our owne two boates, and two other boates of the Countrey which we had taken before, which went with caruel ſailes into the roade, and accordingly performed the ſame, notwithſtanding the ſhotte of the enemie. The Moone did ſhine, and gaue very good light, and in wee went with our caruels and boates, and the ſhotte came about our eares as thicke as haile: but the Portingals and the reſt, perceiuing vs no whitte at all to ſhrinke or bee diſmayed, forſooke their ſhippes, and beganne to prouide to ſaue themſelues, ſome with their boates, ſome by ſwimming, and ſo wee entred the ſhippes with a great

ſhowte, and found few to reſiſt vs: but yet the ſhoare not being a cables length from vs, they did ſo plie both their great and ſmall ordinance at vs, that it much annoyed vs: But yet for all that we made light of their ſhotte, and our men of the Barke Clifforde entred the Admirall and Vice admirall, and our Admirals men entred two other ſhippes of the like burden, and preſently euery one cut the cables in the Hauſe, and ſo by the helpe of God in deſpight of them all, wee brought away foure of them. The leaſt whereof was of the burthen of one hundreth and thirtie Tunnes.

They take 4. ſhips out of the harbor of Bayea, notwithſtanding the ſhot of the enemie.

In this broile the hulke ſhotte at vs many times, but did no hurt at all: but at the laſt wee comming by the hulke towing our newe prizes, wee hailed them and demaunded whence they were, they anſwered vs of Fluſhing, and then we commaunded him to waye ancre, and to come after vs: And not daring to refuſe it, hee did ſo, and brought with him a caruell with fourtie or fiftie buttes of wine in her, and another ſmall barke, which had little or nothing in her: and ridde by vs as one of our companie, and was a ſhippe of the burthen of 250. tunnes. Our hard happe was to finde no great matter, either of Marchandiſe or victuals in theſe ſhippes, ſauing in one of them we found 4. buttes of wine, in another 2. in another one, and ſome fiſh, and all the reſt of their lading was on ſhoare.

All this was done vpon Eaſter eue, and we gaue thankes to God, that wee had ſpedde ſo well: and that very night there came a boate from the Towne, with a Dutch Marchant, and one Portingal, to offer ſome ranſome for the ſhips, as they ſaid, but as I iudge rather to eſpie our ſtrength: we kept them that night aboord, and the next day we ſent them to our Admirall.

The next day being Eaſter day aroſe a very great ſtorme, inſomuch that our caruel which we firſt tooke brake from vs, and one of our newe prizes alſo, by meanes of the breaking of her cable, ſlipt away: whereupon, although the winde was great, and the ſea troubleſome, yet we ſent certaine of our men in our boate, to recouer them if they might, but we feare, that the rage of the weather hath cauſed vs to leeſe our men, and prizes to.

In the middeſt of this ſtorme, our two Spaniards which wee tooke in the Riuer of Plate, ſeeing vs all buſie about our prizes, beganne to thinke howe they might eſcape our handes, and ſuddenly ſlipt both out of one of the Cabbins windowes, and by ſwimming gotte a ſhoare, a thing which ſeemed to vs impoſſible, conſidering the outrage of the weather.

This ſtorme continued long, and preuented vs of making our intended attempt againſt the towne, hauing as much to doe as poſſibly we might, in keeping our ſhips and prizes from running a ſhoare, and falling into the hands of thoſe that ſtood gaping greedily for our ruine.

The 19. day the ſtorms being a litle ceaſed, wee all waied and came to an Iſlande that lyeth neere Northweſt from the Bay, and the 20. day wee went on ſhoare, and our Carpenters ſet vp our pinneſſe.

The 23. day the people of the Countrey came downe a maine vpon vs, and beſet vs rounde, and ſhot at vs with their bowes, and arrowes, but in ſhort time we cauſed them to retire, and many of them were caried away by the helpe of their fellowes, although wee had ſome of our men hurt with ſome of their arrowes.

The 24. day we receiued out of the caruell 12. buttes of wine, and 4. barrels of oyle, and halfe a quarter.

The 26. of Aprill our pinneſſe was launched: and the ſame day came downe vnto vs a great nomber of Portingals and Indians, with whom we ſkirmiſhed the ſpace of 2. houres to their coſt.

The 2. day of May the Admirals boate went a ſhoare with 14. men to fill water, and preſently being on ſhoare, they were intrapped with two or 300. Indians which aſſaulted them, and ſlew one or two of our men, but the reſt eſcaped notwithſtanding the nomber of the enemie, and came ſafe againe with water to the ſhippe. We ſuffered this loſſe by meere negligence, and want of circumſpection.

The 5. day the Captaine of the Admiral himſelfe, tooke a ſmal barke, his owne litle caruel, our pinneſſe & the Dutchmans boate, & at night went to ſhoare to get victuals, amongſt the bullockes which were in the fields: and in the morning they were gone ſo farre, that they were out of ſight. Which being perceiued by ẏ enemie, they preſently made ready their gally for Admirall, with 4. caruels, with as many men in them as poſſibly could thruſt in and ſtand one by another: and they bare ouer with the North ſhoare to meete with our pinneſſe & boats: whereupon our men fell into great danger, although M. Liſter our Captaine diſſwaded M. Withrington from that attempt, by laying before him the danger both of himſelfe & vs alſo, being ſo far one from the other. But being once gone, there was no remedy but they were to abide whatſoeuer might happen: we in the barke Clifford, although we were weakly left, yet perceiuing ẏ gally to make after our men, we waied

and

and purſued the Gallie, as neere the ſhoare as we could conueniently come for want of water: the Hulke alſo waied, and came after vs, to followe the enemie, but the enemie with his oares gotte ſight of our Pinneſſe, and boates before we could, and bare directly with them: which being eſpied of our men, and they ſeeing no way to auoide them, made themſelues readie, (notwithſtanding the great odds) to fight it out like men, and to liue, and die together. The courſe that they tooke for their beſt aduantage vppon the ſudden, was this: they went all into the Pinneſſe, and made faſt the Dutchmans boate to one ſide, and the ſmall Caruell to the other ſide, and ſo waited the comming of the enemie, giuing them firſt of all a peece of Ordinance for their welcome, which they preſently repaied againe with a peece out of the prowe of the Gallie, and preſently after, with three or foure ſmall braſſe peeces, charged with haile ſhotte, and ſo giuing a mightie ſhoote, came all aboord together, crying, entra, entra, but our men receaued them ſo hotly, with ſmall ſhots and pikes, that they killed them like Dogges. And thus they continued aboord them, almoſt a quarter of an howre, thinking to haue deuoured our men, pinneſſe, and all. And ſurely to mans iudgement, no other thing was likely, in regard of their great number, and the fewnes of our men, if they at the firſt thought that all was their owne: but God, who is the giuer of all victories, ſo bleſſed our ſmall companie, & ſo ſtrengthned their armes, and minds to fight, that the enemie hauing receaued a mightie foile, was glad to ridde himſelfe from their handes: and whereas at their entrance, we eſteemed them to be no leſſe then betwixt two hundred, and three hundred men in the Gallie, we could ſcarſe perceaue twentie men at their departure ſtande on their legges, but the greater part of them was ſlaine, many deadly wounded, their oares broken, and ſhe departed from our men, hanging vpon one ſide, (as a Sowe that hath loſt her left eare) with the number of dead and wounded men, that lay one vpon another. And whereas their comming aboord was in a great brauado, with drumme, ſhooting, and crying, they departed without either noiſe of drumme, or ſpeech.

A maruelous deſeate of the Portingals by a few of our men.

We loſt in this conflict of our men, three onely, which were Alexander the Maſter Gunners mate, Laurence Gambrell a proper yong man of Hampton, and another that was Maſter Benmans man. Some alſo were hurt with the arrowes of the enemie, but the wounds are curable: and thus it pleaſed Almightie God, of his great goodnes, to giue victorie to 50. or 60. Engliſhmen, againſt 6. or 700. Portingals and Indians, for which we ceaſed not to giue ſuch dutifull thankes to his Maieſtie, as ſo miraculous a victorie deſerued.

Now touching the purpoſe of our men, who made that attempt for freſh victuals, their labour was nothing loſt, but in deſpite of the enemie, they brought to our ſhips 16. or 17. yong bullocks, which was to our great comforts, and refreſhing. As for vs that were in our ſhip, we could not come neere them by two mile, or more, to giue them any aide, yet we ſuppoſe that the countenance of our ſhippes was an encouragement to our men, and ſome manner of feare to the enemie.

Nowe whereas our opinion concerning the number of the Portingals, and Indians, which were ſlaine, as aforeſaid, was grounded at that time vpon our probable coniecture, not being able otherwiſe to come to the knowledge thereof: you ſhall vnderſtande, that the next night after the fight, there came aboord vs, two Indians vpon a Gyngatho, who were runne away from their Maſters: and they told vs for a very good truth, that the Gallie went out from the Towne with 400. men in her, but there came not backe to the Towne againe aliue, aboue thirtie of them all: and I amongſt the reſt, being deſirous to knowe of one of them, what the newes was at the Towne, he anſwered me with great laughter: Todo eſta cacadoo en Terra.

The twelfth day, I was ſent for to come aboord the Admirall, about the Hulke: where vpon the complaint of the Dutch men, Maſter Withrington entred into bande to them for the payment of their fraight, but howe my Lorde will like that bande of debt at our returne, I knowe not. I gaue him my aduiſe, and counſell, to get his band againe into his handes.

The thirteenth day, our Captaine ſent out of our ſhippe certaine victuals into the Admirall, as one butte of bight riſe, two cheſts of cleane riſe, one barrell of oatmeale, one barrell of peaſon, and one barrell of oyle, becauſe they were ſomewhat ſcanted of victuals, and we at this time are to haue out of the Admirall our part of fiue and twentie cheſts of fine ſuger, and more, of eight cheſts, and ſixe cheſts that were taken in the Baye of Todos Santos, at the Engenios, more of one hundred and thirtie hats, and other diuers pillages, which were taken in the priſes, and at the ſhoare.

The 14. day, being Munday, it was concluded amongeſt vs all, not to leaue the Towne of Bayea ſo, but notwithſtanding the time that they had to ſtrengthen themſelues, and the Towne, yet to giue an attempt for the winning of it: and therefore we prouided our Pinneſſes, Caruels, and boates, for the enterpriſe: and as we were departing from our ſhippes, the winde turned directly

rectly contrarie to our course, so that our determination for that time was broken, and we returned againe to our shippes: and to say the trueth, if the weather and wind had serued, our attempt had bene very desperate, considering the number of Portingals and Indians which were then gathered together, to be 7. or 8000. and their artillerie vpon the shoare, playing vpon vs: but neuertheless, we had proceeded, if the windes had fauoured vs.

The 16. day we went to certaine Ingenios of the Portingals, where we found the people fled, and we entred their houses without resistance. We founde in their purging house 1000. pots of suger, some halfe purged, some a quarter, and some newly put into the pots: so that euery man tooke his pot of suger for their prouision, and set all the rest on fire.

The 17. day we all waied to goe to another Ingenio, to see if we could finde there better suger, and in the way, we met with a prise, which was a Caruell, which we found driuing with the weather, and entred her, and had in her onely three Fawlcons of yron, which our pinnesse brought away, and sette the shippe on fire. Dalamor in the small prise ranne so farre in, that he brought his shippe on ground, where she laye three or foure howres, till such time as there came from the Towne fiue Caruels full of men, which being perceaued of vs, our Captaine, with our men, went to him to aide him. The Caruels came within Fawlcon shot of vs, but durst come no neerer, least they might haue tasted of the like banket, that they receaued the last time. About halfe flood, came the Gally againe, and three Caruels more, but before they came, the barke was a floate, and set saile: and then they all went to gard their Ingenios, which we had purposed to visite: but the night comming on, perswaded vs to the contrary.

The 19. day we set saile to goe into the roade of Bayea againe, with our pinnesses, and a flag of truce, to see if we could recouer our foure men, which remained aliue of those ten, that perished in our boate, of whome we spake before. which foure were vnfortunately fallen into their hands: but they at our approching neere the towne, shot at vs, and we as ready as they, gaue them in all 27. shot, and so ankered a little from the Towne, to see what they would doe.

The 20. day riding still before the Towne, our Admirall sent a Negro a shoare, with letters from the Portingals, that wee had prisoners a boord: the effect of which letters, was, that if wee might haue our men released, and deliuered vs, they should haue theirs from our ships.

The next day in the morning, in steede of their bloodie flagge, they put vp two white flagges, and sent a Gingatho off to vs with two Indians, with letters of answere from the Gouernour: but they would not consent in any case that we should haue our men, and willed their Portingals to take their captiuitie patiently, for they would not redeeme them: a motion they made in their letters, to buy againe one of their prises, which wee had taken out of the roade: but our Admirall answered them, no, seeing they detained our men, wee would keepe both their men, and shippes too. The same euening wee waied, and came out of the Hauen, halfe a league to Seaward.

The 22. we set saile to sea, and the 23. came to an Island 12. leagues to the Southward of Bayea, to wood, and water.

The 24. day being abroad with our pinnesses, we met with a Canoa, wherein was one Portingall, and sixe Indians: we shot at the Canoa, and killed an Indian, and tooke the Portingall, and one of the Indians, and brought them aboord our shippes: we there examined them, and the Portingall confessed that there was a shippe laden with meale, and other victuals, bound for Fernanbucke, but put into a creeke, because she durst not goe along the coast, hearing of our shippes. Whereupon we manned both our pinnesses, and tooke the Portingall with vs, to goe and seeke the same shippe, but that night we could not finde her.

The 26. day we went againe, and found her, being hailed vp into a creeke, where a man would haue thought a shippe boate could not haue entred: we found her in deede laden with meale principally: but she had also in her fourteene chests of suger, of which two were in powder, and twelue in loaues. This shippe was of the burden of one hundred and twentie tunnes, and a new shippe, this being the first voyage that euer she made, and as the Portingall confessed, she was freighted for Fernanbucke, but the men of Bayea hauing great want of bread, bought both the ship and her lading, and so thought to stay her in this creeke, till wee were gone off the coast: but it was our good happe, to disappoint their pretense, and to fetch her from thence, where they thought her as safe as if she had bene at Lisbone.

The 28. day we deuided the meale amongst vs, according to the want of euery shippe.

The 30. day, 16. or 17. Dutchmen went with their boate from the Hulke to shoare, to fill water: and vpon a sudden they were assaulted with 50. or 60. Portingals, and so many more Indians armed with shot, and other weapons, and they slew their Master, & Purser, and the rest were hurt,

hurt,but yet eſcaped with their liues: a good warning for vs, to be circumſpect, and carefull in our landing.

The laſt day of May,we caſt off one of our priſes, which we called the George, and our Admirall,and the Hulke tooke the men,and other neceſſaries out of her,into them. The ſame day the Portingals which had hurt the Dutch men,came to the ſhoare,and dared vs to come a land:wherevppon we went into our pinneſſes with 40. ſhotte: but the cowardly villanes ranne all away to the hils,from the water ſide: but Maſter Liſter,with nine men, followed them, and they fled ſtill before them,and durſt not ſtay their approch: ſo they came backe againe, and wee filled water quietly,and at our pleaſure.

The third day of June,our Captaine Maſter Liſter,hauing a great deſire for the performance of this voyage according to my Lords direction,went to our Admirall,and requeſted him to giue him 6. buts of wine, 1. barrell of oile, 3. or 4. barrels of flesh,and to haue Thomas Hood,and 7. or 8. ſeamen,for ſome of our landmen, and by Gods helpe,he with the barke Clifford, would alone proceede for the ſouth ſea: but the Admirall mightily withſtoode his motion, and would grant no iote of his particular requeſts. June.

The 7. of June,hauing no vſe at all of our priſes,we burnt one,and caſt off another, and filled our owne ſhippes with the neceſſaries of them.

The 8. day we put off to ſea,but yet with much adoe came againe to our ankring place,becauſe of the weather.

The 10. day,the Admirall ſent for vs to come aboord him, and being come,he opened a Carde before all the companie, and tolde vs, that my Lordes voyage for the South ſea, was ouerthrowen for want of able men, and victuals, and that therefore he thought it beſt to plye for ſome of the Iſlands of the Weſt India, or the Aſores, to ſee if they could meete with ſome good purchaſe, that might ſatiſfie my Lorde. Theſe words were taken heauily of all the companie, and no man would anſwer him, but kept ſilence,for very griefe to ſee my Lordes hope thus deceaued, and his great expenſes and coſts caſt away. The common ſort ſeeing no other remedie, were contented to returne as well as he.

The 16. day,wee eſpied a ſaile,whereupon our pinneſſe,and Dalamor gaue her chaſe, and put her a ſhoare vpon the Iſland,where the men forſooke her, and ran away with ſuch thinges as they could conueniently carry: our pinneſſe boorded her, and found little in her: they tooke out of her 9. cheſts of ſuger,and one hogge,and 35. peeces of pewter, and ſo left her vpon the ſands.

From this time forward,we began to ply northwards,and the firſt of July fel with the land againe, where we fiſhed,and found reaſonable good ſtore. I tooke the latitude that day,and founde our ſelues in 10. deg. 22. minuts. July.

The 7. day we determined to fall with Fernanbucke, and we came ſo neere it, that Dalamor (as he told vs) eſpied ſome of the ſhips that were in the harbour: yet notwithſtanding we all fel to leeward of the riuer,and could not after that, by any meanes recouer the heigth of it againe: but we ceaſed not on all parts,to endeuour the beſt we could, and oftentimes loſt companie for a day or two,one of another,but there was no remedie,but patience, for to Fernanbucke wee could not come,hauing ſo much ouerſhot it to the northward,and the wind keeping at the ſouth,& ſouthweſt.

The 20. day I tooke the Sunne in 5. deg. 50. minuts, which was 2. deg. to the northward of Fernanbucke,and the further we went,the more vntowardly did the reſt of our ſhips worke,either to come into hauen,or to keepe companie one with another. And truly I ſuppoſe, that by reaſon of the froward courſe of the Admirall,he meant of purpoſe to loſe vs: for I knowe not how the neerer we endeuoured to be to him,the further off would he beare from vs,and we ſeeing that,kept on our owne courſe,and lookt to our ſelues as well as we could.

The 24. day,our whole companie was called together to conſultation,for our beſt courſe: ſome would goe for the Weſt India,ſome directly north for England, and in concluſion, the greater part was bent to plie for our owne Countrey,conſidering our neceſſaries of victuals, and freſhe water,and yet if any place were offered vs in the way,not to omit it,to ſeeke to fill water.

The 26. day in the morning,we eſpied a lowe Iſland,but we loſt it againe,and could deſcry it no more. This day we found our ſelues in 3. deg. 49. minuts.

The 27. day we ſearched what water we had left vs, and found but 9. buts onely, ſo that our Captaine allowed but a pinte of water for a man a day,to preſerue it as much as might be, wherwith euery man was content,and we were then in number 50. men and boyes.

The 1. of Auguſt,we found our ſelues 5. degrees to the Northward of the line, all which moneth we continued our courſe homeward, without touching any where: toward the ende whereof,a ſorrowfull accident fell out in our Hulke,which being deuided from vs in a calme,fel a fire by Auguſt.

ſome

some great negligence, and perished by that meanes in the seas, we being not able any waies to helpe the shippe, or to saue the men.

The 4. day of September, we had brought our selues into the heigth of 41. degrees, 20. minuts, somewhat to the northwards of the Ilands of the Asores: and thus bulting vp and downe with contrarie windes, the 29. of the same moneth, we reached the coast of England, and so made an ende of the voyage.

A very exact and perfect description of the distances from place *to place, from the riuer of Plate, till you come to Pette Guaras, north-* ward, and beginning againe at the riuer of Plate, till you come to the ende of the Streights of Magellan, Southwards, with the degrees of latitude, wherein euery place standeth.

The riuer of Plate.

THe Riuer of Plate standeth in 35. degrees, 10. minuts, vpon the North side of the point there lieth an Iland, a league off the shoare.

Lobato.

From Lobato to the Cape Santa Maria, the land lieth northeast, and southwest, and betweene them are 55. leagues.

Santa Maria.

Southeast from the Cape of Santa Maria, there lieth an Iland two leagues off the shoare: and there is a good roade steede betweene it and the maine, and the maine land is lowe land.

The port of S. Pedro.

From the Cape of Santa Maria, to the port of Santo Pedro, you haue 42. leagues, and all low land, and the land lieth Northeast, and southwest: and on the South side of the port of Santo Pedro, there lieth a point of a sand, which lieth a good league off the shoare.

Martin de Souza. Laguna.

From the porte of Santo Pedro, to the port of Martin de Souza, you haue 52. leagues, and the land lieth Northeast, and Southwest, and from the porte of Martin de Souza, to the Laguna, you haue 42. leagues, and the land higher. The course is northeast, and by north, and Southwest, and by South: and there is an Iland 2. leagues off the shoare, where there is a good roade steede for ships.

Dunde Reca.

From the Laguna to the porte of Dunde Reca, you haue 5. leagues, and it is a very good roade for all windes, sauing a northeast wind: and from the porte of Dunde Reca, to the riuer of Patus, you haue 10. or 11. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south, and stands in 29. degrees.

The riuer of Patus. Santa Catherina.

The mouth of that riuer doth shut with an Iland, called S. Katherins Iland, which is a great Iland of 8. or 9. leagues long, which Iland lieth north, and South: and on the East side, it hath no roade, but one small Iland, which lieth at the south ende, and another at the north ende, called the Iland of Arburetso, which sheweth as a great Baye, going in betweene S. Katherins Iland, and the maine: in which Baye you may come to an anker, and there are many small Ilands: and the northern ende of S. Katherins Iland stands in 28. degrees.

The riuer of S. Francisco.

From S. Katherins Iland, to the riuer of S. Francisco, you haue 26. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south, and the riuer of S. Francisco hath a great mouth, and lieth vp East, and West, and hath three Ilands, where you may come to an anker, and the maine land is high, and ragged.

Cannanea.

From the riuer of S. Francisco to Cannanea, you haue 15. leagues, the lande lieth northeast, and southwest, and in the mouth, there is a small Iland, that riseth like a saddle, and is a good roade, and stands in 26. degrees, and the maine land is high, and ragged.

S. Vincent.

From Cannanea to S. Vincent, you haue 40. leagues, and the land lieth northeast, and by east, and southwest, and by west. S. Vincent stands in 23. degrees, 30. minuts, and hath a small Iland in the mouth, bearing west, northwest off you, and is called the Hennes gillard.

S. Sebastians Iland.

From S. Vincent to S. Sebastians Iland, you haue 12. leagues, and the course lieth east north east, and west southwest, and this Iland is a great Iland, and when you come out of the Sea, it sheweth like a Cape land, and southwest from that Iland, there lieth a small Iland, called the Iland of Alcatrarzes, and sheweth a high pinnacle.

The Iland of Alcatrarzes. Angra-deris.

From S. Sebastians Iland, to Angra-deris, you haue 16. leagues, and the land lieth east north-east, and west southwest, and from Angra-deris, to the riuer of Genero, you haue 18. leagues. The riuer of Genero stands in 23. degrees, and riseth with high hils, and one of the hils sheweth like the toppe of a shippe, and hath in the mouth many small Ilands, and a high pinnacle on the West side, and is called the suger loafe.

The riuer of Genero.

Cape Frio.

From the riuer of Genero, to Cape Frio, you haue 18. leagues, and the land lieth East, and west, and this Cape when you come out of the Sea, sheweth like an Iland, and round: and when you come neere, it sheweth like a rocke, with many white strokes in it, and in the highest part of it

it

it riſeth broken, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 23. degrees, and to the Northward of the Cape, but two leagues from it is the Baye Formoſa, and hath in the mouth of it 4. or 5. ſmall Iſlands, and betweene the maine and them, is a good roade, and on the north ſide the Baye, there is a ſtone houſe by a ſmall riuer. The Baye Formoſa.

From Cape Frio, to the Baye of Saluador, you haue nine leagues: and on the South ſide of the ſame Baye, there are many Iſlands, and the land lieth north and ſouth, vntill you come to S. Iames Iſland, which is 12. leagues to the northward of the Cape. This Iſland of S. Iames, is two leagues off the ſhoare, and hath two Iſlands hard by yt, that ſhewe all one thing, and there is a good roade betweene the maine, and the Iſland, a Fawlcon ſhot off the Iſland, and there is no danger, but that which you ſee. This Iſlande ſtands in 22. degrees, and 20. minuts, and hath vpon it wood, water, and fowle. The Baye of Saluador. The Iſland of S. Iago.

From the Iſland of S. Iames, to the Cape of S. Thome, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 22. degrees. Cape S. Thome.

From the Cape of S. Thome, to Para yua, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees, 40. minuts. Para yua.

From Para yua to Mannage, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees. Manage.

From Mannage to Tapemere, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 21. degrees. Tapemere.

From Tapemere to Gleretebe,, you haue 4. or 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and the ſaid point of Gleretebe hath a ledge of rockes, which lieth a league and a half off into the ſea, and the point is lowe land, and ſtands in 20. degrees, 45. minuts. Gleretebe.

From the point of Gleretebe to Guarrapare, you haue 7. leagues, and the courſe lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt: this Guarrapare hath an Iſland lying off it, which is round, and is called Iſland Saluado, or barren, lying a league and a halfe off the ſhoare, and the maine lande is high hils, and ragged, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 20. degrees, 30. minuts, and to the northward of this Guarrapare, you haue 3. Iſlands, which lie about 3. leagues off the maine lande, and betweene the maine and them, halfe a league off the ſhoare is a good roade. Guarrapare.

From Guarrapare to Spiritus Santus, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth North and by Eaſt, and South, and by Weſt, and Spiritus Santus hath a ledge of rocks, lying off the northeaſt point: and from this point about two leagues vp into the lande, you ſhall ſee a round high hill, which ſtands alone by himſelfe, which is very ragged, which is called the hill of Maſter Alue, or Maſter Hill, and you ſhall ſee hence a great way off at ſea. This Spiritus Santus is a great Baye, and hath many ſmall Iſlands in the middes, or mouth, and the riuer lieth vp northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and ſtands in 20. degrees large. Spiritus Santus.

From Spiritus Santus to the riuer Mangus, you haue 6. leagues, and the land lieth North, and South, and this riuer Mangus maketh vp in the land 3. hils, like round Iſlands, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 19. degrees, 40. minuts. The riuer Mangus.

From the riuer Mangus to the riuer Doulce, you haue 7. or 8. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and it is very flat, a league and a halfe off the ſhoare, and the land is lowe land, and vp in the land is a high hill, which lieth along, as the coaſt lieth, and this riuer ſtands in 19. degrees, 20. minuts. Rio Doulce.

From riuer Doulce to Crearere, you haue 17. leagues, and the land lieth North, and South, and this Crearere on the ſouth ſide, ſheweth as 4. openings, a league one from another. and two of them high land, and the other two lowe land, and they are all ſo alike, that it ſheweth all one riuer, till you come neere it, and ſtands in 18. degrees, 45. minuts. Crearera.

From Crearere to Maranepe, you haue ten leagues, and the land lieth North, and by Eaſt, and South, and by Weſt, and hath in the mouth of the riuer a white cleefe, which ſheweth like a ſheete, which is a good marke, and ſtands in 18. degrees, 15. minuts. Maranepe.

From Maranepe to Parrewepe, you haue 5. leagues, and the land lieth northeaſt, and ſouthweſt, and off this Parrewepe, lieth a high point of land, with many trees on it, and becauſe it is all ſhoale to ſeaward, from the mouth of the harbour, you ſhall ſee the ſhoales of Aburalus, and when you goe from Parrewepe, you ſhall ſet a leagne off into the ſea, and then you ſhall goe northeaſt, becauſe of the Baye, which is very dangerous, and when you ſee the ſhoales to ſeaward, you ſhall runne in 6. or 7. fathom, and finde ſoft ſande: then are you in the channell directly, and when you come as high as the point of Parawepe, by the way that you haue made, you ſhall finde your ſelf a league off: and in finding your ſelfe more then a leagne off, hall neere in for feare of running on the ſhoales to ſeaward. Parewepe. The ſhoales of Aburalus.

From

The riuer of Caruels. From Parrewepe to the riuer of Caruels, you haue 3. leagues, and the Channell will shewe you how you shall steere away, and you may boldly borrowe on the shoales to seaward, because the mouth of the riuer of Caruels is very shoald, and hath many sands.

The red cliffe. From the riuer of Caruels, to the ende of the red cliffe, you haue 5. or 6. leagues, and this way you haue no danger: but take heede of the breakings that you see: but as for the shoales of Goshowe, they doe not breake, therefore looke well out.

The shoales of Goshowe.

The cliffe of Corebabo. From the ende of the red cliffe to Corebabo, you haue two leagues, and take heede that you go not aboue a league and a halfe off the shoare: for in all this way from the red cliffe to Corebabo, there lieth a point of sand, and assoone as you be past the point of the rockes, you shall steere right with the sand northeast, till you come within a stones cast of it, and then steere hence East, till you thinke the shoales are a sterne of you to seaward, and then turne to your way, about the coast, and this point of Corebabo, stands in 17. degrees.

Porte Seguro. From this point of Corebabo to porte Seguro, you haue 28. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south, and take heede when you come as high as porte Seguro, of the shoales to Seaward, which are very ill. This porte Seguro, hath great red cliffs which stand at the foote of the towne: and if you doe meane to goe into the harborough, bring your selfe East, and West off the cliffs, and then steere right with them, till you come within the point of the rockes, and then steere hence South: for the North side of the Riuer is all shoalde, and the Riuer stands in 16. degrees, 30. minuts.

Santa Cruz. From the riuer of porte Seguro, to Santa Cruz, you haue 3. leagues, and it is a good harborough for small ships: but take heede of the dangers that you see.

Rio Grande. From Santa Cruz, to the arme of the grand riuer, you haue 9. or 10. leagues, and take heede that in all this way you come not within 3. leagues of the shoare: for there lie many shoaldes in the way, and the land lieth North northeast, and South southwest, and ouer the arme of this Rio Grande, you shall see 3. hils of wood, which shewe like Islands, which is a very good marke, and stands in 15. degrees, 30. minuts.

Illeas. From Rio Grande to Illeas, or the Islands, you haue 18. leagues, and the land lieth north, and South, and in this way you haue no shoaldes, but 3. or 4. leagues off: and if you will goe into the Islands, keepe alwaies along the shoare, in sight of the sande, for otherwise you can not see the Islands, because they are litle, and assoone as you see them, steere right with the greatest of them, and betweene the shoare, and there is very good riding, and if you will goe into the riuer, the Channell lieth from the greatest Island to the mouth of the riuer, north, and south, and stands in 14. degrees 45. minuts.

The riuer of Contas. From the riuer Illeas, to the riuer of Contas, you haue 8. leagues, and the land lieth north, and south: this riuer hath many rockes lying in the mouth of it, and to seaward there lieth a small Island, like a rocke: if you will goe into the riuer of Contas, borrow neere that rocke, for on the other side it is all flat.

Camamo. From the riuer of Contas to Camamo, you haue 6. leagues, and this Camamo hath a wide mouth, and off the point of the North shoare, you shall see an Island, which is called the Island of Cayepe: take heede you come not too neere it, for it hath many shoalds off it: but borrowe on the south side, for there goeth in the Channell, where you shall finde 5. or 6. fathome water: and from thence to Guepena, you haue 3. leagues.

The Island of Cayepe.

Guepena. From Guepena to Tenyere, you haue 4. leagues, and Tenyere on the south side sheweth a high hill, which bearing northwest of you, will rise like a Gallie, with his keele vpward, and if you will goe in, be bold to borrow on the south side, and you shall goe in 5. or 6. fathome, and stands in 13. degrees: this high hill is called the Moore of S. Pablo.

The Moore of S. Pablo. Bayea. From the Moore of S. Pablo to Bayea, you haue 12. leagues, and the course is northeast, and southwest, and if you see white sand, you are to the northward of Bayea, in the point of Lappeane, which point sheweth white peeces in the land, like cloth a drying, and Bayea stands in 12. degrees 30. minuts.

Riuer Royall. From Bayea to the riuer Royall, you haue 26. leagues, and the lande lieth Northeast, and southwest, and the point of Tapeane stands in 13. degrees. If you goe out of Bayea, for the northward, you must hall off east, and by north, till you be 30. or 40. leagues off from the currant.

The riuer of S. Francisco. From riuer Royall to the riuer of S. Francisco, you haue 17. leagues, and the lande lieth northeast, and southwest, and stands in 11. degrees large.

Gurra point. From the riuer of S. Francisco, to the point of Gurra, you haue 15. leagues, and the lande lieth north northeast, and south southwest, and stands in 10. degrees, 20. minuts.

Camare Guba From the point of Gurra, to the cleffs of Camare Guba, you haue 6. leagues, & these are great high

high cleeffs, which is a good marke, and it is a good road ſteede for all weſterly winds and from theſe cleeffes to the riuer of Stones you haue 5. leagues, and the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt.

From the riuer of Stones to the Cape Saint Auguſtine you haue 12. leagues, and the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, and this cape when you come out of the ſea, ſeemeth a hill like a ſaddle, which ſtandeth alone, lying next hand eaſt and by north, and weſt and by ſouth from the cape vp into the land, and comming along the coaſt the cape lyeth out, and ſheweth as litle woods vpon it, and buſhes in parts, and 5. leagues to the ſouthward you ſhall ſee the Iland of Saint Alexo, which is a ſmal lowe Iland, which is a good marke, and the Cape of S. Auguſtin ſtands in 8. degrees, 30. minuts. Cape Saint Auguſtine. The Iland of Alero. The Cape of S. Auguſtine.

From the Cape Saint Auguſtin to Fernambucke, you haue 8. leagues, & the land lyeth north and by eaſt, and ſouth and by weſt, and the marke of Fernambucke is the Towne it ſelfe, ſtanding vpon a high hil by the water ſide, which ſheweth like to ẏ cape it ſelfe, & ſtands in 8. degrees large. Phernambucke.

From Fernambucke to the Iland of Tamereca you haue 4. leagues, and it hath on the ſouth point of the riuer redde cleeffes, and if you will goe into the riuer, bring your ſelfe northeaſt, and ſouthweſt by the red cleeffs, and ſo beare into the bay, whereas you ſhal haue 9. or 10. foote water. The land of Tamereca.

From the riuer of Tamereca to Parryba you haue 15. leagues, and the land lyeth north and by eaſt, and ſouth and by weſt, and ſtands in 6. degrees, 45. minuts. Parryba.

From Parryba to Tappoam you haue 10. leagues, & the land lyeth north northeaſt, and ſouth ſouthweſt, and from Tappoam to the harborough of Munks you haue 7. leagues, and the land lyeth northweſt and ſoutheaſt, and the port of Munks ſtands in 5. degrees, 30. minuts. Tappoam. The harborow of monks

Here followeth the like deſcription of the coaſt from the riuer of *Plate to the Streights of Magelan.*

CApe Saint Marie on the northſide of the riuer of Plate ſtands iuſt in 35. degrees: from the ſame Cape Saint Marie, to Cape Saint Anthony which is the South Cape of the riuer of Plate, you haue 28. leagues, and the ſaid Cape ſtands in 56. degrees, 20. minuts: the courſe betweene them is ſouth ſouthweſt, and north northeaſt. Cape S. Anthoine.

Note that Eaſt of the mouth of the riuer of Plate 25. leagues off, there lyeth a ſhoald, which they call Baxos de Caſtiliana: he that will ſhape his courſe from Cape Saint Marie to goe to the ſouthward muſt hale off ſoutheaſt, till he bee in 36. degrees, then ſouth ſoutheaſt hal a degree, for that you ſhall giue a birth to the ſaid ſhoald, as alſo to the ſhoalds of Saint Anthony, and ſounding in 40. or 41. fadom, you ſhall find ruſſet ſand, then hale away ſouthweſt, and by ſouth till you come to 40. degrees, where you ſhall find great ſtore of weeds, and you ſhall be 20. leagues off the ſhoare. Baxos de Caſtiliana.

From Cape Saint Anthony, to the cape of great ſandy hilles is 48. leagues, they lye ſouthweſt and by ſouth, and northeaſt and by north: 18. leagues off Saint Anthony lyeth a riuer called the riuer of Saint Anne, which hath in the mouth many flats and ſhoals, therfore you muſt come no neerer the ſhoare, then 40. fadom, to goe cleere of them.

From the Cape of the ſand hilles to Cape Saint Andrewe, you haue 31. leagues, and halfe way betweene them both you haue bayes and riuers, which are ful of ſhoales: the both Capes lie ſouthweſt and by weſt, and northeaſt and by north. Cape Saint Andrewe.

From Cape S. Andrewe to the Sunken bay you haue 30. leagues, the ſaid bay ſtandeth in 39. degrees, 50. minuts, it lyes weſt ſouth weſt, and eaſt northeaſt. The Sunken bay.

From the ſaid Sunken bay to the plaine point you haue 25. leagues, the point ſtands in 41. degrees, 30. minuts: they lye ſouth ſouthweſt, and north northeaſt, and from this point to the deep water bay you haue 35. leagues: they lye weſt ſouthweſt and eaſt northeaſt: the Deepe water bay ſtands in 42. degrees, 20. minuts. The plaine Point. The deepe water bay.

From the Deepe water bay to the harborough of Lyons you haue 37. leagues: the cape ouer the ſandy bay lyeth ſouth ſoutheaſt, and north northweſt: out of the ſayd Deepe, you may ſayle hard abooard the ſhoare being bolde. From the riuer of Plate to the ſayd bay you haue no harborough for any great ſhip. The harborough of Lions

From that bay to the harborough of Lyons a bould coaſt, with lowe land and white cleeffs: the ſaid harborough ſtands in 44. degrees, when you come to 43. ſomwhat more, looke out for a ledge of rockes that lyeth on the north ſide of the harborough hard abooard the ſhoare.

From the ſaid harborough of Lyons to ẏ cape with woods you haue 30. leagues: they lie ſouth and Cape of woods.

and by west, and North and by east, and halfe way betweene them both, there is a bay.

The round cape. 18. Leagues to the Northward of the round Cape you haue a riuer which lyeth in west, and is called the riuer of Crauises: you shall knowe when you are thwart of the riuer, by certaine redde streames that you shal find like tydegates, which are going streames. The coast lyeth from this harborough to the round Cape of woods, southeast and by south, and northwest, and by North: the said Cape of woods stands in 45. degrees, 30. minuts.

Cape Blanke. From the sayd cape of Woods, to cape Blanke, or the white Cape, you haue 32. leagues, the coast lyeth south and by west, and north and by east: the said white Cape stands in 45. degrees, and about 3. leagues to the northward of the Cape, the land lyeth north northwest all vp right white cleeffes, which be in number 6. and the last of them is the biggest, and broadest, and shewes like a sayle: and in the head of the said Cape is a round hill, which sheweth like a cloud: about this cape lye certaine rockes, hard aboord the shoare, and 3. cables length off the shoare you shall haue 25. fadom, and ouer the white cleeffs, the lande is plaine, and among the cleeffs which the Sea hath made, the sea spoutes vp, like the spouting of Whales, and vpon the Cape there are some little woods, and here you haue people inhabiting, of whom take heede: the vpper part of the cape lyeth south and north a league in breath, and hath in the middle a ledge of rockes aboue water, and on the south side of this Cape, you haue a harborough where is good ankering, but in the middst there is a rocke of which take heede.

Port S. Julia. From thence to Port Saint Iulian is 37. leagues: the course is south and by west, and north and by east: of this port Saint Iulian on the southside of the entering of the harborough lye rocks like Towres, he that goeth in there must borrowe on the northside of the harborough, and within the harborough you shal find two Iflands where you may anker hard by them: this harborough stands in 49. degrees.

The Iflands of Sampson. Betweene the harborough of port Saint Iulian and cape Blanke lye the Iflands of Sampson which are 8. in number.

The hill of S. Anne. From the port of Saint Iulian to the hill of Saint Anne, is 35. leagues: the coast lyeth southwest and northeast a very plaine land, but onely one hill, and to the Southwards, are final Hammockes, which hammocks stand in 50. degrees 30. minuts.

The riuer of S. Anne. The riuer de Cruz. From the riuer of Saint Anne, to the riuer de Cruz, you haue 8. leagues. The Cruz is northeast, and southwest. To the northward of the riuer de Cruz, is a high land of two leagues long, and playne on the toppe which lyeth south and north, and falleth on either side like a saddle: This coast is shoald foure leagues off: but you may borrowe on the shoare in 20. fadom.

The riuer of Galgos. From the riuer de Cruz, to the riuer of Galgos, you haue 25. leagues: the course lieth northeast, and southwest, and it stands in 52. degrees, and 10. minuts, and for a marke of it, there is a hill, and on the highest of this hill it is plaine, and the northeast end is steepe vp and downe, and hath white and browne cleeffs, the vpper edge of them blacke: and vnder the hill on the east side it sheweth like a paire of staires, with a blacke point into the sea: halfe a league to the southward of this point is a bay, which is at the entring of the riuer Galgos, where it doth ebbe and flowe, 12. fadom water in the riuer, take heede you go not to farre in because it is dangerous, therefore goe no further in, then 18. fadom.

The streights of Magelan. Cape Virgin Maris. From the riuer Galgos to the entrie of the streights of Magelan, called the Cape of the Virgin Marie is 8. leagues, the course is, south southeast, and north northwest, and 4. leagues before you come to this Cape, you shall see high steepe cleeffs, and gray full of black scarres, the sea beating against them like the spowting of whales, but a very wholesome shoare, where you may anker for a Southwest wind: the highest of this cape is like to Cape Saint Vincent in Spaine: at the east side of this cape is a ledge of rockes, which hath a sand about it, which is full of pittes, where you shal haue deepe water and by and by ground: this sand sheweth it selfe at low water, therefore you must be sure to stemme the shoare halfe a myle till you haue brought the sayd Cape west northwest off you: then goe away southwest till you come to the lowest, where you shall haue 10. or 12. fadome water. This place is called the Purification: and halfe a league within this land, is a Towne called the name of Iesus: From this said Cape you shall haue a cleeffe come from the cape, at the end of this cleeffe the Towne stands, and is in altitude, 52. degrees, 30. minutes, and from the said Cape entring the Streights, on the northwest side within 14. leagues, it beginnes to be narrower, and narrower, till you come to the highest place of the narrowest entrie, which lyeth west northwest, and east southeast: and in the sayd streightes, goe a third part of the chanell to the north shoare, because there is a ledge of rockes on the south side, and also you shall see sand there: therefore you must giue them a good birth: and hauing past this first streight, go away west southwest 8. leagues till you come to a cape called S. Gregorie, with a high cleeffe,

The purification. Nombre de Iesus which M. Candith found destroyed.

and

and a good road, from the northwest to the southwest: trust not the people of this Cape, for they are trecherous.

At this Cape begins the 2. streight, and is called our Ladie of Grace: it lyeth west southwest, and east northeast 3. leagues, and in comming off this streight, you shall see 3. Ilands west off you, and you may sayle in among them, having respect that you come not into the Bayes, for they are dangerous. From the 3. Ilandes seeke the Chanel of the streightes west southwest, 2. leagues, and from thence you shal hale to the southwards, till you come to the 53. degrees, 30. minuts: where you shall finde a point called the point of Saint Anne, and north northwest from thence, you shal see two or three plaines, in one of which stands a towne called the Towne of King Philip, & in passing the Bulwarke and a great tree, you may come to anker, where you may moare your ship in 4. fadoms.

A letter of Master Thomas Candish to the right honorable the *Lord Chamberlaine, one of her Maiesties most honorable priuie Counsell* touching the successe of his voyage about the world.

RIght honorable, as your fauour heretofore hath ben most greatly extended towards me, so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: And though there be no meanes in me to deserue the same, yet the vttermost of my seruices shal not be wanting, whensoeuer it shall please your honour to dispose thereof. I am humbly to desire your honour to make knowne vnto her Maiestie the desire I haue had to do her Maiestie seruice in the performance of this voyage. And as it hath pleased God to giue her the victorie ouer part of her enemies, so I trust ere long to see her ouerthrowe them all. For the places of their welth, whereby they haue maintained and made their warres, are nowe perfectly discouered: And if it please her Maiestie, with a very smal power she may take the spoyle of them all. It hath pleased the Almightie to suffer me to circumpasse the whole Globe of the world, entring in at the streight of Magelan, and returning by the cape Bona Speraça. In which voyage I haue either discouered or brought certeine intelligence of al the rich places of the world that euer were knowne or discouered by any Christian. I nauigated alongst the coast of Chili, Peru, and Noua Spagna, where I made great spoyles: I burnt and sunke 19. sayles of shippes small and great. All the villages and townes that euer I landed at, I burnt and spoyled: And had I not bene discouered vpon the coast, I had taken great quantitie of treasure. The matter of most profit vnto me was a great ship of the Kings which I tooke at California, which ship came from the Philippinas, being one of the richest of Marchandise, that euer passed those Seas, as the kings Register and Marchants accompts did shew, for it did amount in value to * in Mexico to be sold: which goods, (for that my shippes were not able to contayne the least part of them,) I was inforced to set on fire. From the cape of California, being the vttermost part of all Noua Hispania, I nauigated to the Ilandes of Philippinas hard vpon the coast of China, of which Countrie I haue brought such intelligence as hath not bene heard of in these parts. The statelines and riches of which cõtrie I feare to make report of, least I should not be credited. For if I had not knowne sufficiently the incomparable welth of that countrey. I should haue ben as incredulous thereof, as others will be that haue not had the like experience, I sayled along the Ilands of Maluccas, where among some of the heathen people I was well intreated, where our country men may haue trade as freely as the Portingals, if they will themselues. From thence I passed by the cape of Bona Speraça, and found out by the way homeward the Iland of Saint Helena, where the Portingals vse to releeue themselues: And from that Iland God hath suffred me to returne into England. All which seruices with my selfe I humbly prostrate at her Maiesties feete, desiring the Almightie long to continue her raigne amongst vs. For at this day shee is the most famous and victorious prince that liueth in the world. Thus humbly desiring pardon of your honour for my tediousnes, I leaue your Lordship to the tuition of the Almightie. Plimmouth this ix. of September 1588.

Your honours most humble to command,
Thomas Candish.

The worthy and famous voyage of Maſter Thomas Candiſhe *made round about the globe of the earth, in the ſpace of two yeeres* and leſſe then two monethes, begun in the yeere. 1586.

THe worſhipful and worthy gentleman Maſter Thomas Candiſh of Suffolke hauing in the yeere 1585. furniſhed out a ſhip wherein he went as Captaine with ſir Richard Greeneuill to Virginia, in which courſe he paſſed by the Canaries, and ſo to the Iſles of Dominica, Hiſpaniola, Saint Iohn de Porto ricco, the Lucaios, and Florida in the weſt Indies, thus fleſhed and ſomewhat hardened vnto the Sea, immediatly after his comming home began to take in hand a voyage into the South ſea, and conſequently round about the globe of the world, which he alſo perfoꝛmed with inuincible courage, with great good gouernement, and incredible celeritie, to the great admiration of all men of iudgement. Hauing therefoꝛe at his owne proper coſt new built from the keele and furniſhed with all thinges neceſſarie foꝛ two yeeres pꝛouiſion a bꝛaue ſhippe called the Deſire of a hundꝛed and foꝛtie, and a leſſer of threeſcoꝛe tunnes whoſe name was the Content, ioyning thereunto a Barke of 40. tunnes named the Hugh gallant, in which ſmall fleete were ſixe ſcoꝛe and fiue men, The 1. day of June 1586. he departed from London and came to Yarewich, and ſayled from thence the 29. of the ſame moneth. He arriued at Plimmouth the 8. day of July, from whence he ſet ſayle the 21. thereof. Thus he pꝛoceeded on his voyage vntill the 25. day, at which time one Maſter Hope dyed which had bene grieuouſly wounded a litle beſoꝛe he went to Sea. The 26. day wee met with foure great Biſkaine ſhippes on which we beſtowed eighteene great ſhot and ſhꝛewdly toꝛe that ſhip which we in the Admiral aſſayled: but we left her and the others, leſt we ſhould looſe the reſt of our conſoꝛts, being nine of the clocke at night.

June the 10. 1586.

He departed from Plymmouth the 21. of July.

Auguſt. The 5. day of Auguſt we fell with the Iſland of Forteuentura, & ſayled thence to cape Blank, and ſo to the coaſt of Guinea vnto a harboꝛough called Sierra Leona, where hauing conference with the Negroes we fell at variance, ſo that threeſcoꝛe of our men went on ſhoare, and dꝛaue them from their towne, and ſacked their houſes, and burnt their dwellings. And the 29. of the ſame moneth we departed from them, where going fiue leagues from the place we came to an Iland called Inſula Verde, where we found plantans, and other fruites, and freſh water, being an Iſland of the Negroes huſbandꝛie.

September. The ſixt of September we burned here ſome 150. houſes becauſe of their bad dealing with vs and al Chꝛiſtians: in this place we redeemed a Poꝛtingal whom by treaſon they had caught and held in very miſerable captiuitie. The 13. day we went from thence: the 30. we paſſed the Equinoctiall lyne.

October. Nouember. Thus we ſayled fooꝛth vntill the 25. of October, at which time we came to the continent of Braſil, and coſting along vntill the end of that moneth, the firſt of Nouember we ankered vnder an Iſland called Saint Sebaſtians, where we road thꝛee and twenty daies betweene the mayne and it. There we ſtoꝛed our ſelues with freſh water and fuell, and built a newe pinneſſe of tenne tunnes. On the nynth day dyed one Robert Smith of the diſeaſe called Scurbuto, which is an infection of the blood and the liuer.

December. The 23. of Nouember we left this Iſland. On the firſt of December dyed one Robert Tates of the diſeaſe afoꝛeſayd: and ſo coſting along vntill the 16. of this moneth wee diſcouered an harboꝛough which we named the Poꝛt of Deſire, accoꝛding to our ſhips name, being almoſt as bigge as the haboꝛough of Plimmouth: In this place we had gulles, puets, penguyns, and ſeales in aboundance to all our comfoꝛts and great refreſhing: this Poꝛt is ſomewhat on this ſide of Poꝛt Saint Iulian. And ſayling from this harboꝛough toward the Streights, beſoꝛe wee came to the entrance thereof, we eſpied certaine pooꝛe ſtarued Spanyards trauayling ouer land toward the riuer of Plate: whereof we tooke one into our ſhip of whom we vnderſtood that of both the two Colonies planted in the ſtraight of Magelan by Pedro Sarmiento there were but 22. men ouely left aliue, all the reſt being vtterly periſhed foꝛ hunger, to the number of ſome thꝛee hundꝛed perſons.

The poꝛt of Deſire.

January 1587. On the ſixt day of January we put into the Streight of Magelan, and on the 8. we came vnto two Iſlands named by Sir Frauncis Drake the one Bartholomewe Iſland, becauſe he came thither on that Saints day, and the other Penguin Iſland, on which we powdꝛed thꝛee tunnes of Penguins foꝛ the victualing of our ſhippe: and on the 9. day we came vnto a towne of the Spanyardes erecting in March 1584. called by them the Citie of King Philippe, but by vs the

the Towne of famine, becauſe we euidently ſawe the inhabitants, all ſauing the aforeſayde 22. had bene moſt miſerably ſtarued: we tooke away with vs ſixe pieces of their ordinance, whereof three were braſſe, and three were yron, and were glad to haſten from this place for the moſt noyſome ſtench and vile ſauour wherewith it was infected through the contagon of the Spaniards pined and dead carkeiſes. The towne of king Philip in ꝑ Straights ruined and abandoned.

Thus ſayling through the Straights, the 20. day of Januarie in the midway we eſpied Sauages of a reaſonable ſtature, and went to them, and conferred with them: but ſuch was their brutiſhnes and their trecherie, that they would haue betrayed vs vnder the ſhewe of amitie: but we eſpying their treaſon gaue the firſt onſet, and euery ſhot of vs choſe his man, and by that meanes ſlewe ſome, and hurt more, the reſt eſcaped. So hauing many flawes of Southerly and Southweſterly winde, we were kept within the Straights vntill the 23. of Februarie. Trecherous Sauages in ꝑ Straights of Magelan. Februarie.

The ſame day we paſſed out of the Straights into the Sea called by Magelan, Mare pacificum, the peaceable or the calme Sea: Thus we plyed vp along the coaſt of Chili by the Iland of La mocha, which ſtandeth in the Southerly latitude of 38. degrees vntill the 14. of March, where we rid vnder an Iland called Sancta Maria, on which Iland we landed 80. men armed in the morning betimes, and there came vnto vs the Countrey people which intreated our Generall very well, and preſented him with many ſortes of meates: for there we had at our commandement Spaniſh wheate, potatos, hogs, hens, dryed dogfiſh, and diuers other good things, to our contentment. Chili. March.

The 20. day we departed thence, running along vntill the 28. which day being at the Sea, we felt an earthquake in the latitude of 33. we were put into a Bay called the Bay of Quintera on the 30. of this moneth, where the firſt of Aprill we had ten of our men ſlaine, and two taken captiues by the Spaniards: which great miſfortune light vpon our men through their great reachleſneſſe and want of circumſpection, being ſuddenly ſurpriſed by the enemie when they little thought of him. But on the third day of the ſame moneth the Hugh went forth to Seaward, and found an Iland hauing great ſtore of Pellicanes & Penguyns vpon it, whereof they brought good ſtore vnto vs: and ſo furniſhing our ſelues here with freſh water, which we tooke in deſpite of them all, we left them and their cruell Harborough, and put out of the Bay the fifth of Aprill. The Bay of Quintera. Aprill.

Thus ranging along, we haled in with a Porte called Mormorano, where we found a canoa and an Indian in it which was fiſhing, and had caught a very large Tony wherewith he preſented vs, and in our conference with him, he ſhewed vs their Towne which was baſe and rude, but their gouernment and behauiour very ſtrange: for when any of them dyeth they bury all his goods and ſtuffe with him, as hookes, nets, canoa, and other trifles. So ſayling along that ſhore, one of our ſhippes called the Content, entred into a Bay, where a great deale of wine of Caſtilla was buried in Botiſios in the ſand, to the quantitie of ſome three hundreth tunnes, wherewith ſhe laded her ſelfe hauing loſt our companie, but they found vs againe at a Towne called Arica, where they gaue vs of their wine. In this Harborough we found a great ſhip, and foure Barks, which we tooke and kept vntill ſuch time as wee had taken out of them the beſt things for our owne prouiſion: then we burned them all ſauing one Barke which wee kept, and named it the George, becauſe we tooke her on Saint George his day. The Porte of Mormorano. Arica. A great ſhip and 4. Barks taken & burnt.

The 25. day of Aprill we went from Arica, ſayling to the Seawards all night, and in the morning we eſpied a ſmall Barke, and manning our Pinneſſe, wee tooke her, wherein were three Spaniards, one Greeke, and one Dutch man: being examined, they confeſſed that they came from the Bay of Quintera, where we loſt our foreſayd twelue men, and that their intent was to goe for Lima to giue aduiſe to the Uiceroy for to prouide force to cut vs off: but their pretence through Gods mercifull prouidence was preuented: one of theſe Spaniards was a reaſonable Pilot for thoſe Seas. Thus we continued our courſe alongſt the coaſt of Peru vntill the fourth day of May, vpon which day our Spaniſh Pilote led vs into a Bay called Piſca, where wee would haue gone on ſhoare, but the Sea was ſo growen that we could not: yet on the Southermoſt ſide of the Bay there was a Uillage called Paraca, where ſeuen of our men went on land and found figs, pomegranates, and pomegranate wine. The Barke of aduiſe taken. May. Piſca Bay. Paraca a village.

And on the firſt of May we went from Paraca, and in our courſe we deſcried to Seaward two ſayles, and gaue them chaſe, and tooke them: the one was laden with meale and marmalade, the other with marchants goods, as ſapes of diuers ſortes and colours, caſtle or white ſope, a kinde of peaſe called garuanſaes, cordouan ſkins, montego de porco, which is hogs greaſe clarified or refined, and molaſſos or ſirrope of ſugar, beanes, and one or two thouſand hens aliue: Hereupon we gate vs into a Bay called Cheripa, where we laded our ſhips with part of theſe commodi- Two ſhippes taken. The Bay of Cheripa.

ties, and burnt the rest ships and all, hauing put the men that were in them on land, and departed from thence the tenth of May. Thus sayling forwarde wee haled into a Bay called Payto, where we tooke a Barke vnrigged & landed three score men, and tooke the Towne, out of which we driue about three hundreth persons which fled with bag and baggage, whome we pursued so fast, that they were forced to leaue their lodings behinde them: In the ende we set their Towne on fire, because they sought not to redeeme the same. And because wee found small store of treasure here, we came away the same night. On the second of May we went to the Iland of Puna, where we trimmed our ships and refreshed our men, though somewhat to our costes: for on the second day of June our men thinking themselues to be sure and safe ynough, foure score or an hundreth Spaniards, with two hundreth Indians (for there was a Towne of Indians in the Iland bigger then Grauesend) set vpon fifteene or sixteene of our men being halfe a sleepe and halfe awake, & slew fiue or sixe, and tooke two or three of them before any supply could come vnto them: at the comming whereof they all ran away like greyhounds, our men for reuenge burnt their Towne, and spoyled their fieldes and gardens, but first wee tooke the fruites of the Iland, as goats, hogs, hennes, figs, oranges, limons, besides other wholsome herbes in great quantitie. So after we had trimmed our Fleete wee came away: but for a farewell wee first set foure of their shippes on fire, whereof one was two hundreth tunnes, the rest an hundreth a piece, being all vpon the stocks in building: we also fired another of foure hundreth tunnes called the great Saint Luce riding before the Towne to be mended, because they haue neuer another so good a place to bring their shippes on ground as that is, on all the coast of Peru.

The Bay of Payto.

The towne of Payto burnt.

The Iland of Puna.

June.

The towne in the Ile of Puna burnt.

Fiue great ships burned.

After we had taken in fresh water we went from thence the 11. day of June, and the 12. day we passed the Equinoctiall line, continuing our course Northward all that moneth: About the beginning of July as we ranged along the backside of Noua Hispania neere vnto Guatimala (where there is an hill that burneth continually) we espried a newe shippe of 200. tunnes, wherein were two Spaniards, two Massilians, two Uenetians, and one Fleming: in which shippe was litle or nothing but her balast, we tooke her sayles, and ropes, and firewood to serue our turns, set her on fire and kept the men, of which number we brought one called Michael Sancius a Pilot into England. On the next day we tooke another shippe, the men being escaped with their boate on land, which after wee had taken certaine victuals out of her, wee also set on fire: This was the shippe of Aduiso to giue warning of vs, sent from Lima to the coast of Noua Hispania.

They double the Equinoctiall line.

Another ship taken & burnt.

The second ship of Aduiso taken & burnt.

The 28. of July we came to the Porte of Aguatulco, in which we found a shippe laden with cacaos, a fruite like almonds much esteemed in those partes, and taking the spoyle thereof, we set the shippe and Towne on fire for company: the people ranne away at the sight of our little Pinnesse, our shippes lying three leagues off at that time: There were some foure score houses in this Towne being an Hauen that belongeth to Mexico. In this place we had great store of pitch, which stood vs in great stead for our shippes, and some quantitie of wine of Castilia as they call it.

The Towne of Aguatulco burnt.

August.

The fourth day of August we departed from this place, and comming foorth wee tooke a thee tortoyse, which had aboue foure hundreth and odde egs in her, which egs we eate and found them to be good meate. The 13. of August we fell with an Hauen of Noua Hispania called Puerto de Natiuidad, about the latitude of 19. degrees, where we had conference with foure Indians, and there we tooke the Poste of Aduiso that ranne by land on horse, whose horse wee slewe and tooke him prisoner. Wee burnt two shippes of two hundreth tunnes the piece, which were in building in the harborough: And sixe leagues from thence there was a litle Iland or rocke replenished with abundance of birds, whereof we gate good store to our great refreshing: there were also innumerable sort of parrots as big as hens: and in another Hauen hard by, called Puerto de Saint Iago, we dragged for pearles, and tooke some store. The third day of September we came away hauing newe trimmed our Pinnesse, which was wonderfull leake with wormes. The eight day of the same we came into a Bay called the Bay of Compostella, where our men went two leagues vp into the Countrey early in the morning, and tooke a Spaniarde and his wife, a Raguscan and his wife, with an Indian and his wife, and brought them away vnto our Generall, who set the women at libertie, and they redeemed their husbands with fruites, as plantans, mameias, pineaples, oranges, and limons, of all which is great abundance, as the Spaniarde sayd, tanto como tierra as great plentie as there is of earth. On the 12. of September wee came to an Iland two leagues from thence called S. Andrew, where we had foules, and seales, and guanos, of which we made very good victuall: howbeit they would scarcely take salt but for one night and a day only. The 16. of the same moneth wee came vnto a Bay called Massaclan, where

Port de Natiuidad.

The third port of Aduiso by land taken.

Two shippes more burnt.

Port de Saint Iago.

September.

The Bay of Compostella.

Sixe prisoners taken on the land.

The Isle of S. Andrewe.

The Bay of Massaclan.

where we had fruite and fish, but were in great danger of our enemies: Wee trauerſed from thence vnto the Southermoſt cape of California, where beating vp and downe we diſcouered a Port called by the Spaniards Agua Segura, and found good ſtore of freſh water: we lay off & on of this cape vntill the fourth of Nouember, on which day in the morning wee eſpied the goodly ſhippe comming from the Philippinas called Saint Anna the great, being of ſeuen hundreth tunnes: we chaſed her vntill noone, ſo fetching her vp, we gaue them fight to the loſſe of twelue or fourteene of their men, and the ſpoyle and hurt of many more of them, whereupon at laſt they yeelded vnto vs: In this conflict we loſt onely two of our men. So on the firſt of the ſayde Nouember we went into the Port of Agua Segura, where wee ankered and put nine ſcore priſoners on land: and ranſacking the great ſhippe, wee laded our owne two ſhippes with fourtie tunnes of the chiefeſt marchandiſe, and burnt all the reſt aſwell ſhippe as goods, to the quantitie of ſixe hundreth tunnes of rich marchandiſe, becauſe we were not able to bring it away: This was one of the richeſt veſſels that euer ſayled on the Seas, and was able to haue made many hundreths wealthie, if we had had meanes to haue brought it home.

Puerto de Agua Segura. Nouember.

The great S. Anna taken, rifled & burnt.

Nine ſcore Spaniſh priſoners put on land.

At length hauing furniſhed our ſelues with water & wood, and made vs ready for the Sea, we ſet ſayle the twentie of Nouember & came away. From Cape California, we ſhaped our courſe toward the Ilands of the Ladrones, and by the prouidence of God wee came vnto them in two and fourtie dayes, the diſtance being three and twentie hundreth leagues: The firſt Iland of the Ladrones where we touched is called Guana, the inhabitants are theeuiſh and trecherous: they met vs at Sea three leagues off in ſmall canoas, admirable to beholde for their ſwiftneſſe in ſayling, with which people wee had ſome traffike vntill the euening, and ſo wee left them directing our courſe vnto the Ilands of the Philippinas vntill the fourteenth of Januarie, on which day we fell with an Iland called Tadaia: and from thence we paſſed by the Iland of Luçon or Manilla, vntill we came to an Iland called Capul, where wee had hens, hogs, potatos, cocos, and other fruites for traffike with the Indians, making our abode there vntill the 24. of the foreſayde Januarie. Then proceeding on our voyage through the infinite nombers of Ilands towards thoſe rich Ilands of Maluco, we paſſed by Mindanao, which is the laſt Iland that the Spaniards inhabite that way: So we ranne betweene Cebele or Batachina and Borneo vntill the twelfth day of Februarie.

The Ilands of Ladrones 2300. leagues from Cape California.

Januarie 1588

Capul an Iland.

Februarie.

And on the 28. and laſt of the ſame we put through betweene the Straights of Iaua maior, and Iaua minor, and ankered vnder the Southweſt part of Iaua maior, where the inhabitants being Gentiles brought vnto vs hennes, geeſe, hens egges, ducke egges, beeues, buffes, melons, plantans, and an hundreth ſortes of fruites moſt ſtrange and wonderfull for greatneſſe and goodneſſe, euen whole iuncks full being a kinde of barks made like vnto our barges: Theſe people did intreate vs wonderfull well, and came as duely to traffike with vs in our ſhip as wee doe in our markets and ſhoppes, and brought from their King diuers preſents to our Generall, and caried diuers rich gifts from our Generall to their King: The King ſent many of his kinſmen and chiefe Courtiers a ſhipborde to entertaine him, being men of very good behauiour: they ſit croſſe legged, they would faine haue had our General come to their Kings chiefe towne, becauſe he was not well able to come downe vnto our ſhippe being a man of great age, and as they reported, very neere an hundreth and fiftie yeeres olde, but our Generall excuſed himſelfe and that with reaſon: Hee would haue ſent his ſonne in his owne ſteade, but that hee was at warre againſt another King in the Iland their enemie: This olde Kings name was Raia Bolamboam.

Iaua maior.

Our mens good entertainement at Iaua maior.

Raia Bolamboam king of Iaua.

The 16. of March we ſet ſayle from Iaua maior towarde the Cape of Bona Sperança: and on the 11. day of May we fell with the land of Aethiopia, neere vnto a place called Capo falſo, being thirtie and odde leagues from the Cape of Bona Sperança. And on the 19. of May wee had ſight of the Cape of Bona Sperança, which is the promontorie that all trauailers deſire to double.

May.

The ſeuenth of June wee fell with the Iſlande of Saint Helena, and on the eight day wee ankered vnder it, where wee continued twelue dayes, finding it a place to our great contentment: for there we had goats, hogs, figs, oranges, limons, pomegranates, and many wholſome herbes for the gathering: But he that will haue of the cattell muſt trauaile a mile and an halfe vp into the ſteepie mountaine to kill them: we found a Church and thirtie or fourtie houſes builded to lodge the Portingales, in their comming from the Eaſt Indies: There was one only baniſhed man there which liued as an Hermite, but hee was dead before our arriuall. The twenty of June we departed from the Iland of Saint Helena ſhaping our courſe from thence for England.

June.

Our men ſtayed 12. dayes in the Iland of S. Helena.

The

July. The fourth of July 1588. we paſſed the equinoctiall line, which was the fourth time that we had trauerſed the ſame in this our iourney. The 24. day of Auguſt wee had ſight of two Ilands of ỹ Aſores the one called Flores, the other Coruo, and directed our way from them for the Liſard vntill the third of September, at which time we eſpied a Flemiſh Hulke that came from Portingale, which tolde vs the ioyful newes of our Fleets good ſucceſſe againſt the huge armie of the Spaniards. And on the fift day we met with a ſhip of Southhampton, which had taken a Braſilian priſe, whoſe Captaine informed vs at large of the trueth of that which had paſſed: We tooke ſome refreſhing of them, which was recompenſed with treble curteſie, and ſo entred into the narrow Seas where we had as terrible a night as euer men endured: for all our ſayles were blowen quite away: but making as good ſhift as we could with certaine olde ſayles wee had within boorde, on the next morning being the ninth of September 1588. like wearied men through the fauour of the Almightie, we gate vnto Plymmouth: where the Townes men receiued vs with all humanitie. In this voyage we burnt twentie ſayles of Spaniſh ſhippes, beſides diuers of their Townes and Villages.

September. Their arriuall at Plymmouth the 9. of September

Written by N. H.

The names of the Kings or Princes of Iaua at the time of our *Engliſh mens being there.*

Raia	Donaw.	Raia	Tymbanton.
Raia	Rabacapala.	Raia	Mawgbange.
Raia	Bacabatra.	Raia	Patimara.

Certaine wordes of the naturall language of Iaua, learned *and obſerued by our men there.*

Sabuck,	ſilke.	Gula,	blacke ſugar.
Sagu,	bread of the Countrey.	Tadon,	a woman.
Larnike,	drinke.	Bebeck,	a ducke.
Paree,	ryce in the huſke.	Aniange,	a deere.
Braas,	ſodden ryce.	Popran,	oyntment.
Calapa,	coquos.	Coar,	the head.
Cricke,	a dagger.	Endam,	paine.
Catcha,	a looking glaſſe.	Ionge,	a ſhippe.
Arbo,	an oxe.	Chay,	the ſea.
Vados,	a goate.	Sapelo,	ten in number.
Cabo,	golde.	Dopolo,	twentie.
Gardange,	a plantine.	Treda,	no.
Hiam,	a henne.	Lau,	vnderſtand you.
Seuit,	linnen cloth.	Bayer,	goe.
Doduck,	blewe cloth.	Adadizano,	I will fetch it.
Totopps,	one of their caps.	Suda,	ynough.

Certaine notes or references taken out of the large Mappe of *China, brought home by Maſter Thomas* Candiſh. 1588.

THe great kingdome of the Mogores, is vpon the Northweſt and fals vpon Tanaſſacin beyond Mallaca, and ioynes vpon Bengala: they are men of warre, and vſe no fight but on horſebacke, they goe in their apparel like Portingales.

2 A City wherein is Captaine a Chinian, a man very deformed, hauing vnder him many men of warre: he maketh warre both againſt the Tartarians, and the Mogores lying betweene them, and lyeth without the circuite of the wall.

3 Certaine hils beyond which the Tartarians do inhabite, who heretofore were great friends with the Chinians, and now maintaine continual warres againſt them, ſo great that ſometimes there

there are ſlayne in a battaile, 100000. of men adioyning vpon Moſcouie: and they haue in their warres all kinde of armour.

4 The prouince of Canſas hath 4. great cities, and twentie ſmall cities, and 77. townes and Caſtles: it containeth in length, 55. leagues: it hath 362000. houſes of great men that pay tribute, and 13900. men of warre: and hath 47000. horſes which are the kings, kept for his defence.

5 The great citie of Paquyn where the king doth lye, hath belonging to it 8. great cities, and 18. ſmall cities with 118. townes and Caſtles, it hath 418789. houſes of great men which pay tribute: it hath horſemen for the warre, 258100. This citie is in the latitude of 50. degrees to the Northwards, being there as colde as it is vſually in Flanders.

6 The great citie of Canton, wherein are many men of warre, to keepe that paſſage from the Tartars.

7 The prouince of Soychin, hath 7. great cities, and 16. ſmall: with 12. townes, and Caſtles, and one great citie, to which many doe repayre to fight againſt the Tartars. It hath ſeuenteene leagues in length: and hath 164118. great houſes which pay tribute, and 96000. men of warre.

8 The prouince of Santo, hath 6. great cities, and 14. ſmall, with 90. Townes, and Caſtles: It is 82. leagues long, and hath 77555. great houſes which pay tribute 63808. horſemen, and 31000. footemen of warre.

9 The prouince of Oyman hath 7. great cities, and 13. ſmall, and 90. Townes, and Caſtles being 470. leagues long, and 132958. great houſes that pay tribute: 82800. men of warre, out of this citie cometh Copper, quickſiluer, and blacke leade.

10 The prouince Cutchew hath 8. great Cities, and 12. ſmall, and 83. Townes, which make armour to fight w̃ the lawes, which do inhabite beyond Cauchin china: It is 100. leagues broade, and hath 32920. horſemen, and footemen, with 405670. great houſes which pay tribute, whereof the men of warre are payde.

11 The prouince of Languyn, hath 14. great cities and ſeuenteene ſmall, and 95. Townes, and Caſtles, it is 120. leagues ouer, and hath 962818. great houſes which pay tribute: it hath 208900. men of warre, whereof there are 52500. Tartar horſemen that take wages.

12 The prouince of Vquam hath fourteene great Cities, and 19. ſmall, 150. Townes and Caſtles, and is 210. leagues broade, and 53161. houſes that pay tribute, and 71600. men of warre.

13 The prouince of Som hath 7. great cities, and 11. ſmall, and 105. townes and caſtles, and is 200. leagues broade, and houſes that pay tribute 139567. and men of warre. 345632.

14 The prouince of Eſiran hath 11. great cities and 75. ſmall, and 80. townes, and caſtels, and is 440. leagues broade, and great houſes that doe pay tribute 1242135. and 339000. men of warre.

15 This lake lieth behinde Siam, and before Champa, and doeth ioyne with the Lappians, and from thence comes all the water that ſerues the kingdome of China, and the Indians of the Chinians doe report this lake to bee the whole worlde, and ſo they paynt the ſea, the moone, and the ſtarres within it.

16 The prouince of Canſay hath 13. cities, and a chiefe citie, and 73. Townes and Caſtles, and is 260. leagues broade, and hath great houſes that pay tribute, 1393629. and 12700. men of warre.

17 The prouince of Cuauſa hath 12. great cities, 45. ſmall, and 51. townes and Caſtles: it is 260. leagues broad, and hath great houſes that pay tribute, 1306390. and men of warre both footemen, and horſemen, 100100.

18 The prouince of Vanam hath fourteene great cities, and 36. ſmall and 34. townes and caſtles, and is 88. leagues broade, 589296. great houſes that pay tribute, and 15100. men of warre.

19 The prouince of Suckin hath eight great cities, and one principall citie, and 54. townes, and Caſtles, and two great Cities of Garrizon, to keepe watch vpon the Iapons, and is 200. leagues broade, and hath, 5009532. great houſes that pay tribute, and 4003229. men of the kings garde.

20 The prouince of Canton hath fourtie great cities, and ſeuen ſmall, and 77. townes and Caſtles, and a Citie that putteth foorth hundreds of ſhippes, for the keeping of Cachew: China is 380. leagues in breadth and hath, 483383. great houſes which pay tribute, and 39400 men of warre.

21 The

21 The Citie Champa standeth in foureteene degrees to the Northwarde of the Equinoctiall.

22 The port of Cochin China, standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees and a halfe to the Northward.

23 The prouince of Enam, hath 7. great Cities, and 13. small, and 90 townes and Castles, and is 88. leagues broad, and hath 589296. great houses that pay tribute, & 15100. souldiers.

{Horsemen} {Footemen}
{454728.} {7459057.}

{The totall summe.}
{7923785.}

An assignement from Sir Walter Raleigh, to diuers Gentlemen, *and Merchants of London, for the inhabiting, and planting* of our people in Virginia.

THis Indenture made the 7. of March, in the 31. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland Queene, defender of of the fayth &c. betweene the right worshipfull Sir Water Raleigh, of Colaton Raleigh, in the county of Deuon knight, Lord warden of the Stanarie, and chiefe gouernour of Assamacomock alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, on the one partie, and Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Harler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Wacklyn, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, merchants of London, and aduenturers to Virginia aforesayd, John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayze, Chriſtopher Cooper, John Samson, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Prat, Dionise Harui, John Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, late of London gentlemen, of the other partie, witnesseth, that where Sir Water Raleigh knight by vertue of the Queenes Maiesties letters patents dated at Westminster, the 25. day of Marche, in the 26. yeere of her highnes raigne, vnto him the sayd Sir Water Raleigh, by the name of her Maiesties trustie, and welbeloued seruant, Water Raleigh Esquire, granted for the discouering, finding out, and planting of vnknowen and remote landes and countries, as by the sayd letters pattents at large doeth, and may more plainely appeare: hath by this indenture of graunt bearing date after the computation of England the 7. day of Januarie in the yere of our Lorde God 1587. and in the 29. yeere of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth, made betwixt him the said Sir Water Raleigh knight of the one partie, and John White, Roger Baylye, Ananias Dayze, Chriſtopher Cooper, John Sampson, Thoman Steeuens, William Fulwood, Roger Prat, Dionise Harui, John Nichols, George Howe, James Plat, and Simon Ferdinando of London Gentlemen of the other partie, graunted vnto the said John White, Roger Baylye, and the rest, free libertie to carrie with them into the late discouered barbarous lande, and countrie called Assamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia, there to inhabite with them, such, and so many of her Maiesties subiects, as shall willingly accompany them, together with sufficient shipping and furniture for the same, and also diuers, and sundrie other prerogatiues, iurisdictions, royalties, and preheminences, as in, and by the said indenture of graunt, it doeth, and may more at large also appeare: Nowe the sayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, Walter Baylye, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Harler, Thomas Martin, Gabriel Harris, William George, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerarrd, Robert Wacklin, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wright, Edmund Walden, and others, aduenturers as aforesaydе purposing, and intending to be made free of the corporation, companie, and societie lately made by the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh, in the citie of Raleigh, intended to be erected & builded in Asamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia aforesaid, as by his said indenture made to the said John White, Roger Bayly, & the rest more at large it doth appeare, do vpon ỹ sealing, effecting, & confirmation of these patents aduenture diuers & sundry sums of money, marchandises, shiping, munition, victual, and other commodities, into the said forraine and remote country

of

of Aſſamacomock alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia afoꝛeſaid: in conſideratiõ alwel of which aduenture, as alſo foꝛ diuers, and ſundꝛy other good cauſes, and conſiderations him the ſayde Sir Walter Ralegh thereunto eſpecially mouing, The ſayd Sir Walter Ralegh hath giuen, graunted, couenanted, and pꝛomiſed, and by theſe pꝛeſents foꝛ himſelfe, his heyꝛes, and aſſignes and euery of them, doth giue, graunt, couenant, and pꝛomiſe, to & with the ſaid Thomas Smith, William Sanderſon, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuil, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabꝛiel Harris, William Geoꝛge, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklyn, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hoode, Thomas Wade, Richard Wꝛight, Edmund Walden, and others aduenturers afoꝛeſayde, and vnto, and with the ſayd John White, Roger Bayꝛye, Ananias Dayꝛe, Chꝛiſtopher Cooper, John Samſon, Thomas Steeuens, Roger Pꝛat, Dioniſe Haruie, John Nichols, Humfrey Dimmocke, and euery of them, their heyꝛes, and aſſignes, and the heyꝛes, and aſſignes of euery of them, and their, and euery of their Deputies, Factoꝛs, oꝛ Appꝛentiſes, who ſhall ſerue them, oꝛ any of them by the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, that they, and euery, oꝛ any of them, ſhall from time to time and at all times foꝛ euer haue free trade, and traffique foꝛ all manner of Marchandiſe, oꝛ commodities whatſoeuer, vnto, in, and from all that part of America, called Aſamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia afoꝛeſayde, oꝛ vnto, oꝛ from any other part, oꝛ countrie, of, oꝛ in America afoꝛeſayde, where hee the ſayde Sir Walter Raleigh his heyꝛes oꝛ Aſſignes, oꝛ any other perſon oꝛ perſons claiming oꝛ pꝛetending any manner of right, title, oꝛ intereſt, oꝛ which hereafter ſhall oꝛ may claime, oꝛ pꝛetend any right, title, oꝛ intereſt, by, from, oꝛ vnder him the ſayde Sir Walter Raleigh, hath, chalengeth, claymeth, oꝛ may oꝛ ſhall hereafter, haue, chaleng, oꝛ clayme any intereſt, iuriſdiction, title, rule, oꝛ pꝛiuiledge, by any conueiance, oꝛ diſcouerie heretofoꝛe made, oꝛ hereafter to be made, oꝛ by any other way oꝛ meanes whatſoeuer. And further the ſayde Sir Walter Raleigh, as well foꝛ, and in eſpeciall regard, and zeale of planting the chꝛiſtian religion, in, and amongſt the ſayde barbarous and heathen countries, and foꝛ the aduancement and pꝛeferment of the ſame, and the common vtilitie and pꝛofite of the inhabitants therein, as alſo foꝛ the incouragement of the ſayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderſon, Walter Bayꝛye, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, Thomas Martin, Gabꝛiel Harris, William Geoꝛge, William Stone, Henry Fleetewood, John Gerrard, Robert Macklin, Richard Haklupt, Thomas Hood, Thomas Wade, Richard Wꝛight, Edmund Walden, John White, John Nichols, and the other Aſſiſtants nowe lying in Virginia, and others aduenturers afoꝛeſayde, their heirs, and aſſignes, doth by theſe pꝛeſents, freely, and liberally diſpoſe, and giue vnto them, the ſayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderſon, and the reſt afoꝛeſayde, the ſumme of one hundꝛed pounds of lawful money of England, to bee by them aduentured and diſpoſed, in, and amongſt other their aduentures vnto the places, and countries befoꝛe mentioned, To haue, holde, occupie, vſe, employ, poſſeſſe, enioy, and diſpoſe, as well the ſayde ſumme of 100. pound, giuen as afoꝛeſayd, as alſo all ſuch gayne, pꝛofite, commoditie, aduantage and increaſe, as they by Gods aſſiſtance, ſhall thereof make to their onely vſes and behoofes, and to the vſes and behoofes of the ſeuerall heyꝛes, executoꝛs, and Aſſignes of them and euery of them, without rendꝛing any account foꝛ the ſame, oꝛ any parcel thereof, to the ſayde Sir Water Ralegh, his heires, executoꝛs oꝛ aſſignes, oꝛ any of them. And the ſaid Sir Water Ralegh, foꝛ himſelfe his heyꝛs, and aſſignes, and euery of them, doeth further couenant, and graunt, to, and with the ſayde Thomas Smith, William Sanderſon, Walter Bayly, William Gamage, Edmund Neuill, Thomas Harding, Walter Marler, and the reſt afoꝛeſayde, and to, and with the ſayde John White, Roger Bayꝛye, Ananias Dayꝛe, Chꝛiſtopher Cooper, John Sampſon, Thoman Steeuens, Roger Pꝛat, Dioniſe Haruie, John Nichols, and Hmnfrie Dymmock, and the heyꝛes, and aſſignes of them, and euery of them by theſe pꝛeſents, to diſcharge, ſaue and keepe harmeleſſe, from time to time, and at all times foꝛ euer, them, and euery of them, their ſeuerall heyꝛes, and aſſignes, and euery of them, and the deputies, factoꝛs and ſeruants of them, and euery of them, and appꝛentiſes of them, and euery oꝛ any of them, who ſhall ſerue them oꝛ any of them the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, of, and from all rents, ſubſidies, cuſtoms, toles, taxes, tallages, and all other charges, ſeruices, dueties, and demaunds, whatſoeuer requiꝛed oꝛ demaunded, oꝛ to be required oꝛ demanded, at any time oꝛ times hereafter, oꝛ foꝛ the tꝛading, oꝛ tranſpoꝛting any commoditie oꝛ pꝛofite, into oꝛ from the ſayde countrie of Aſſamacomock, alias Wingandacoia, alias Virginia afoꝛeſayde, oꝛ any other countrey in America afoꝛeſayde, whereunto, oꝛ wherein, the ſayde Sir Walter Ralegh, his heyꝛes, oꝛ aſſignes, hath oꝛ may oꝛ ſhall haue any intereſt, right oꝛ title, by vertue of the ſayde letters pattents, oꝛ by any diſcouerie, oꝛ other meanes whatſoeuer, oꝛ foꝛ any other matter, cauſe, oꝛ thing whatſoeuer: the fift part

of

of all the oare of golde, and siluer that from time to time, and at all times after such discouerie, subduing and possessing as aforesaide, shalbe there gotten, and obtained (alwaies reserued to the vse of the said Sir Water Ralegh his heyres, and assignes) onely excepted, and foreprised. And the sayd Sir Water Raleigh doeth further couenant, and graunt by these presents for him, his heyres, and assignes, to and with the sayd Thomas Smith, William Sanderson, and the rest aforesayd their heires & assignes, that he the said sir Water Ralegh, his heyres, or assignes, vpon sufficient & reasonable request made to him by the persons aforesayd, or any of them, their heires, or assignes, shal and wil at any time, or times hereafter, ratifie, affirme, and approue by his deede, or deedes, or by any other conueiance, or conueiances in lawe, the corporation heretofore made by him the sayde Sir Water Raleigh, consisting of one Gouernour, and twelue assistants, as by his sayd Indenture made to John White and others, more plainely doth appeare, for the more perfect, and better assurance, and sure making of the saide corporation, if any imperfection, and want in law thereof bee. And further, that hee the sayde Sir Water Raleigh, his heyres, and assignes, shall, and will, as much as in him or them lieth, procure, and indeuour to obtaine, the Queenes maiesties letters patents, for ratification, approbation, and more sure confirmation, of the sayde corporation, and societie with al prerogatiues, commodities, iurisdictions, royalties, priuiledges, and preheminences, whatsoeuer graunted, and cõcied by her Maiestie, to the saide Sir Water Raleigh, his heires or assignes, or by him the sayd Sir Walter Raleigh, to the said John white, and others, as by his said indenture of graunt made to the sayde John White, and others more plainely appeareth. In witnesse whereof, the parties to these presents, haue hereunto interchangeably put their hands, and seales, the day and yeere first aboue written.

A briefe remembrance, for want of further aduertisements as *yet, of a voyage made this present yeere, 1589 by VVilliam* Michelson Captaine, and William Mace of Ratliffe, Master of a shippe called the Dogge, to the bay of Mexico in the West India.

THe foresaide shippe called the Dogge, of the burden of threescore and ten tunnes was furnished, and armed forth with the number of 40. men: it departed from the coast of England in the moneth of May, directly for the west India: It fell with the Bay of Mexico, and there met with diuers Spanish ships at sundry times, whereof three fell into her lappes, and were forced to yeelde to the mercy of the English: the last that they met with in the Bay, was a Spanish man of warre, whome the English chased, and after three seuerall fightes, vpon three diuers dayes, pressed him so farre, that he intreated a parle, by putting out a flagge of truce: the parle was graunted, and certaine of the Spaniards came aboorde the English. Where after conference about those matters that had passed in fight betwixt them, they receiued reasonable intertaynment and a quiet farewel. The Spanish, as if they had ment to requite the English curtesie, inuited our men to their ship, who perswading themselues of good meaning in the Spanish, went abooard: but honest and friendly dealing, was not their purpose, suddenly they assaulted our men, and one with a dagger stabde the English pilot to the hart and slewe him, and others were serued with the like sauce, only william Mace the Master, and two others, notwithstanding all the prepared trappes of the enemie, lept ouer booarde into the sea, and so came safe to their owne shippe: and directing his course for England, arriued at Plimmouth the 10. day of September last, laden with wines, pyon, Roans which is a kinde of linnen cloth, and other rich commodities, looking for the arriuall of the rest of his consorts, whereof one, and the principal, hath not long since obtayned his port. Thus much in generall termes onely, I haue as yet learned, and receiued touching this voyage, extracted out of letters sent from the foresayd William Mace, to Master Edward Wilkinson of Toure Hill in London. My principall intention by this example, is to admonish our nation of circumspection in dealing with that subtill enemie, and neuer to trust the Spanish further, then that their owne strength shalbe able to master them: for otherwise whosoeuer shall through simplicitie trust their curtesie, shall by trial taste of their assured cruelte.

The

The voyage ſet foorth by Maſter Iohn Newton, and Maſter Iohn *Bird Marchants of London to the kingdome and Citie of Benin in Affrica,* with a ſhip called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinneſſe in the yeere, 1588. briefely ſet downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foreſaid Marchants at the time of the ſhips firſt arriual at Plymmouth.

WOrſhipfull Sirs, the diſcourſe of our whole proceeding in this voyage, will aſke more time and a perſon in better health then I am at this preſent, ſo that I truſt you will pardon me, till my comming vp to you: in the meane time let this ſuffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coaſt of England with your good ſhip the Richard of Arundell and the pinneſſe, we held on our direct courſe towards our appointed port, and the 14. day of Februarie following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water ynough to carrie the ſhip ouer the barre, ſo that we left her without in the road, and with the pinneſſe, and ſhip boate into which we had put the chiefeſt of our marchandiſe, we went vp the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20. of Februarie, the foreſaid Goto being ẏ neereſt place that we could come to by water, to goe for Benin. From thence we preſently ſent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cauſe of our comming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22. day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vp to the Citie, and with 200. Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23. day we deliuered our Marchandiſe to the Kinges Factor, and the fiue and twentith day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well intertained: The ſixe and twentith day wee went to the Court to haue ſpoken with the King, which (by reaſon of a ſolemne feaſt then kept amongeſt them) we could not doe: but yet wee ſpake with his Viadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Chriſtians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who anſwered vs, that we ſhoulde haue all thinges to our deſire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

The firſt of March, we were admitted to the kings preſence, and he made vs the like curteous anſwere for our traffique: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foreſaid Viadore ſhewed vs one baſket of greene pepper, and another of drie in the ſtalkes: we deſired to haue it plucked from the ſtalkes, and made cleane, who anſwered, that it would aſke time, but yet it ſhould be done: and that againſt another yeere it ſhould be in better readines, and the reaſon why we found it ſo vnprepared was, becauſe in this kinges time no Chriſtians had euer reſorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were ſent vs 12. baſkets, and ſo a little euery day vntil the 9. of March at which time we had made vpon 94. ſerons of pepper, and 28. Elephantes teeth. In this time of our being at Benin, our natures at this firſt time not ſo well acquainted with that climate, we fell all of vs into the diſeaſe of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine ſent me downe with thoſe goods which we already had receiued, to the reſt of our men at Goto, where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinneſſe ſicke alſo, and by reaſon of their weakenes not able to conuey the pinneſſe and goods downe to the place where our ſhip roade: but by good happe within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came vp from the ſhip, to ſee how all things ſtood with vs, ſo that I put the goods into the boate, and went downe towards the ſhip: but by that time I was come aboord, many of our men dyed: namely, Maſter Benſon, the Cowper, the Carpenter, and 3. or 4. more, and my ſelfe was alſo in ſuch a weake ſtate that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I ſent vp Samuel Dunne, and the Chirurgian with him to our men that were aboue to let them blood, if it were thought needeful: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your ſonne William Bird dead, and Thomas Hempſteede very weake, who alſo dyed within two dayes after their comming thither. This ſorowful accident cauſed them with ſuch pepper and teeth, as they could then finde, ſpeedely to returne to the ſhippe, as by the Cargaſon will appeare: at their comming away the Viadore told them, that if they could or woulde ſtay any longer time, he would vſe all poſſible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common ſickneſs ſo increaſed, and continued amongſt vs all, that by the time our men which remayned were come aboorde, wee had ſo many ſicke, and dead of our company, that wee looked all for the ſame happe, and ſo thought to looſe both our Shippe, life, Countrie and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get vp our ankers, but yet at the laſt by the mercie of God hauing gotten them vp, but leauing our pinnace behind vs, we got to ſea, and ſet ſayle, which

was vpon the 13. of Aprill. After which by litle and litle our men began to gather vp their crums and to recouer some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the mayne, we came to the Ilandes of the Açores vpon the 25. of July, where our men began a fresh to growe ill, and diuers dyed, among whom Samuell Dunne was one, and as many as remained lyuing, were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so well out, by Gods good prouidence, that we mett with your shippe the Barke burre, on this side the Nozth cape, which did not onely keepe vs good company, but also sent vs 6. fresh men abooꝛd, without whose helpe, we should surely haue tasted of many inconueniences. But by this good meanes, we are now at the last arriued in Plymmouth, this 9. day of September: and foꝛ want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of moꝛe particularities, till my comming to London.

Yours to command
Anthonie Ingram.

[Or Theodore.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of Pheodore Iuanowiche, *Emperor of Russia &c. the* 10. *of Iune, in the yeere* 1584. *seene*

and obserued by Master Ierom Horsey gentleman, and seruant to her Maiestie, a man of great trauell, and long experience in those partes: wherewith is also ioyned the course of his iourney ouer land from Mosco to Emden, the right place of which discourse, is immediatly after the Embassage of Sir Ierom Bowes, in the second part of this historie: which being fully printed, before this matter came to my hands, I am forced here to annexe it, least so rare a thing should be suppressed, and the diligent seruice of the foresaid gentleman not knowne as well as others of the same nature.

WHen the old Emperoꝛ Iuan Vasilewich dyed, (being about the 18. of Aprill, 1584. after our computation) in the Citie of Musko, hauing raigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult, and vproꝛe among some of the nobilitie, and comminaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediatly the same night, the Prince Boris Fedorowich Godonoua, Knæz Iuan Fedorowich, Mesthis Slasky, Knæz Iuan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich and Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperoꝛs Will, especially the Loꝛd Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, and was bꝛother to the Empꝛesse, who was a man very well liked of all estates, as no lesse woꝛthy foꝛ his valure and wisedome, all these were appointed to dispose, and settle his sonne, Feodore Iuanowich, hauing one swoꝛne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers whosoeuer. In the moꝛning the dead Emperoꝛ was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangell, into a hewen sepulcre, very richly deckedwith vestures fit foꝛ such a purpose: and present Pꝛoclamation was made, (Emperoꝛ Feodore Iuanowich of all Russia &c.) Thꝛoughout all the Citie of Mosco, was great watch and ward, with souldyers, and gunners, good oꝛders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and pollicie was in this case vsed was a thing woꝛth the beholding. This being done in Mosko, great men of birth and accompt, were also pꝛesently sent to the boꝛdering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kasan, Nouogorode &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Pꝛiors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobilitie whatsoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended to a new reformation in the gouernement: but especially the terme, and time was agreed vpon foꝛ the solemnizing of the new Emperoꝛs coꝛonation. In the meane time the Empꝛesse, wife to the old Emperoꝛ, was with her child the Emperoꝛs sonne, Charewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age oꝛ there abouts, sent with her father Feodor Feodorowich Nagay, and that kindꝛed, being 6. Bꝛothers, to a Towne called Owglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the yong Pꝛince her sonne, with all the landes belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all soꝛtes appointed, hauing allowance of apparel, iewels, dyet, hoꝛse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a pꝛincesse. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Sorachyn, oꝛ foꝛtie oꝛderlie daies, the day of the solemnizing of this coꝛonation, with great pꝛeparations, was come, being vpon the 10 day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeeres: at which time, Master Ierom Horsey was oꝛderly sent foꝛ, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperoꝛ comming out of his Pallace, there went befoꝛe him, the Metropoli-

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tan, Archbishops, Bishops, and cheefest Monkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garmentes vpon them, carying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperors Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperor with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruice were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michaell the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruice: and from thence to our Ladie Church, Prechista, beeing their Cathedrall Church. In the middest thereof was a chayre of maiestie placed, wherein his Auncestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most riche and vnualuable garmentes put on him: beeing placed in this Princely seate, his nobilitie standing round about him in their degrees, his imperiall Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitan, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his kingdoms were set before him, & the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitan read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperor to minister true Justice, to inioy with tranquilitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following.

Through the will of the almightie & without begining God which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of al things, by which wil, & working, he both liueth, & giueth life to man: that our only God which enspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discerne God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keepe the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and the maintenance of vertue: and so the Metropolitan blessed and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Maiestie, hauing vpon him an vpper robe adorned with precious stones of all sortes, orient pearles of great quantitie, but alwaies augmented in riches: it was in waight 200. pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne vp by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperiall Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperiall in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of 3. foot and a halfe in length beset with riche stones, bought of Marchants of Ausburge by the old Emperor in An. 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Jewel M. Horsey kept somtimes, before the Emperor had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by ỹ prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap beset with rich stones & pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vncle, Mekita Romanowich the Emperors vncle, Steuan Vasiliwich, Gregory Vasiliwich, Iuan Vasiliwich brothers, of the blood roiall. Thus at last the Emperor came to the great Church doore, & the people cried, God saue our Emperor Pheodore Iuanowich of all Russia. His horse was there readie most richly adorned, with a couering of imbrodered pearle & precious stones, saddle, & all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, 3. manner of waies, 3. foote aboue ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperor returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foote with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red veluet, the bridges with scarlet, & stammell cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperor was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet & scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a piece, to reserue it for a monument: siluer, and gold coyne, then mynted of purpose was cast among the people in great quantity. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, & richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich manner were appareled al the family of the Godonouaes in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, & nobility, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynskie, whose robe, horse, & furniture, was in register found worth C. thousand markes sterling, beeing of great antiquity. The Empresse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of Maiestie also before a great open window: most precious, & rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, & orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, & Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preserue our noble Empresse Irenia. After al this the Emperor came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royal seate adorned as before: his 6. crownes were set before him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of garde with his men standing two on each side in white apparel of cloth of siluer, called Kindy, with

scepters, and battle axes of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their riche roabs.

The Emperor after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he remoued to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The three out roomes being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round, from the ground vp to the vauts one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer and golde: this solemnitie, and triumphe lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vsed: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, and dignitie, as the Prince Borris Fedorowich, was made chiefe Counsaylor to the Emperor, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Liuetenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernour or Liuetenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperor giuen him many reuenues, and rich landes, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherite a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English myles in length, and 250 in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and welthy, his yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yeerely reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the field 100. thousand Souldiers wel furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperors Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two myles without the Citie, being 170. great pieces of brasse of all sortes, as faire as any can be made, these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two myles in length, appareled all in veluet, coloured silke and stammels, discharged their shot also twise ouer in good order: and so the Emperor accompanied w'th all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the Citie to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to bee described particularlie as it was performed: it shall suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, all the nobilitie, officers, and marchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presentes vnto the Emperor, wishing him long life, and ioy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remayning as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, was called for to the Emperor, as he sate in his imperiall seate, and then also a famous Marchant of Netherland being newely come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to bee the king of Spaines subiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard before Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying, he would haue his legges cutt off by the knees, before he would yeeld to such an indignitie offred to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maiestie of England, to bring the Emperor a present, in course after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperor, and the Prince Boris Fedorowiche perceiuing the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Iuanowiche Galauyn, and Vasilie Shalcan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperor backe, Master Horseys speech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperor in the behalfe of the English Marchants trading thither, a present wishing him ioy, and long to raigne in tranquilitie, and so kissed the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auowching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Marchants, in as ample manner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed, he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats with 3. carts laden with all sorts of drinkes very bountifully. After him, was the foresaid subiect of the Spanish king admitted with his present, whom the Emperor willed to be no lesse faythfull and seruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were and had ben, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauor accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperor, & Empresse very deuoutly resorted one foote, to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke them selues to a progresse, in order of procession, to a famous monasterie called Sergius, and the Trinitie, 60. myles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of noble men, gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horse, with furniture accordingly.

The Empresse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foote all the way, accompanied with her Prin-

Princeſſes, and ladyes, no ſmal number: her garde, and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe Counſeller or attendant was a noble man of the blood Royal her vncle of great authoritie, called Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoua.

All this progreſſe ended, both the Emperour, and Empreſſe returned to Moſco: ſhortly after the Emperour by the direction of the prince Boris Fedorowich, ſent a power into the lande of Siberia, where all the rich Sables, and Furres, are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1500. myles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken priſoner the Emperour of the countrie called Chare Siberskie, and with him many other Dukes, and noble men, which were brought to Moſco, with a garde of ſouldiers, and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honourable maner, and do there remayne to this day.

Chare Siberſkie prince of Siberia taken priſoner and brought to Moſco.

Hereupon the corrupt officers, Iudges, Iuſtices, Captaines, and Lieutenants through the whole kingdome were remooued, and more honeſt men ſubſtituted in their places, with expreſſe commaundement, vnder ſeuere puniſhment to surceaſe their old bribing, and extortion which they had vſed in the old Emperours time, and now to execute true iuſtice without reſpect of perſons: and to the ende that this might bee the better done, their lands, and yerely ſtipends were augmented: the great taſks, cuſtoms, and dueties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperours time, were now abated, and ſome wholy remitted, and no puniſhments commanded to be vſed, without ſufficient and due proofe, although the crime were capital, deſeruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houſes, that were vnder diſpleaſure, and impriſoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperour, were now ſet at libertie and reſtored to their lands: all priſoners were ſet at libertie, and their treſpaſſes forgiuen. In ſumme, a great alteration vniuerſally in the gouernment followed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bredde great aſſurance, and honour to the kingdome: and all was accompliſhed by the wiſdome eſpecially of Irenia the Empreſſe.

These things being reported & caryed to the eares of the kings, & princes that were borderers vpon Ruſſia, they grew ſo fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Chan himſelfe, named Sophet Keri Alli, came out of his owne country to the Emperour of Ruſſia, accompanyed with a great number of his nobilitie well horſed, although to them that were Chriſtians they ſeemed rude, yet they were perſonable men, and valiant: their comming was gratefull to the Emperour, and their intertaynement was honourable, the Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues alſo, receiued of the Ruſſe Emperour, intertainement, and princely welcome according to their eſtates.

Sophet Keri Alli king of the Crimmes, arriuall at Moſco.

Not long after, 1200. Poliſh gentlemen, valiant Souldiers, and proper men came to Moſco offering their ſeruice to the Emperour, who were all intertayned: and in like ſorte many Chirkaſſes, and people of other nations came and offered ſeruice. And, alſoone as the report of this newe created Emperour was ſpred ouer other kingdomes of Europe, there were ſent to him ſundry Ambaſſadours to wiſh him ioy, and proſperitie in his kingdome: thither came Ambaſſadours from the Turke, from the Perſian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came alſo Ambaſſadours from the Emperour of Almaine, the Pole, the Swethen, the Dane, &c. And ſince his coronation no enemie of his hath preuailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperour was deſirous to ſend a meſſage to the moſt excellent Queene of Englande, for which ſeruice he thought no man fitter then M. Ierom Horſie, ſuppoſing that one of the Queenes owne men and ſubiects would be the more acceptable to her. The ſumme of which meſſage was, that the Emperour deſired a continuance of that league, friendſhip, amitie and intercourſe of traffique which was betweene his father, and the Queenes Maieſtie and her ſubiects, with other priuate affayres beſides, which are not to bee made common. M. Horſey hauing receiued the letters, and requeſts of the Emperour, prouided for his iourney ouer land, and departed from Mosko the 5. day of September, thence to Otuer, thence to Torshook, to great Nouogorode, to Vobskye, and thence to Nyhouſe in Liuonia, to Wenden, and ſo to Riga: (where he was beſet, & brought forth with before a Cardinal, called Rageuill, but yet ſuffered to paſſe in the ende:) From thence to Myto, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Pruſſia, to Meluin, to Dantzike, to Stetine in Pomerland, to Roſtok, to Lubek, to Hamborough, to Breame, to Emden, and by ſea to London. Being arriued at her Maieſties royall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperours letters, with good fauour, and gratious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commanded to repaſſe into Ruſſia, with other letters from her Maieſtie to the Emperour, and Prince Boris Fedorowich, anſwering the Emperours letters, and withall requeſting the fauour and friendſhip, which his father had yeelded to the Engliſh Merchants: and hereunto was he earneſtly alſo ſolicited by the Merchants of London themſelues of that company, to deale

The new Emperour Phedor Iuanowich his letters and requeſts to the Queene.

M. Horſeys voyage from Moſco to England ouerlande.

in their behalfe: being thus diſpatched from London by ſea, he arriued in Moſco the 20. of Aprill 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for the merchants behoofe, obtayned all his requeſts, being therein ſpecially fauoured by the noble prince Boris Fedorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horſey with ſpeciall liking. And hauing obtayned priuiledges for the merchants, hee was recommended from the Emperour againe, to the Queene of Englande his miſtreſſe, by whome the prince Boris, in token of his honorable, and good opinion of the Queenes Maieſtie, ſent her highneſſe a royall preſent of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of golde, and other riche things. So that the company of Engliſh marchants, next to their thankfulnes to her Maieſtie, are to account M. Horſes paines their ſpecial benefite, who obtained for them thoſe priuiledges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horſeys laſt diſpatch from the Emperour becauſe it was very honourable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed poſt horſes for him, and his ſeruants, victuals, and all other neceſſaries for his long iourney: at euery towne that he came vnto from Moſco to Vologda, which is by lande 500. myles, hee receiued the like free, and bountifull allowances, at the Emperours charge. New victuall, & prouiſion were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at euery towne by the kings officers being 1000. of their miles in length. When he came to the new caſtle called Archangel he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vaſili Andrewich Iſuenogorodski by the Emperours commiſſion into the Caſtle, gunners being ſet in ranks, after their vſe, where he was ſumptuouſly feaſted: from thence he was diſpatched with bountifull prouiſion, and allowance in the Dukes boate with 100. men to rowe him, 100 gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the roade, where the Engliſh, Dutch, and French ſhippes ridde, the gunners diſcharged, and the ſhips ſhot in like maner 46. pieces of their ordinance, and ſo he was brought to his lodging at the Engliſh houſe vpon Roſe Iſland.

And that which was the ful, and complet concluſion of the fauour of the Emperour and Boris Federowich toward M. Horſey, there were the next day ſent him for his further prouiſion vpon the ſea by a Gentilman and a Captaine the things following.

- 16. liue oxen.
- 70. ſheepe.
- 600. hennes.
- 25. fleeches of Bacon.
- 80. buſhels of meale.
- 600. loaues of bread.
- 2000. egges.
- 10. geeſe.
- 2. cranes.
- 2. ſwannes.
- 65. gallons of meade.
- 40. gallons of Aquauitæ
- 60. gallons of beare.
- 3. pong beares.
- 4. hawks.
- Store of onions, and garlike.
- 10. freſh ſalmons.
- A wilde boare.

All theſe things were brought him downe by a gentleman of the Emperours, and another of prince Boris Fedorowich, and were receiued in order by Iohn Freſe ſeruant to M. Horſeye, together with an honorable preſent, and reward from the Prince Boris, ſent him by Francis Cherry an Engliſhman: which preſent was a whole very rich peece of cloth of gold, and a fayre payre of Sables. This Gentleman hath obſerued many other rare things concerning thoſe parts, which hereafter (God willing) at more conuenient time, and leaſure ſhall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the newe Emperours gratious Letter of priuiledge to the Engliſh Marchants word for word: obtayned by M. Ierom Horſey. 1586.

THrough the wil of the almightie and without beginning God, which was before this world, whome we glorifie in the trinitie, one only God, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ghoſt, maker of all thinges, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loueth, and giueth life to man, That our only God, which vnſpyeth euery one of vs his only Children with his worde, to diſcerne God through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and the holy quickning ſpirit of life now in theſe perilous times, Eſtabliſh vs to keepe the right Septer, and ſuffer vs of our ſelues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the ſubduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We Pheodor, the of ſpring of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperour, King and great Prince of all Ruſſia, of Volademeria, Moſcouia, and Nouogorode, king of Kaſan, king of Aſtracan, Lord of Plesko, & great prince of Smolenſkay, of Twer, Yougoria, Perme, Vatkay, of Bolghaire and others, Lord and great Prince of the land of the lower Nouogorod, Chernegay, Rezan, Polotſkay, Roſtow, Yeroſlaue, the white lake, Leifland, Owdor, Condence, and Ruler of all Sebe-ria, and all the Northſide, and Lord of many other Countries.

I haue gratified the marchants of England, to wit, S. Rowland Hayward, & Richard Martin Aldermen,

Aldermen, S. George Barnes, Thomas Smith Esquire, Ierom Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their ships into our dominyon, the lande of Dwina with all kind of commodities to trade freely and vnto our kingdome and the citie of Mosco and to all the cities of our Empire of Moscouia.

And the english merchants, S. Rowland Hayward, & his societie desired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdome of Moscouia, & into our heritage of great Nouogorod, and Plesko, and into al parts of our kingdome, to bye, and sell, with their wares, without custome.

Therfore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they aledge, that they had great losse & hinderance by the venture of the sea, & otherwise, haue gratified the said english merchants, S. Rouland Hayward & his societie, freely to come into our kingdome of Moscouia, & into all our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, trafficke freely, & at their pleasure with all kinde of their commodities: also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs what soeuer, That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for launching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels or boates, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer bridges, nor for ferying ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any manner of custome or duety, by what name soeuer.

Only they shal not bring wt them into our dominions, neither recarry out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods, but their owne, neither sell them, nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shall not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shall they retayne or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or pawnes by them to coulour them.

Also they shall not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy vp commodities, but into what citties they themselues shal come, they shall buye and sell, and shall sell their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shall come into our inheritance of great Nouogorod, and Plesko and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captaines, & euery one of our officers, shall suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shall take no custome at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any bridges, nor shall take of them any other dutie whatsoeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and whersoeuer they shall passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and townes they shall take no maner of custome or duetie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to trafficke through out all the dominions of our kingdome, in all cities with their goods to buy and sell al manner of commodities, without any duety or custome, whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants, where they are desirous to buy, or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retaile: That is to say, neither by small weight, nor by the yard, to sell or barter in their own houses, & they shal sell and barter their wares wholy, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole cloth, and Dammaske and veluet by the peece, and not by the yard, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sel by the smal weights, as by the pound, and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shal sell wines by the pype, and by the gallon, quart, or Stoope they shall not sell.

And they shal buye, sell, and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shall not make sales, or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shall they themselues conuay or carie through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the english merchants wil at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or Vologda, or Yeroslaue they may, and of their commodities throughout al our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captaines, and euery of our officers shal take no manner of custome, according as it is written in this our gratious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they shall hire carriers, and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transporte their goods.

So likewise, whensoeuer the english merchants, are disposed to depart out of our kingdome into any other countrie or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shal sell them, and exchange them for such commoditie as is commodious for our kingdome, and shall deliuer it into our Treasurie, & with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captaines, and euery of our officers shal let them passe through al our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also

Also when so euer the English merchants shal haue sold their own goods, & bought themselues commodities, and will depart out of Mosco, then they shall manifest themselues to our chiefe Secretary, Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambassadours are alwaies dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, haue had any mischance by the sea, insomuch that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our countrie: then we wil cause the goods to be sought out in true Justice, and to be giuen to the English people, which at that time shalbe here resident in our countrie: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no English men within our realme: then will we cause these goods to be laide vp in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will commaund all those goods to be deliuered to the said English people.

Also wee haue gratified all the English merchants, with the house of one Vrie, here in the Mosco right ouer against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shal dwell in the same house according as before time, and they shall keepe one alwaies in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shal possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeroslaue, Vollogday, Colmogro, and the house at the hauen of the sea, and they shall dwel in those houses, according as our goodnesse hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commaunded, that there shal not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, taxe, rent or any other duetie whatsoeuer for those houses, neither shall pay any duetie, or taxe with any of the townes men of those places, and in euery one of those houses, to wit, at Yeroslaue, Vologday, and Colmogro, they shall haue men to keepe their houses, two or three of their owne countrie people, strangers, or else Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shalbe no marchants, that they may lay their goodes in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whome they please, according to this our gratious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buye no part of there commoditie, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceiued by them.

So likewise I haue gratified them with their house at the sea hauen, at the mouth of Pawdazemskay, and we haue commaunded, that they shall not carrie their goods from thence to the new castell S. Michael tharchangel, but shall ariue, and do as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall vnlade their commodities out of their ships and shall lade them againe with Russe cõmodities, euen there at that their house without interruption: only they shall permit our officers of Colmogro & sworne men to write vp those commodities, both the commodities of England, & those of Russeland, what the marchants shal declare themselues, and no otherwise, but they shal not ouerlooke their commodities, neither shall they vnbinde any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to sende into their owne countrie, to wit, any of their owne people on lande through any other kingdome whatsoeuer, they shall not sende their people without our kingly knowledge and commaundement, and which of their people so euer they do meane to send out of our kingdome, into their own country, then they shall send those their people, not without our kingly Maiesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carrying any commodities with them, and they shal haue a letter of passe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambassadours haue alwayes their dispatch.

And who so euer hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuersie, either concerning marchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadours office to doe iustice betweene both parties, and to seeke out the trueth of matters in all things, and whatsoeuer cannot be found out by the Lawe, shalbe tryed by othe and lots: whose lot so euer is taken forth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdome, in what citie so euer, they or their people shalbe, and that there happen any matter of controuersie, either concerning marchandise, iniuries, or otherwise, that they haue occasion to set vpon any man by lawe, or that any seeke vpon them, concerning what matter so euer in all our kingdome and cities, then our sieutenants, captaines, and our officers shall giue them Justice, and shall minister all true iustice betweene them, seeking out the truth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shalbe sought out by othe and lot: whose lot soeuer is taken out, him to haue right accordingly as before, and the Judges or Justices shall take of them no kinde of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our Realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely Pallace within the cittie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seuen thousand fourescore and fifteene, in the moneth of February.

FINIS.

A Table

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake into the South Sea, and there hence about the whole Globe of the Earth,

begun in the yeere of our Lord, 1577.

THe 15. day of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, 1577. M. Francis Drake, with a fleete of fiue ſhips and barkes, and to the number of 164. men, Gentlemen and Sailers, departed Plimmouth, giuing out his pretended voyage for Alexandria: but the winde falling contrary, he was forced the next morning to put into Falmouth hauen in Cornewall, where ſuch and ſo terrible a tempeſt tooke vs, as few men haue ſeene the like, and was in deed ſo vehement, that all our ſhips were like to haue gone to wracke, but it pleaſed God to preſerue vs from that extremitie and to afflict vs only for that preſent with theſe two particulars: The maſte of our Admiral which was the Pellican, was cut ouer boord for the ſafegard of the ſhip, and the Marygold was driuen a ſhore, & ſomewhat bruiſed, for the repairing of which damages we returned againe to Plimmouth, and hauing recouered thoſe harmes, and brought the ſhips againe to good ſtate, we ſet forth the ſecond time from Plimmouth, and ſet ſaile the 13. day of December following.

The 25. day of the ſame moneth we fell with the Cape Cantine, vpon the coaſt of Barbarie, and coaſting along, the 27. day we found an Iſland called Magador, lying one mile diſtant from the maine, betweene which Iſland and the maine, we found a very good and ſafe harbour for our ſhips to ride in, as alſo very good entrance, and void of any danger. The Iſle of Magador on the coaſt of Barbarie.

On this Iſland our Generall erected a pinnaſe, whereof he brought out of England with him foure already framed. While theſe things were in doing, there came to the waters ſide ſome of the inhabitaunts of the countrey, ſhewing foorth their flags of truce, which being ſeene of our Generall, he ſent his ſhips boate to the ſhore, to know what they would: they being willing to come aboord, our men left there one man of our companie for a pledge, and brought two of theirs aboord our ſhippe, which by ſignes ſhewed our Generall, that the next day they would bring ſome prouiſion, as Sheepe, Capons and Hennes and ſuch like, whereupon our Generall beſtowed amongſt them ſome linnen cloth and ſhoes, and a iaueling, which they very ioyfully receiued, and departed for that time.

The next morning they failed not to come againe to the waters ſide, and our Generall againe ſetting out our boate, one of our men leaping ouer raſhly a ſhore, and offering friendly to imbrace them, they ſet violent hands on him, offering a dagger to his throte if hee had made any reſiſtance, and ſo laying him on a horſe, caried him away, ſo that a man cannot bee too circumſpect and warie of himſelfe among ſuch miſcreants.

Our pinnaſe being finiſhed, we departed from this place the thirtieth and laſt day of December, and coaſting along the ſhore, we did deſcrie, not contrary to our expectation, certaine Canters which were Spaniſh fiſhermen, to whom we gaue chaſe and tooke 3. of them, and proceeding further we met with 3. Caruels and tooke them alſo.

The 17. day of Januarie we arriued at Cape Blanko, where we found a ſhip riding at anker, within the Cape, and but two ſimple Mariners in her, which ſhip we tooke and caried her further into the harbour where we remained 4. dayes, and in that ſpace our Generall muſtered, and trayned his men on land in warlike maner, to make them fit for all occaſions. Januarie.

In this place we tooke of the Fiſhermen ſuch neceſſaries as wee wanted, and they could yeld vs, and leauing here one of our litle barkes called the Benedict, wee tooke with vs one of theirs which they called Canters, being of the burden of 40. tunnes or thereabouts.

All theſe things being finiſhed, we departed this harbour the 22. of Januarie, carying along with vs one of the Portingall Caruels which was bound to the Iſlands of Cape de Verde for ſalt, whereof good ſtore is made in one of thoſe Iſlands.

The maſter or Pilot of that Caruell, did aduertiſe our Generall that vpon one of thoſe Iſlands called Mayo, there was great ſtore of dried Cabaritas, which a few inhabitaunts there dwelling, did yeerely make readie for ſuch of the kings ſhips as did there touch, being bound for his countrey of Braſile or elſe where. We fell with this Iſland the ſeuen and twentieth of Januarie, but the inhabitants would in no caſe traffique with vs, being thereof forbidden by the kings Edict: yet the next day our Generall ſent to view the Iſland, and the likelihoods that might be there of prouiſion of victuals, about three ſcore & two men vnder the conduct & gouernment of M. Winter and maſter Doughtie, and marching towards the chiefe place of habitation in this Iſland (as by the Portingall wee were informed) hauing trauelled to the mountains the ſpace of three miles, and arriuing there ſomewhat before the day breake, wee arreſted our ſelues to ſee day The Iſle of Mayo.

before vs, which appearing, wee found the inhabitaunts to bee fled: but the place by reason that it was manured, we found to bee more fruitfull then the other part, especially the valleys among the hils.

Ripe grapes in Winter.

Here we gaue our selues a little refreshing, as by very ripe and sweete grapes, which the fruitfulnesse of the earth at that season of the yeere yeelded vs: and that season beyng with vs the depth of Winter, it may seeme straunge that those fruites were then there growing: but the reason thereof is this, because they being betweene the Tropike and the Equinoctiall, the Sunne passeth twise in the yeere through their Zenith ouer their heads, by meanes whereof they haue two Sunnes, and beyng so neere the heate of the line, they neuer lose the heate of the Sunne so much, but the fruites haue their increase and continuance in the midst of Winter. The Iland is wonderfully stored with goates and wilde hennes, and it hath salt also without labour, saue onely that the people gather it into heapes, which continually in great quantitie is increased vpon the sands by the flowing of the sea, and the receiuing heate of the sunne kerning the same, so that of the increase thereof they keepe a continuall traffique with their neighbours.

The description of the tree that beareth Cocos.

Amongst other things we found here a kind of fruit called Cocos, which because it is not commonly knowen with vs in England, I thought good to make some description of it.

The tree beareth no leaues nor branches, but at the very top the fruit groweth in clusters, hard at the top of the stemme of the tree, as big euery seuerall fruite as a mans head: but hauyng taken off the vttermost barke, which you shall find to bee very full of strings or sinowes, as I may terme them, you shall come to a hard shell which may hold of quantitie in liquor a pint commonly, or some a quart, and some lesse: within that shell of the thicknesse of halfe an inch good, you shall haue a kind of hard substance and very white, no lesse good and sweete then almonds: within that againe a certaine cleere liquor, which being drunke, you shall not onely find it very delicate and sweete, but most comfortable and cordiall.

After wee had satisfied our selues with some of these fruites, wee marched further into the Iland, and sawe great store of * Cabaritas aliue, which were so chased by the inhabitaunts, that we could doe no good towards our prouision, but they had laied out as it were to stop our mouths withall certayne old dried Cabaritas, which beyng but ill, and small and few, wee made no account of.

* Or goates.

The Isle of S. Iago.

Being returned to our ships, our Generall departed hence the 31. of this moneth, and sayled by the Iland of S. Iago, but farre inough from the danger of the inhabitaunts, who shot and discharged at vs three pieces, but they all fell short of vs and did vs no harme. The Iland is fayre and large, and as it seemeth rich and fruitfull, and inhabited by the Portingals, but the mountains and high places of the Iland, are sayd to be possessed by the Moores, who hauing bene slaues to the Portingals, to ease themselues, made escape to the desart places of the Iland, where they abide with great strength.

A prize, and a Portingall Pilot taken.

Being before this Iland, we espied two ships vnder sayle, to the one of which we gaue chase, and in the end boorded her with a ship boate without resistance, which we found to be a good prize, and pelded vnto vs good store of wine, which prize our Generall committed to the custodie of M. Doughtie, and reteining the Pilot, sent the rest away with his pinnase, giuing them a Butte of wine and some victuals, and their wearing clothes, and so they departed.

The Isle of Fogo.

The same night we came with the Iland called by the Portingals, Ila del fogo, that is, the burning Iland: in the Northside whereof is a consuming fire, the matter is sayd to bee of Sulphure, but notwithstanding it is like to bee a commodious Iland, because the Portingals haue built, and doe inhabite there.

Vpon the Southside thereof lieth a most pleasaunt and sweete Iland, the trees whereof are alwayes greene and faire to looke vpon, in respect whereof they call it Ila del Braua, that is, the braue Iland. From the banks thereof into the sea doth run in many places reasonable streames of fresh waters easie to be come by, but there was no conuenient road for our ships: for such was the depth, that no ground could be had for ankering, and it is reported, that ground was neuer found in that place, so that the tops of Fogo burne not so high in the ayre, but the rootes of Braua are quenched as low in the sea.

Being departed from these Islands, we drew towards the line, where wee were becalmed the space of 3. weekes, but yet subiect to diuers great stormes, terrible lightnings and much thunder: but with this miserie we had the commoditie of great store of fish, as Dolphin, Bonitas, and flying fishes, whereof some fell into our shippes, where hence they could not rise againe for want of moisture, for when their wings are drie, they cannot flie.

From the first day of our departure from the Islands of Cape Verde, wee sayled 54. days with-

without sight of land, and the first land that we fell with was the coast of Brasil, which we sawe the 5. of Aprill in the height of 33. degrees towards the pole Antarctike, and being discouered at sea by the inhabitaunts of the countrey, they made vpon the coast great fires for a sacrifice (as we learned) to the deuils, about which they vse coniurations, making heapes of sands and other ceremonies, that when any ship shall goe about to stay vpon their coast, not onely sands may bee gathered together in shoales in euery place, but also that stormes and tempests may arise, to the casting away of ships and men, whereof (as it is reported) there haue bene diuers experiments. Aprill. 33. degrees.

The seuenth day in a mightie great storme both of lightning, rayne and thunder, wee lost the Canter which wee called the Christopher: but the eleuenth day after, by our Generals great care in dispersing his ships, we found her agayne, and the place where we met our Generall called the Cape of Ioie, where euery ship tooke in some water. Here wee found a good temperature and sweete aire, a very faire and pleasaunt countrey with an exceeding fruitfull soile, where were great store of large and mightie Deere, but we came not to the sight of any people: but trauelling further into the countrey, we perceiued the footing of people in the clay ground, shewing that they were men of great stature. Being returned to our shippes we waied anker, and ranne somewhat further and harboured our selues betweene a rocke and the maine, where by meanes of the rocke that brake the force of the sea, we rid very safe, and vpon this rocke wee killed for our prouision certaine sea wolues, commonly called with vs Seales. The Cape of Ioy.

From hence we went our course to six and thirtie degrees, and entered the great riuer of Plate, and ranne into 54. and 53. fadomes and a halfe of fresh water, where we filled our water by the ships side: but our Generall finding here no good harborough as he thought hee should, bare out againe to sea the 27. of Aprill, and in bearing out we lost sight of our Flie boate wherein master Doughtie was, but wee sayling along, found a fayre and reasonable good Baie wherein were many and the same profitable Ilands, one whereof had so many Seales as would at the least haue laden all our ships, and the rest of the Ilands are as it were lade with foules which is wonderfull to see, and they of diuers sortes. It is a place very plentifull of victuals, and hath in it no want of fresh water. Their entrāce into the riuer of Plate. Abundance of Seales.

Our Generall after certaine dayes of his abode in this place, being on shore in an Iland, the people of the countrey shewed themselues vnto him, leaping and dauncing, and entered into traffique with him, but they would not receiue any thing at any mans hands, but the same must bee cast vpon the ground. They are of cleane, comely, and strong bodies, swift on foote, and seeme to be very actiue.

The eighteenth day of May our Generall thought it needful to haue a care of such shippes as were absent, and therefore indeauouring to seeke the Flie boate wherein master Doughtie was, we espied her againe the next day: and whereas certaine of our ships were sent to discouer the coast and to search an harbour, the Marygold and the Canter being imployed in that businesse, came vnto vs and gaue vs vnderstanding of a safe harbour that they had found, where with all our ships bare and entred it, where we watered and made new prouision of victuals, as by seales, whereof we slew to the number of 200. in the space of an hower. May.

Here our Generall in the Admirall rid close aboord the Flie boate, and tooke out of her all the prouision of victuals and what els was in her, and halling her to the land, set fire to her, and so burnt her to saue the iron worke, which being a doing, there came downe of the country certayne of the people naked, sauing onely about their waste the skinne of some beast with the furre or haire on, and something also wreathed on their heads: their faces were painted with diuers colours, and some of them had on their heads the similitude of hornes, euery man his bowe which was an ell in length, and a couple of arrowes. They were very agill people and quicke to deliuer, and seemed not to be ignorant in the feates of warres, as by their order of ranging a few men might appeare. These people would not of a long time receiue any thing at our hands, yet at length our Generall being a shore and they dauncing after their accustomed maner about him, and hee once turning his backe towards them, one lept suddenly to him, and tooke his cap with his gold band off his head, and ran a little distance from him and shared it with his fellow, the cap to the one, and the band to the other. The Flie boat cast off and burnt. The people of the countrey.

Hauing dispatched all our businesse in this place, wee departed and set sayle, and immediately vpon our setting foorth we lost our Canter which was absent three or foure dayes, but when our Generall had her agayne, he tooke out the necessaries, and so gaue her ouer neere to the Cape of Good hope. Cape Good hope.

The next day after being the twentieth of June, wee harboured our selues agayne in a very June.

Port S. Iulian. good harborough, called by Magellan Port S. Iulian, where wee found a gibbet ſtanding vpon the maine, which we ſuppoſed to be the place where Magellan did execution vpon ſome of his diſobedient and rebellious company.

The two and twentieth day our Generall went a ſhore to the maine, and in his companie, Iohn Thomas and Robert Winterhie, Oliuer the maſter gunner, Iohn Brewer, Thomas Hood, and Thomas Drake, and entring on land, they preſently met with two or three of the country people, and Robert Winterhie hauing in his hands a bow and arrowes, went about to make a ſhoot of pleaſure, and in his draught his bowſtring brake, which the rude Sauages taking as a token of warre, began to bend the force of their bowes againſt our company, and droue them to their ſhifts very narowly.

In this port our Generall began to enquire diligently of the actions of M. Thomas Doughtie, and found them not to be ſuch as he looked for, but tending rather to contention or mutinie, or ſome other diſorder, whereby (without redreſſe) the ſucceſſe of the voyage might greatly haue bene hazarded: whereupon the companie was called together and made acquainted with the particulars of the cauſe, which were found partly by maſter Doughties owne confeſſion, and partly by the euidence of the fact to be true: which when our Generall ſaw, although his priuate affection to M. Doughtie (as hee then in the preſence of vs all ſacredly protеſted) was great, yet the care hee had of the ſtate of the voyage, of the expectation of her maieſtie, and of the honour of his countrey did more touch him, (as in deed it ought) then the priuate reſpect of one man, ſo that the cauſe being thoroughly heard, and all things done in good order as neere as might be to the courſe of our lawes in England, it was concluded that M. Doughtie ſhould receiue puniſhment according to the qualitie of the offence: and he ſeeing no remedie but patience for himſelfe, deſired before his death to receiue the communion, which hee did at the hands of M. Fletcher our Miniſter, and our Generall himſelfe accompanied him in that holy action: which being done, and the place of execution made readie, he hauing embraced our Generall and taken his leaue of all the companie, with prayer for the Queens maieſtie and our realme, in quiet ſort laied his head to the blocke, where he ended his life. This being done, our Generall made diuers ſpeaches to the whole company perſwading vs to vnitie, obedience, loue, and regard of our voyage, and for the better confirmation thereof, willed euery man the next Sunday following to prepare himſelfe to receiue the communion as Chriſtian brethren and friends ought to do, which was done in very reuerent ſort, and ſo with good contentment euery man went about his buſines.

M. Thomas Doughtie executed.

August. The 17. day of Auguſt we departed the port of S. Iulian, & the 20. day we fell with the ſtreight or freat of Magellan going into the Southſea, at the Cape or headland whereof, we found the bodie of a dead man, whoſe fleſh was cleane conſumed.

The ſtreight of Magellan.

The 21. day we entred the ſtreights which we found to haue many turnings, and as it were ſhuttings vp, as if there were no paſſage at all, by meanes whereof we had the wind often againſt vs, ſo that ſome of the fleete recouering a Caye or point of land, others ſhould be forced to turne backe agayne, and to come to an anker where they could.

In this ſtreight there be many faire harbors, with ſtore of freſh water, but yet they lacke their beſt commoditie: for the water is there of ſuch depth, that no man ſhall find ground to anker in, except it be in ſome narow riuer or corner, or between ſome rocks, ſo that if any extreme blaſts or contrary winds doe come (whereunto the place is much ſubiect) it carieth with it no ſmall danger.

The land on both ſides is very huge and mountanous, the lower mountains whereof although they be monſtrous and wonderfull to looke vpon for their heigth, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a ſtrange maner reaching themſelues aboue their fellowes ſo high, that betweene them did appeare three regions of cloudes.

Theſe mountaines are couered with ſnow: at both the Southerly and Eaſterly partes of the ſtreight there are Iſlands, among which the ſea hath his indraught into the ſtreights, euen as it hath in the maine entrance of the freat.

This ſtreight is extreme cold, with froſt and ſnow continually, the trees ſeeme to ſtoope with the burden of the weather, and yet are greene continually, and many good and ſweete herbes doe very fruitfully grow and increaſe vnder them.

The breadth of the ſtreight is in ſome place a league, in ſome other places 2. leagues, and three leagues, and in ſome other 4. leagues, but the narowеſt place hath a league ouer.

Abundance of foule in the ſtreight. The 24. of Auguſt we arriued at an Iſland in the ſtreights, where we found great ſtore of foule which could not flie, of the bigneſſe of geeſe, whereof we killed in leſſe then one day 3000. and victualled our ſelues throughly therewith.

September. The 6. day of September we entred the South ſea at the Cape or head ſhore.

The

The seuenth day wee were driuen by a great storme from entering into the South sea two hundred leagues and odde in longitude, and one degree to the Southward of the streight, in which heigth and so many leagues to the Westward, the fifteenth day of September fel out the Eclipse of the Moone at the houre of sixe of the clocke at night, but neither did the Ecliptical conflict of the Moone impaire our state, nor her clearing againe amend vs a whit, but the accustomed Eclipse of the seas continued in his force, wee being darkened more then the Moone seuen fold.

From the Baie (which we called the Baie of seuering of friends) wee were driuen backe to the Southward of the streights in 55. degrees and a terce: in which heigth wee came to an anker among the Iſlands, hauing there fresh and very good water, with herbes of singuler vertue. Not farre from hence we entred another Baie, where we found people both men and women in their Canoas, naked, and ranging from one Iſland to another to seeke their meate, who entred traffike with vs for such things as they had. 572. terses. 55. degrees and a terse of Southerly latitude

Wee returning hence Northward againe, found the 3. of October three Iſlands, in one of which was such plentie of birdes as is scant credible in report. Wee had by proofe in this place, as also at the furthermost Iſlands, that the sunne being at the least 8. degrees from the Tropike of Capricorne, the night was but two howers long, and scant that, so that we perceiued that when the sunne should be in the Tropike, there would be no night at all. October.

The 8. day of October we lost sight of one of our Consorts wherein M. Winter was, who as then we supposed was put by a storme into the streights againe, which at our returne home wee found to be true, and he not perished as some of our company feared. M. Winter separated and returned.

Thus being come into the height of the streights againe, we ran, supposing the coast of Peru to lie as the general Maps haue described it, namely Northwest, which we found to lie and trend to the Northeast and Eastwards, whereby it appeareth that this part of Peru hath not bene truly hitherto discouered, or at the least not truly reported for the space of 12. degrees at the least, beyng set downe either of purpose to deceiue, or of ignorant coniecture.

We continuing our course, fell the 29. of Nouember, with an Iſland called la Moucha, where we cast anker, and our Generall hoysing out our boate, went with ten of our company to shore, where wee found people, whom the cruell and extreme dealings of the Spaniards haue forced for their owne safetie and libertie to flee from the maine, and to fortifie themselues in this Iſland. We being on land, the people came downe to vs to the water side with shew of great curtesie, bringing to vs potatoes, rootes, and two very fat sheepe, which our Generall receiued and gaue them other things for them, and had promise to haue water there: but the next day repayring againe to the shore, and sending two men a land with barrels to fill water, the people taking them for Spaniards (to whom they vse to shew no fauour if they take them) laied violent handes on them, and as we thinke slew them. Nouember. The Iſle la Moucha in 38 deg. of latitude

Our Generall seeing this, staied here no longer, but waied anker, and set saple towards the coast of Chile, and drawyng towards it we met neere to the shore an Indian in a Canoa, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards, came to vs and told vs, that at a place called S. Iago, there was a great Spanish ship laden from the kingdome of Peru, for which good newes our Generall gaue him diuers trifles, whereof he was glad, and went along with vs and brought vs to the place which is called the port of Valparizo. S. Iago. The port of Valpariso.

When we came thither, we found in deed the ship riding at anker, hauing in her eight Spaniards and three Negroes, who thinking vs to haue bene Spaniards and their friends, welcommed vs with a drumme, and made ready a Buttizio of wine of Chile to drinke to vs: but as soone as we were entered, one of our company called Thomas Moone began to lay about him, and stroke one of the Spaniards, and sayd vnto him, Abaxo Perro, that is in English, goe downe dog. One of these Spaniards seeing persons of that qualitie in those seas, all to crossed, and blessed himselfe: but to be short we stowed them vnder hatches all saue one Spaniard, who suddenly and desperately lept ouer boord into the sea, and swamme a shore to the towne of S. Iago, to giue them warning of our arriuall. Wine of Chile

They of the town being not aboue 9. houlholds, presently fled away and abandoned the towne. Our Generall manned his boate, and the Spanish ships boate, and went to the Towne, and being come to it, we rifled it, and came to a small chappell which we entered, and found therein a siluer chalice, two cruets, and one altar cloth, the spoyle whereof our Generall gaue to M. Fletcher his minister.

We found also in this towne a warehouse stored with wine of Chile, & many boords of Cedar wood, all which wine we brought away with vs, and retaine of the boords to burne for firewood:

and ſo being come aboord, we departed the hauen, hauing firſt ſet all the Spaniards on land, ſauing one Iohn Grego a Greeke borne, whom our Generall caried with him for his Pilot to bring him into the hauen of Lima.

Iohn Grego a Pilot taken.

When we were at ſea, our Generall rifled the ſhip, and found in her good ſtore of the wine of Chile, and 25000. pezoes of very pure and fine gold of Baldiuia, amounting in value to 37000. duckets of Spaniſh money and aboue. So going on our courſe, we arriued next at a place called Coquimbo, where our Generall ſent 14. of his men on land to fetch water: but they were eſpied by the Spaniards who came with 300. horſemen and 200. footemen, and ſlew one of our men with a piece, the reſt came aboord in ſafetie, and the Spaniards departed: wee went on ſhore againe, and buried our man, and the Spaniards came downe againe with a flag of truce, but we ſet ſayle and would not truſt them.

Coquimbo.

From hence we went to a certaine port called Tarapaza, where being landed, wee found by the ſea ſide a Spaniard lying a ſleepe, and had lying by him 13. barres of ſiluer, which waighed 4000. duckets Spaniſh, we tooke the ſiluer and left the man.

Tarapaza.

Here hence we ſailed to a place called Arica, and being entred the porte, we found there three ſmall barkes which we rifled, and found in one of them 57. wedges of ſiluer, each of them waighing about 20. pound waight, and euery of theſe wedges were of the faſhion and bigneſſe of a brickbat. In all theſe 3. barkes we found not one perſon: for they miſtruſting no ſtrangers, were all gone a land to the Towne, which conſiſteth of about twentie houſes, which wee would haue ranſacked if our company had bene better and more in number. But our Generall contented with the ſpoile of the ſhips, left the Towne and put off againe to ſea and ſet ſayle for Lima, and by the way met with a ſmall barke, which he boorded, and found in her good ſtore of linnen cloth, whereof taking ſome quantitie, he let her goe.

Arica.

To Lima we came the 13. day of February, and being entred the hauen, we found there about twelue ſayle of ſhips lying faſt moored at an anker, hauing all their ſayles caried on ſhore, for the maſters and merchaunts were here moſt ſecure, hauing neuer bene aſſaulted by enemies, and at this time feared the approch of none ſuch as wee were. Our Generall rifled theſe ſhippes, and found in one of them a cheſt full of roials of plate, and good ſtore of ſilkes & linnen cloth, and tooke the cheſt into his owne ſhip, and good ſtore of the ſilkes and linnen. In which ſhip hee had newes of another ſhip called the Cacafuego which was gone towards Paita, and that the ſame ſhip was laden with treaſure, whereupon we ſtaied no longer here, but cutting all the cables of the ſhips in the hauen we let them driue whither they would, either to ſea or to the ſhore, and with all ſpeed we followed the Cacafuego toward Paita, thinking there to haue found her, but before wee arriued there, ſhe was gone from thence towards Panama, whom our Generall ſtill purſued, and by the way met with a barke laden with ropes and tackle for ſhips, which he boorded and ſearched, and found in her 80. li. waight of gold, and a crucifixe of gold with goodly great Emerauds ſet in it which he tooke, and ſome of the cordage alſo for his owne ſhip.

February. Lima.

From hence we departed ſtill following the Cacafuego, and our Generall promiſed our company that whoſoeuer could firſt deſcrie her, ſhould haue his chaine of gold for his good newes. It fortuned that Iohn Drake going vp into the top, deſcried her about three of the clocke, and about ſixe of the clocke we came to her and boorded her, and ſhotte at her three peeces of ordinaunce, and ſtrake downe her Willen, and being entered, we found in her great riches, as iewels and pretious ſtones, thirteene cheſtes full of royals of plate, foure ſcore pound waight of gold, and ſixe and twentie tunne of ſiluer. The place where we tooke this prize, was called Cape Franciſco, about 150. leagues from Panama.

The rich ſhip called the Cacafuego taken.

Cape Franciſco.

The Pilots name of this ſhip was Don Franceſco, and amongſt other plate that our Generall found in this ſhip, he found two very faire guilt bowles of ſiluer, which were the Pilots: to whom our Generall ſayd: Segnior Pilot, you haue here two ſiluer cups, but I muſt needes haue one of them, which the Pilot becauſe he could not otherwiſe chuſe, yelded vnto and gaue the other to the ſteward of our Generals ſhips.

When this Pilot departed from vs, his boy ſayd thus vnto our Generall, Captaine, our ſhip ſhall bee called no more the Cacafuego, but the Cacaplata, and your ſhippe ſhall bee called the Cacafuego, which pretie ſpeach of the Pilots boy miniſtred matter of laughter to vs, both then and long after.

When our Generall had done what hee would with this Cacafuego, he caſt her off, and wee went on our courſe ſtill towards the Weſt, and not long after met with a ſhip laden with linnen cloth and fine China diſhes of white earth, and great ſtore of China ſilks, of all which things wee tooke as we liſted.

China ſilks.

The

The owner himselfe of this shippe was in her, who was a Spanish Gentleman, from whome our Generall tooke a Fawlcon of golde, with a great enraude in the breast thereof, and the Pilot of the shippe he tooke also with him, and so cast the shippe off.

This Pilot brought vs to the hauen of Guatulca, the towne whereof as he told vs, had but 17. Spaniards in it. Assoone as we were entred this hauen wee landed, and went presently to the towne, and to the Towne house, where we found a Judge sitting in iudgement, he being associate with three other officers, vpon three Negroes that had conspired the burning of the Towne: both which Iudges, and prisoners we tooke, and brought them a shipboord, and caused the chiefe Iudge to write his letter to the Towne, to command all the Townesmen to auoid, that we might safely water there. Which being done, and they departed, we ransaked the Towne, and in one house we found a pot of the quantitie of a bushell, full of royals of plate, which we brought to our shippe. Guatulca.

And here one Thomas Moone one of our companie, tooke a Spanish Gentleman as he was flying out of the towne, and searching him, he found a chaine of golde about him, and other iewels, which he tooke, and so let him goe.

At this place our Generall among other Spaniards, set a shoare his Portingall Pilot, which he tooke at the Islands of Cape Verde, out of a shippe of S. Marie porte of Portingal, and hauing set them a shoare, we departed hence, and sailed to the Island of " Canon, where our General landed, and brought to shoare his owne ship, and discharged her, mended, and graued her, and furnished our shippe with water and wood sufficiently. The Portingall Pilot set on land. " The Island of Cockles.

And whiles we were here, we espied a shippe, and set saile after her, and tooke her, and founde in her two Pilots, and a Spanish Gouernour, going for the Islands of the Philippinas: we searched the shippe, and tooke some of her marchandizes, and so let her goe. Our Generall at this place, and time, thinking himselfe both in respect of his priuate iniuries receiued from the Spaniards, as also of their contempts and indignities offered to our countrey and Prince in generall, sufficiently satisfied, and reuenged: and supposing that her Maiestie at his returne would rest contented with this seruice, purposed to continue no longer vpon the Spanish coasts, but began to consider and to consult of the best way for his Countrey. A ship with a gouernour for the Islands of Philippinas. A purpose in Sir Francis to returne by the Northwest passage.

He thought it not good to returne by the Streights, for two speciall causes: the one, least the Spaniards should there waite, and attend for him in great number and strength, whose hands he being left but one shippe, could not possibly escape. The other cause was the dangerous situation of the mouth of the Streights in the south side, where continuall stormes raining and blustering, as he found by experience, besides the shoales, and sands vpon the coast, he thought it not a good course to aduenture that way: he resolued therefore to auoide these hazards, to goe forward to the Islands of the Moluccaes, and therehence to saile the course of the Portingals by the Cape of Bona Speranza.

Vpon this resolution, he began to thinke of his best way to the Moluccaes, and finding himselfe where he nowe was becalmed, he sawe, that of necessitie he must be forced to take a Spanish course, namely to saile somewhat Northerly to get a winde. We therefore set saile, and sailed in longitude 600. leagues at the least for a good winde, and thus much we sailed from the 16. of April, till the 3. of June.

The 5. day of June, being in 42. degrees towards the pole Arctike, we found the aire so colde, that our men being greeuously pinched with the same, complained of the extremitie thereof, and the further we went, the more the colde increased vpon vs. Whereupon we thought it best for that time to seeke the land, and did so, finding it not mountanous, but lowe plaine land, & clad, and couered ouer with snowe, so that we drewe backe againe without landing, till we came within 38. degrees towards the line. In which height it pleased God to send vs into a faire and good Baye, with a good winde to enter the same. June. Sir Francis Drake sailed on the backe side of America to 42. deg. of Northerly latitude. 38. degrees.

In this Baye we ankered, and the people of the Countrey, hauing their houses close by the waters side, shewed themselues vnto vs, and sent a present to our Generall.

When they came vnto vs, they greatly wondred at the things that we brought, but our Generall (according to his naturall and accustomed humanitie) curteously intreated them, and liberally bestowed on them necessarie things to couer their nakednes, whereupon they supposed vs to be gods, and would not be perswaded to the contrarie: the presents which they sent to our Generall, were feathers, and cals of network. A description of the people and Countrey of Nona Albion.

Their houses are digged round about with earth, and haue from the vttermost brimmes of the circle, clifts of wood set vpon them, ioyning close together at the toppe like a spire steeple, which by reason of that closenes are very warme.

Their beds is the ground with rushes strowed on it, and lying about the house, haue the fire in

the

the middest. The men goe naked, the women take bulrushes, and kembe them after the manner of hempe, and thereof make their loose garments, which being knit about their middles, hang downe about their hippes, hauing also about their shoulders a skinne of Deere, with the haire vpon it. These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands.

After they were departed from vs, they came and visited vs the second time, and brought with them feathers and bags of Tabacco for presents: And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

A long oration

In the meane time, the women remaining on the hill, tormented themselues lamentably, tearing their flesh from their cheekes, whereby we perceiued that they were about a sacrifice. In the meane time, our Generall, with his companie, went to praier, and to reading of the Scriptures, at which exercise they were attentiue, & seemed greatly to be affected with it: but when they were come vnto vs, they restored againe vnto vs those things which before we bestowed vpon them.

The newes of our being there, being spread through the Countrey, the people that inhabited round about came downe, and amongst them the King himselfe, a man of a goodly stature, & comely personage, with many other tall, and warlike men: before whose comming were sent two Ambassadors to our Generall, to signifie that their King was comming, in doing of which message, their speech was continued about halfe an howre. This ended, they by signes requested our Generall to send some thing by their hand to their King, as a token that his comming might be in peace: wherein our Generall hauing satisfied them, they returned with glad tidings to their King, who marched to vs with a princely maiestie, the people crying continually after their manner, and as they drewe neere vnto vs, so did they striue to behaue themselues in their actions with comelines.

In the fore front was a man of a goodly personage, who bare the scepter, or mace before the King, whereupon hanged two crownes, a lesse and a bigger, with three chaines of a maruelous length: the crownes were made of knit worke wrought artificially with fethers of diuers colours: the chaines were made of a bonie substance, and few be the persons among them that are admitted to weare them: and of that number also the persons are stinted, as some ten, some 12. &c. Next vnto him which bare the scepter, was the King himselfe, with his Garde about his person, clad with Conie skins, & other skins: after them followed the naked cõmon sort of people, euery one hauing his face painted, some with white, some with blacke, and other colours, & hauing in their handes one thing or another for a present, not so much as their childrẽ, but they also brought their presents.

In the meane time, our Generall gathered his men together, and marched within his fenced place, making against their approching, a very warlike shewe. They being trooped together in their order, and a generall salutation being made, there was presently a generall silence. Then he that bare the scepter before the King, being informed by another, whome they assigned to that office, with a manly and lostie voice, proclaimed that which the other spake to him in secret, continuing halfe an howre: which ended, and a generall Amen as it were giuen, the King with the whole number of men, and women (the children excepted) came downe without any weapon, who descending to the foote of the hill, set themselues in order.

In comming towards our bulwarks and tents, the scepter bearer began a song, obseruing his measures in a daunce, and that with a stately countenance, whom the King with his Garde, and euery degree of persons following, did in like manner sing and daunce, sauing onely the women which daunced, & kept silence. The Generall permitted them to enter within our bulwarke, where they continued their song and daunce a reasonable time. When they had satisfied themselues, they made signes to our Generall to sit downe, to whom the King, and diuers others made seuerall orations, or rather supplications, that he would take their prouince & kingdome into his hand, and become their King, making signes that they would resigne vnto him their right and title of the whole land, and become his subiects. In which, to perswade vs the better, the King and the rest, with one consent, and with great reuerence, ioyfully singing a song, did set the crowne vpon his head, inriched his necke with all their chaines, and offred vnto him many other things, honouring him by the name of Hioh, adding thereunto as it seemed, a signe of triumph: which thing our Generall thought not meete to reiect, because he knewe not what honour and profite it might be to our Countrey. Wherefore in the name, and to the vse of her Maiestie, he tooke the scepter, crowne, and dignitie of the said Countrey into his hands, wishing that the riches & treasure thereof might so conueniently be transported to the inriching of her kingdome at home, as it aboundeth in ỳ same.

The King resignes his crowne and kingdome to Sir Francis Drake.

The common sorte of people leauing the King, and his Garde with our Generall, scattered themselues together withthem sacrifices among our people, taking a diligent viewe of euery

perſon: and ſuch as pleaſed their fancie, (which were the youngeſt) they incloſing them about offred their ſacrifices vnto them with lamentable weeping, ſcratching, and tearing the fleſh from their faces with their nailes, whereof iſſued abundance of bloode. But wee vſed ſignes to them of diſliking this, and ſtaied their hands from force, and directed them vpwards to the liuing God, whome onely they ought to worſhippe. They ſhewed vnto vs their wounds, and craued helpe of them at our hands, whereupon wee gaue them lotions, plaiſters, and ointments agreeing to the ſtate of their griefes, beſeeching God to cure their diſeaſes. Euery thirde day they brought their ſacrifices vnto vs, vntill they vnderſtoode our meaning, that we had no pleaſure in them: yet they could not be long abſent from vs, but daily frequented our companie to the houre of our departure, which departure ſeemed ſo greeuous vnto them, that their ioy was turned into ſorrow. They intreated vs, that being abſent we would remember them, and by ſtelth prouided a ſacrifice, which we miſliked.

Our neceſſarie buſines being ended, our Generall with his companie trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found heardes of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being moſt large, and fat of bodie. Great heards of Deere.

We found the whole Countrey to be a warren of a ſtrange kinde of Connies, their bodies in bignes as be the Barbarie Connies, their heads as the heads of ours, the feete of a Want, and the taile of a Rat being of great length: vnder her chinne on either ſide a bagge, into the which ſhe gathereth her meate, when ſhe hath filled her bellie abroad. The people eate their bodies, and make great accompt of their ſkinnes, for their Kings coate was made of them. Abundance of ſtrange Connies

Our Generall called this Countrey, Noua Albion, and that for two cauſes: the one in reſpect of the white bankes and cliffes, which lie towards the ſea: and the other, becauſe it might haue ſome affinitie with our Countrey in name, which ſometime was ſo called. Noua Albion.

There is no part of earth here to be taken vp, wherein there is not a reaſonable quantitie of gold or ſiluer. Gold and ſiluer in the earth of Noua Albion.

At our departure hence our General ſet vp a monument of our being there, as alſo of her Maieſties right and title to the ſame, namely a plate, nailed vpon a faire great poſte, whereupon was ingrauen her Maieſties name, the day and yeere of our arriuall there, with the free giuing vp of the prouince and people into her Maieſties hands, together with her highnes picture and armes, in a peece of ſixe pence of currant Engliſh money vnder the plate, where vnder was alſo written the name of our Generall.

It ſeemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer diſcouer the lande by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place.

After we had ſet ſaile from hence, we continued without ſight of land till the 13. day of October following, which day in the morning we fell with certaine Iſlands 8. degrees to the Northward of the line, from which Iſlands came a great number of Canoas, hauing in ſome of them 4. in ſome 6. and in ſome alſo 14. men, bringing with them coquos, and other fruites. Their Canoas were hollowe within, and cut with great arte, and cunning, being very ſmooth within and without, and bearing a glaſſe as if it were a horne daintily burniſhed, hauing a prowe, and a ſterne of one ſorte, peeling in ward circle wiſe, being of a great heigth, and full of certaine white ſhels for a brauerie, and on each ſide of them lie out two peeces of timber about a yard and a halfe long, more or leſſe, according to the ſmalnes, or bignes of the boate. October. Certaine Iſlands in 8. degrees. Strange Canoas.

This people haue the nether part of their eares cut into a round circle, hanging downe very lowe vpon their cheekes, whereon they hang things of a reaſonable weight. The nailes of their hands are an ynche long, their teeth are as blacke as pitch, and they renew them often, by eating of an herbe with a kinde of powder, which they alwaies carrie about them in a cane for the ſame purpoſe.

We leauing this Iſland the night after we fell with it, the 18. of October, we light vpon diuers others, ſome whereof made a great ſhewe of Inhabitants. Iſlands.

We continued our courſe by the Iſlands of Tagulada, Zelon, and Zewarra, being ſubiect to the Portingals, the firſt whereof hath growing in it great ſtore of Sinnamon.

The 14. of Nouember we fell with the Iſlands of Molucca, which day at night (hauing directed our courſe to runne with Tydore) in coaſting along the Iſland of Mutyr, belonging to the King of Ternate, his Deputie or Viceking ſeeing vs at ſea, came with his Canoa to vs without all feare, and came aboord, and after ſome conference with our Generall, willed him in any wiſe to runne in with Ternate, and not with Tydore, aſſuring him that the King would be glad of his comming, and would be ready to doe what he would require, for which purpoſe he himſelfe would that night be with the King, and tell him the newes, with whome if he once dealt, he ſhould finde Nouember. The Iſle of Ternate.

finde that as he was a King, so his word should stand: adding further, that if he went to Tydore before he came to Ternate, the King would haue nothing to doe with vs, because he held the Portingall as his enemie: whereupon our Generall resolued to runne with Ternate, where the next morning early we came to anker, at which time our Generall sent a messenger to the king, with a veluet cloke for a present, and token of his comming to be in peace, and that he required nothing but traffike, and exchange of merchandize, whereof he had good store in such things as he wanted.

In the meane time, the Vicking had bene with the King according to his promise, signifying vnto him what good things he might receiue from vs by traffike: whereby the King was moued with great liking towards vs, and sent to our Generall with speciall message, that he should haue what things he needed, and would require, with peace, and friendship, and moreouer that he would yeelde himselfe, and the right of his Iland to be at the pleasure and commandement of so famous a Prince as we serued. In token whereof he sent to our Generall a signet, and within short time after came in his owne person, with boates, and Canoas to our ship, to bring her into a better and safer roade then she was in at that present.

The king of Ternate offreth him selfe and his kingdome to the seruice of the Queene of England.

In the meane time, our Generals messenger being come to the Court, was met by certaine noble personages with great solemnitie, and brought to the King, at whose handes he was most friendly and graciously intertained.

The King purposing to come to our shippe, sent before 4. great and large Canoas, in euery one whereof were certaine of his greatest states that were about him, attired in white lawne of cloth of Callicut, hauing ouer their heads from the one ende of the Canoa to the other, a couering of thinne perfumed mats, borne vp with a frame made of reedes for the same vse, vnder which euery one did sit in his order according to his dignitie, to keepe him from the heate of the Sunne, diuers of whome being of good age, and grauitie, did make an ancient and fatherly shewe. There were also diuers yong and comely men attired in white, as were the others: the rest were souldiers, which stoode in comely order round about on both sides, without whome sate the rowers in certaine galleries, which being three on a side all along the Canoas, did lie off from the side thereof 3. or 4. yardes, one being orderly builded lower then another, in euery of which galleries, were the number of 4. score rowers.

The great and strange Canoas of the King of Ternate.

These Canoas were furnished with warlike munition, euery man for the most part hauing his sworde, and target, with his dagger, beside other weapons, as launces, caleuers, darts, bowes, and arrowes: also euery Canoa had a small cast base mounted at the least one full yarde vpon a stocke set vpright.

Thus comming neere our shippe, in order they rowed about vs, one after another, and passing by, did their homage with great solemnitie, the great personages beginning with great grauitie & fatherly countenances, signifying that ꝑ king had sent them to conduct our ship into a better road.

The king of Ternate came to visite Sir Franc. Drake.

Soone after, the King himselfe repaired, accompanied with 6. graue and ancient persons, who did their obeisance with maruelous humilitie. The King was a man of tall stature, and seemed to be much delighted with the sound of our musicke, to whome as also to his nobilitie, our Generall gaue presents, wherewith they were passing well contented.

At length the King craued leaue of our Generall to depart, promising the next day to come aboord, and in the meane time to send vs such victuals, as were necessarie for our prouision: so that the same night we receiued of them meale, which they call Sago, made of the tops of certaine trees, tasting in the mouth like sowre curds, but melteth like sugar, whereof they make certaine cakes, which may be kept the space of ten yeeres, and yet then good to be eaten. Wee had of them store of rice, hennes, vnperfect and liquid sugar, sugar canes, and a fruite which they call Figo, with store of cloues.

Sago a kind of meale.

The King hauing promised to come aboord, brake his promise, but sent his brother to make his excuse, and to intreate our Generall to come on shoare, offring himselfe pawne aboord for his safe returne. Whereunto our Generall consented not, vpon mislike conceaued of the breach of his promise, the whole companie also vtterly refusing it. But to satisfie him, our General sent certaine of his Gentlemen to the Court, to accompanie the Kings brother, reseruing the Vicking for their safe returne. They were receiued of another brother of the kings, and other states, and were conducted with great honour to the Castle. The place that they were brought vnto, was a large and faire house, where were at the least 1000. persons assembled.

A castle in Ternate.

The King being yet absent, there sate in their places 60. graue personages, all which were said to be of the kings Counsell. There were besides 4. graue persons, apparelled all in red, downe to the ground, and attired on their heads like the Turkes, and these were said to be Romanes, and Ligiers there to keepe continual traffike with the people of Ternate. There were also two Turks

Romans and Turks Ligiers in Ternate.

Ligiers

Ligiers in this place, and one Italian. The king at last came in garded with 12. launces couered ouer with a rich canopie, with embossed golde. Our men accompanied with one of their Captaines called Moro, rising to meete him, he gratiously did welcome, and intertaine them. He was attired after the manner of the Countrey, but more sumptuously then the rest. From his waste downe to the ground, was all cloth of golde, and the same very riche: his legs were bare, but on his feete were a paire of shoes, made of Cordouan skinne. In the attire of his head were finely wreathed hooped rings of golde, and about his necke he had a chaine of perfect golde, the linkes whereof were great, and one folde double. On his fingers hee had fiue very faire iewels, and sitting in his chaire of estate, at his right hand stoode a page with a fanne in his hand, breathing and gathering the aire to the King. The fanne was in length two foote, and in bredth one foote, set with 8. saphyres, richly imbrodered, and knit to a staffe 3. foote in length, by the which the Page did hold, and moone it. Our Gentlemen hauing deliuered their message, and receiued ouer accordingly, were licensed to depart, being safely conducted backe againe by one of the Kings Counsell. The maiestie of the King.

This Iland is the chiefest of all the Ilands of Molucca, and the King hereof is king of 70. Ilands besides. The king with his people are Moores in religion, obseruing certaine newe Moones, with fastings: during which fasts, they neither eate nor drinke in the day, but in ỹ night.

After that our Gentlemen were returned, and that we had here by the fauour of the king receiued all necessarie things that the place could yeelde vs: our Generall considering the great distance, and how farre he was yet off from his Countrey, thought it not best here to linger the time any longer, but waying his ankers, set out of the Iland, and sailed to a certaine litle Iland to the Southwards of Selebes, where we graued our ships, and continued there in that and other businesses, 26. daies. This Iland is thronly grown with wood of a large and high growth, very streight and without boughes, saue onely in the head or top, whose leaues are not much differing from our broome in England. Amongst these trees night by night, through the whole land, did shew themselues an infinite swarme of fierie wormes flying in the aire, whose bodies being no bigger then our common English flies, make such a shew, and light, as if euery twig or tree had bene a burning candle. In this place breedeth also wonderfull store of Bats, as bigge as large hennes: of Crayfishes also here wanted no plentie, and they of exceeding bignes, one whereof was sufficient for 4. hungrie stomacks at a dinner, being also very good, and restoring meate, whereof we had experience: and they digge themselues holes in the earth like Conies. A litle Iland to the Southward of Selebes. Fierie wormes Bats. Crayfishes.

When we had ended our busines here, we waied, and set saile to runne for the Moluccaes: but hauing at that time a bad winde, and being amongst the Ilands, with much difficultie we recouered to the Northward of the Iland of Selebes, where by reason of contrarie windes not able to continue our course to runne Westwards, we were inforced to alter the same to the Southward againe, finding that course also to be very hard and dangerous for vs, by reason of infinite shoales which lie off, and among the Ilands: whereof we had too much triall to the hazard and danger of our shippe and liues. For of all other daies vpon the 9. of Januarie, in the yeere 1579. wee ranne suddenly vpon a rocke, where we stucke fast from 8. of the clocke at night, til 4. of the clocke in the afternoone the next day, being in deede out of all hope to escape the danger: but our Generall as he had alwaies hitherto shewen himselfe couragious, and of a good confidence in the mercie and protection of God: so now he continued in the same, and lest he should seeme to perish wilfully, both he, and we did our best indeuour to saue our selues, which it pleased God so to blesse, that in the ende we cleared our selues most happily of the danger. Januarie in anno 1579. Their danger vpon a rocke.

We lighted our shippe vpon the rockes, of 3. tunne of cloues, 8. peeces of ordinance, & certaine meale and beanes: and then the winde (as it were in a moment by the speciall grace of God,) changing from the stare boord to the larboord of the shippe, wee hoised our sailes, and the happie gale droue our shippe off the rocke into the sea againe, to the no litle comfort of all our hartes, for which we gaue God such praise and thanks, as so great a benefite required. Cloues. The helpe of a currant in the deliuerie.

The 8. day of Februarie following, we fell with the fruitful Iland of Barateue, hauing in the meane time suffered many dangers by windes and shoalds. The people of this Iland are comely in body, and stature, and of a ciuill behauiour, iust in dealing, and curteous to strangers, whereof we had the experience sundry waies, they being most glad of our presence, and very readie to releeue our wants in those things which their Countrey did yeelde. The men goe naked, sauing their heads and priuities, euery man hauing some thing or other hanging at their eares. Their women are couered from the middle downe to the foote, wearing a great number of bracelets vpon their armes, for some had 8. vpon each arme, being made some of bone, some of horne, and some of brasse, the lightest whereof by our estimation waied two ounces apeece. Februarie. Barateue Iland.

With this people linnen cloth is good marchandize, and of good request, whereof they make

rols

rols for their heads, and girdles to weare about them.

Their Iland is both riche and fruitfull: riche in golde, siluer, copper, and sulphur, wherein they seeme skilfull and expert, not onely to trie the same, but in working it also artificially into any forme and fashion that pleaseth them.

Their fruites be diuers, and plentiful, as nutmegs, ginger, long pepper, lemmons, cucumbers, coquos, figu, sagu, with diuers other sortes: and among all the rest, we had one fruite, in bigues, forme, and huske, like a baye berrie, hard of substance, and pleasant of taste, which being sodden, becommeth soft, and is a most good and wholsome victuall, whereof we tooke reasonable store, as we did also of the other fruites and spices: so that to confesse a trueth, since the time that we first set out of our owne Countrey of England, we happened vpon no place, (Ternate onely excepted) wherein we found more comfortes, and better meanes of refreshing.

Commendation of the Island of Barateue.

Iaua maior.

At our departure from Barateue, we set our course for Iaua maior, where arriuing, wee founde great courtesie, and honorable entertainment. This Island is gouerned by 5. Kings, whom they call Raiah: as Raiah Donaw, and Raiah Mang Bange, and Raiah Cabuccapollo, which liue as hauing one spirite, and one minde.

Of these fiue we had foure a shipboord at once, and two or three often. They are wonderfully delighted in coloured clothes, as red and greene: their vpper parts of their bodies are naked, saue their heads, whereupon they weare a Turkish roll, as doe the Moluccians: from the middle downward, they weare a pintado of silke, trailing vpon the ground, in colour as they best like.

The manners of the people of Iaua.

The Moluccians hate that their women should be seene of strangers: but these offer them of high curtesie, yea the kings themselues.

The people are of goodly stature, and warlike, well prouided of swordes and targets, with daggers, all being of their owne worke, and most artificially done, both in tempering their mettall, as also in the forme, whereof we bought reasonable store.

They haue an house in euery village for their common assemblie: euery day they meete twise, men, women, and children, bringing with them such victuals as they thinke good, some fruites, some rice boiled, some hennes roasted, some sagu, hauing a table made 3. foote from the ground, whereon they set their meate, that euery person sitting at the table may eate, one reioycing in the companie of another.

A strange fashion of boyling rice.

They boile their rice in an earthen pot, made in forme of a sugar loafe, being full of holes, as our pots which we water our gardens withall, and it is open at the great ende, wherein they put their rice drie, without any moisture. In the meane time they haue readie another great earthen pot, set fast in a fornace, boiling full of water, whereinto they put their pot with rice, by such measure, that they swelling become soft at the first, and by their swelling stopping the holes of the pot, admit no more water to enter, but the more they are boiled, the harder and more firme substance they become, so that in the ende they are a firme and good bread, of the which with oile, butter, sugar, and other spices, they make diuers sortes of meates very pleasant of taste, and nourishing to nature.

The French pocks.

The French pocks is here very common to all, and they helpe themselues, sitting naked from ten to two in the Sunne, whereby the venemous humour is drawne out. Not long before our departure, they told vs, that not farre off there were such great ships as ours, wishing vs to beware: vpon this our Captaine would stay no longer.

From Iaua Maior we sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, which was the first land we fel withall: neither did we touch with it, or any other land, vntill we came to Sierra Leona, vpon the coast of Guinea: notwithstanding we ranne hard aboord the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals to be most false, who affirme, that it is the most dangerous Cape of the world, neuer without intollerable stormes and present danger to trauailers, which come neere the same.

The Cape of Bona Speranza not so dangerous as the Portingals haue giuen out.

This Cape is a most stately thing, and the faireſt Cape we sawe in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it the 18. of June.

Sierra Leona. Diuers trees.

From thence we continued our course to Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, where we arriued the 22. of July, and found necessarie prouisions, great store of Elephants, Diuers vpon trees of one kinde, spawning and increasing infinitely, the Diuer suffering no budde to growe. We departed thence the 24. day.

We arriued in England the third of Nouember 1580, being the third yeere of our departure.

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